HISTORY OF ENGLAND

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FOR USE IN SCHOOLS

BY

ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

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PREFACE.

THIS work is set forth as a School History, because it is specially designed to meet the needs of the middle and upper forms of schools. It is a complete History of England, from the time when her written records begin, to the close of the Nineteenth Century, the reign of Queen Victoria, and the South African War. A due sense of proportion, however, is observed in treating the succeeding periods, the "modern" history being dealt with at much greater length than the mediaeval, the centuries preceding the Reformation occupying one-third of the entire text. That is to say, the study of developments rather than that of origins is regarded as of primary educational value.

Now an efficient School History will serve as a sound text book, or general groundwork for students who have passed their school days; but the class whom the compiler has primarily to consider are those, roughly speaking, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, and their teachers. Such a volume may be produced with a single eye to examinations—to simplify the process of acquiring and imparting knowledge which is intended to be, not assimilated, but committed to memory in such a manner as to be readily reproduced at the end of a few weeks or months, and then wiped out of the mind. This method, however, is, educationally, worse than useless for intelligent pupils, because it inevitably inspires a strong distaste for the subject. On the other hand, if details and aids to memory are neglected, there is nothing for the less intelligent pupil to lay hold of, while the impressions received by the more intelligent are misty and inaccurate.

The author then has not overlooked the demands of Examiners and examinations; he has indeed kept specially in view the English History Scheme of the "Cambridge Local Examinations." But he is satisfied that the highest marks are obtained by the students who have taken an intelligent interest in the subject for its own sake, and do not think of it exclusively in connexion with marks. His aim therefore has been to present the story of the development of England with such fulness and lucidity of detail as to afford an effective test of the student's industry, powers of memory, and accurate knowledge of facts; but at the same time to arouse his permanent interest by appealing to his imagination and his reasoning powers; to enable him to realise how the British Race has become at once the most free and the most law-abiding in the world, how the British Nation achieved the greatest Empire the world has known, and what manner of men they were to whom we owe these things.

English History may be viewed in four aspects; as the internal development of political institutions, which is Constitutional History; as the development of Manners and Religion, which is Social History; as the development of relations with external Powers, which is International History; and as the field in which great Men worked, which is Biography. All these, with their interaction, claim their share of attention. The whole history is presented not as a catalogue of events that happened fortuitously in an arbitrary order, but as a story, a drama; in which events are born of events, each successive scene is the product of the previous scene, great actors play their parts, and picturesque incidents give colour and interest to the whole. The common disposition in English Histories to neglect the International for the Constitutional aspect has been avoided, and a special effort has been made to render the *meaning*, as well as the accidents, of foreign relations, of wars and leagues and alliances, of victories and defeats, clear, intelligible, and interesting. No recent sources of information have been passed over,

and the utmost pains have been taken to ensure accuracy throughout.

But if tables and lists and charts do not constitute a history, they may be valuable aids in making clear what is often obscure without them; and these, carefully planned, are supplied, it is hoped, in sufficient abundance; so as not only to classify what it is good that the student should have classified for him, but to guide him in the extremely desirable practice of working out for himself classifications which it is not good that he should have manufactured for him, cut and dried. This however is a process which can hardly be suggested to any but senior students. The tables and other "aids" are kept separate from the text. In the text itself, the obscurity which is apt to arise from multitudinous details is held in check by the division of the chapters into short sections, each presenting a complete phase or group of ideas; thus also avoiding the element of confusion which might otherwise be introduced by the occasional necessary deviations from chronological narrative.

A. D. INNES.

January 1907.

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BOOK I.

BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

TO 1066.

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLAND: 55 B.C.—802 A.D.

§ 1. *Early Britain and the Roman Occupation,* B.C. 55—A.D. 410.

Pre-Roman Britain.

Some centuries before there were any written records of the British Isles, Ethnologists—people who are learned in the races of mankind—tell us that a wave of Celtic invaders established themselves all over these Islands, conquering the primitive inhabitants; whose language disappeared altogether, though the people themselves were not extirpated. A long time afterwards, there came a second wave of Celtic invaders—akin to the first wave, but not quite the same. The first set are called Gaels or Goidels, the second Cymri or Brythones. They were all of the same original stock as the Gauls who occupied most of Western Europe in Roman times. The Brythones drove the Gaels west and north, so that not many of them remained in what we now call England, though they held possession of Ireland and Scotland. The Gaelic language of the Scottish Highlands, and the Erse of Ireland, are descended from the tongue of the Gaels or Goidels. The Cymri or Brythones occupied nearly all our England, which the Romans in consequence called Britannia. Theirs was the parent language of the Welsh, who still call themselves Cymri, while their name also survives in the title of Cumberland.

Julius Caesar.

Half a century before the beginning of the Christian Era, the great Roman Julius Caesar was engaged in conquering Gaul, which corresponds roughly to what we now call France. In the year 55 B.C. it pleased him to make an expedition

across the channel to Britain. He managed to land his troops in the teeth of an army of Britons, advanced a short way inland, did just enough fighting to show the invincibility of the Roman Legions, and retired. Next year he came again, stayed a little longer, proved the superiority of the Legions a little more convincingly, received promises of submission from a few native chiefs, and again retired. He left no garrison, and did not in any sense conquer the country.

The Claudian Conquest.

It was not till nearly a hundred years later, in A.D. 41, that the Roman Emperor Claudius sent a General, Aulus Plautius, to set about the conquest of Britain and establish a permanent garrison in the country. The south-eastern corner was soon brought into subjection; thence the Roman armies steadily extended their dominion northwards and westwards, in spite of persistent and stubborn opposition from the great chief Caractacus or Caradoc, who, when driven from his own territories, was received as leader by the western tribes. In course of time, he too was captured and sent to Rome. The year 59 is noted for the revolt of the tribe of the Iceni in Essex, under their queen Boadicea, owing to outrages on the part of the Roman governor—a rising which was only crushed with great difficulty.

The great Roman Walls.

After this, the south-eastern half of what is now England accepted the Roman dominion; which the great governor Julius Agricola extended over the whole; carrying a system of establishing impregnable fortresses and garrisons as far as the borders of Wales on the west, and into Caledonia (Scotland) as far north as the Forth and the Clyde (84 A.D.). Dominion, however, was not really established over the whole of this territory; and when the Emperor Hadrian himself came to Britain, he built the great Roman Wall from the Tyne on the east to the Solway on the west, to be a barrier against the unsubdued tribes of Caledonia. This wall was an actual built rampart, connecting a chain of great fortresses with smaller forts at intervals between them. These required about 10,000 men to garrison them, and to the garrison were probably added about twice as many non-combatants. This gave the Romans some grip on southern Caledonia—the Lowlands; and some years later—about 140 A.D.—another wall of not quite such a solid character was built further north between the Forth and the Clyde. This was known as the Wall of Antoninus, who was then Emperor. We may say that, in the hundred years which followed the invasion of Aulus Plautius, the Romans established an undisputed rule of the whole country south of Hadrian's Wall, and a precarious rule between that and the Wall of Antoninus.

Under the later Empire.

The Roman occupation lasted for another 270 years; but although, at the beginning of the third century, the Emperor Severus led victorious armies through the north of Scotland, dominion was never established there. During the third century, more than one of the generals commanding in Britain was proclaimed Emperor by the legionaries; and in 306, almost a hundred years after the death of Severus, Constantine the Great was so proclaimed while at York. During his rule, Christianity became the official religion of the Empire, and may be supposed to have extended in Britain where it is known already to have found a footing. But in the fourth century, the Roman Empire itself was being shaken by the incursions of barbarian hordes; troops were called away to join the defending armies; and early in the fifth century—in 410—the whole Roman garrison was withdrawn from Britain, which was, so to speak, cast adrift by Rome. Mastered and protected for three centuries and more by the armies of the Empire, her sons were now without military habits or organisation; the fierce tribes of the north and west who had never bowed to the Roman yoke fell upon them, and harried the land; and over the sea from the east, to conquer and inherit, came other fierce tribes of another kin; to whose doings we shall turn in the next section.

Effects of the Roman occupation.

The Roman dominion in Britain was a Military Occupation. Great military centres, fortresses, or camps—*castra*—were established all over the country, each of which became a town; great military roads, which remain to this day, were built for the legions to march by from London—to the north, Irmin Street; to the north-west, Watling Street; to the west, the Bath road; and across them from south-west to north-east, the great Fosse-way. The *Pax Romana*—the Peace of Rome—gave prosperity. Wealthy Romans established themselves on rural estates. Christianity in course of time largely replaced the mysterious Druidical worship of the Celts—a religion of which we know little. But there the influence of Rome stayed. The Britons, unlike their kin in Gaul, never adopted the Roman tongue; it is doubtful whether they ever adopted Roman institutions, except at a very few centres; the customs as well as the language of the Celtic inhabitants of Britain, when next we are able to form any idea of their mode of life, were still not Romanised, but Celtic: though some authorities find in later Saxon institutions features which suggest that they had been modified by Roman practices acquired from the conquered Celts. However that may be, the *Pax Romana* departed with the legionaries; the centuries that follow were filled with war

and turmoil; a new race acquired dominion over almost all England, the Celts being cooped up in the hill-fastnesses of the west: and in the struggle, nearly every trace of the Roman occupation was wiped out, save the roads that stride across England, and the solid remains of military camps and walls.

§ 2. *The English Conquest and the Coming of Augustine and Roman Christianity*, 449—616.

The New-comers.

The new race which gradually took possession of Britain and converted a great part of it into "England" was not Celtic but Teutonic, akin to the Dutch and the North Germans of to-day. They too were feeling the pressure of the new hordes from the eastward who were battering on the gates of Rome, and they were making roving expeditions in search of new lands for themselves. They began to visit the shores of Britain while the Picts and Scots from the North and from Ireland were attacking the land which the Romans had left undefended.

(1) The Jutes.

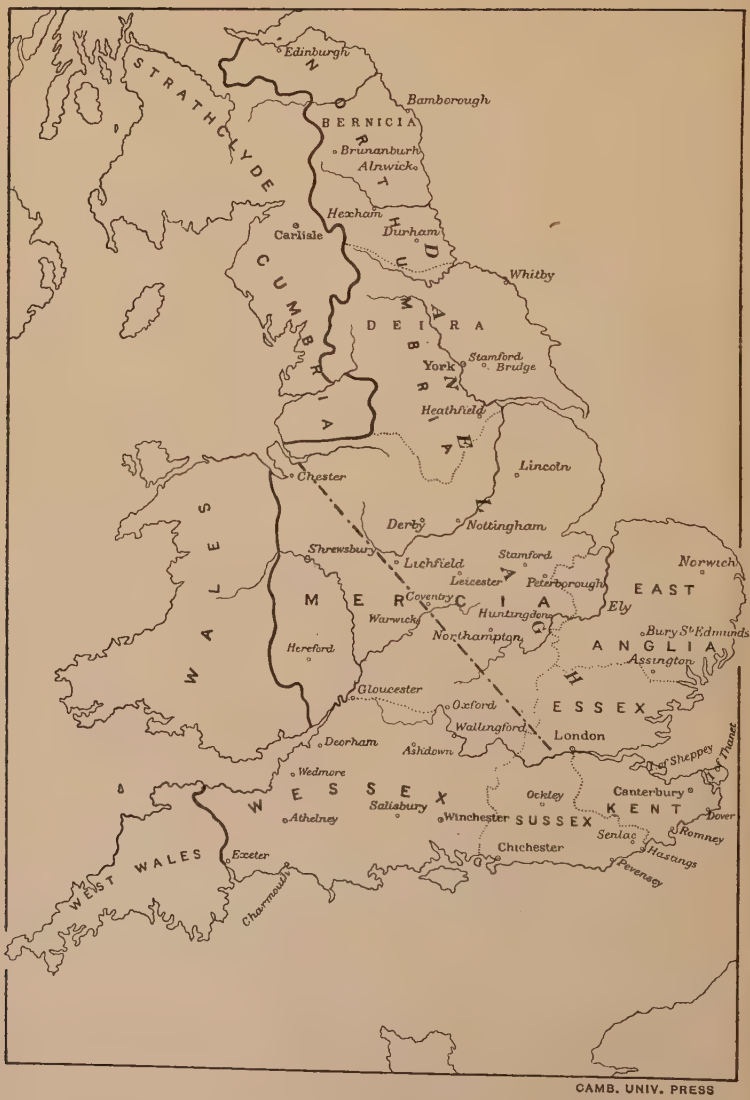
The first to make a settlement were the Jutes, who established themselves in Kent; tradition says that their leaders, Hengist and Horsa, came at the invitation of the Britons, who asked their aid against the "barbarians" of the north and west. Their colony, established in 449, developed into the kingdom of Kent—the south-east corner of the island. Then

(2) The Saxons.

came the Saxons, also to the south coast; the "South Saxons" first, about 477, to the strip of land next to Kent, which became the kingdom of Sussex, founded by Aelle or Ella; then the West Saxons, led by Cerdic, to Hampshire, which was the beginning of the kingdom of Wessex, about 495; last, the East Saxons, who went north of Kent instead of west, and established Essex on the north of the Thames estuary. After the

(3) The Angles.

Saxons came the kindred tribes of the Angles, from whom come the general names of England, and of English, which is applied to all the groups of invaders, whether Angles, Saxons, or Jutes. About 520 the North Folk and South Folk of the East Angles established East Anglia—north of Essex and east of the Fen country. Between the Wash and the Humber, the Middle Angles made good their footing, and, pushing their way westward, formed the kingdom of Mercia. The Northern Angles invaded the coasts from the Humber up to the Forth, and all this territory became Northumbria—of which the southern division, from the



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ENGLAND

Showing the kingdoms of the "Heptarchy," and the Danelagh

Humber to the Tees, was called Deira, and the northern strip, from the Tees to the Forth, was called Bernicia.

The conquest took a long time. A hundred years after the coming of Hengist and Horsa, the English only possessed the eastern half of modern England and the Scottish Lowlands. If you take a map of England, and draw a line from Edinburgh to Derby and from Derby to Weymouth, you get roughly the division of the island between English, east of that line, and Britons, west of it, about the middle of the sixth century. It was still possible for the united Britons to push the English back again; and there are many legendary stories, more or less based on historical facts, about the long struggle. It is quite probable, for instance, that there really was a British prince named Arthur or Artorius, who checked the progress of the English. But towards the end of this century, about 577, the West Saxon king, Ceawlin, a descendant of Cerdic, drove his conquest up to the Severn estuary by the great victory of Deorham, near Gloucester, so separating the middle Britons from those of the south, who were gradually forced back into Devon and Cornwall; and in 613, the Northumbrian Ethelfrid, by a great victory near Chester, separated the middle Britons from their northern kinsfolk.

The conquest.

Now, with a map before us—not without—we can get a tolerably clear idea of the so-called Heptarchy or division of England into seven kingdoms recognising one head or "Bretwalda"—an arrangement which never really existed at all, but which is near enough to the truth to help in getting our ideas straight.

First draw a line, north and south, from Edinburgh to Manchester. West of that are the British kingdoms of Strathclyde, including Cumbria. East of it is the English Northumbria, of which the northern half is called Bernicia and the southern half Deira. Then draw a line from Chester to Gloucester. West of that are the British kingdoms of Wales, east of it the English kingdom of Mercia, created by the Middle Angles. The southern boundary of Mercia is a line from Gloucester to London, and its eastern boundary a line from the Wash to London. East of that boundary are East Anglia and Essex. South there remain Kent, Sussex, and Wessex; with the third British group, called West Wales, in Devon and Cornwall. The so-called seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy are the two large Anglian kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia, and the small one of East Anglia, cut off from Mercia by the Fen country; the two small Saxon kingdoms of Essex and Sussex, and the larger one of Wessex; and the

The Main Divisions.

small Jute kingdom of Kent. From time to time one or other of their kings claims some sort of supremacy over some or all of the others, which may or may not be formally acknowledged. The position only amounts to this, that when one State has proved itself definitely stronger than its neighbours, they make a vague submission until another State proves itself in turn the stronger.

At the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century, the best organised and most prosperous of these kingdoms was that of Ethelbert of Kent, whose general supremacy seems to have been recognised as far north as the Humber.

Ethelbert of Kent and Augustine.

At this time, all the English were still, like their ancestors, heathens; worshippers of Odin and Thor. But Ethelbert's wife, Bertha, daughter of the king of the Franks, was a Christian: and every one knows how the great Pope Gregory had been moved by the sight of two Anglian slave-boys—*Non Angli, sed Angeli* he said—to a yearning for the conversion of the northern race to Christianity. By his orders, in 597 there landed in Kent the monk Augustine and his companions, who came before Ethelbert with great ceremony, and from him received permission to preach their doctrine and make what converts they could. He established them honourably at Canterbury, and before very long himself received baptism. His example was followed by many of his nobles, and then in turn by the folk of Essex and of East Anglia. It was some while before the new religion took a firm hold—even in Kent and Essex there was a brief reaction, after Ethelbert's death in 616; but about ten years later, Edwin of Northumbria adopted Christianity, and not long after Wessex did likewise. But the mighty king Penda of Mercia was a determined heathen, and it was not till he died in 655 that Christianity finally triumphed. It should be remarked that until this time, and for a little longer—down to the Conference or Synod of Whitby in 664—Christian influence and mission work in the north came less from the Roman churchmen of Canterbury than from the Celtic followers of Columba, the great missionary saint of the north; and it was at one time extremely doubtful whether the organisation of the Church in England would take the Celtic or the Roman form. These are not matters which we need go into here. But the fact that the Roman form did definitely triumph made the relations of England and the Roman See different from what they might otherwise have been.

Establishment of Christianity.

§ 3. *The Northumbrian and Mercian supremacies and the Christianising of England*, 616—802.

Northumbria: Ethelfrid.

While Ethelbert was reigning in Kent, Bernicia and Deira were united under the sway of the Northumbrian Ethelfrid, who by his victory at Chester drove an English wedge between the Britons of Wales and of Strathclyde. He had already inflicted a crushing defeat on the king of the (Celtic) Scots, Aidan. In spite of the progress of Christianity in the south-east, in the north and west the advance of the English still looked as if it would mean the triumph of heathendom; since the Celts professed the religion of Christ, and at Chester Ethelfrid put to the sword a great assembly of monks on the ground that they were fighting by their prayers and were therefore not entitled to be spared as non-combatants.

Edwin.

Under Ethelfrid, Northumbria's power waxed great. At the end of his days he made war upon Redwald of East Anglia, who was sheltering a young kinsman of his, Edwin, whose life Ethelfrid had long been seeking. Ethelfrid was defeated and slain, and Edwin in turn became king of all Northumbria, a year after the death of Ethelbert of Kent (617). To some extent, all England, except Kent, recognised him as over-lord, and he married a Kentish princess. Nine years later, as we have already noted, he adopted Christianity, to which he had learnt to feel some inclination while residing under the protection of Redwald of East Anglia. We are told that after a solemn debate, the high-priest Coifi proclaimed his acceptance of the new doctrines, and took the lead in the destruction of the temple where he had been the chief minister. Edwin was a strong ruler, who enforced law and order; tradition declared that in his day, a woman with her babe might cross England unguarded without fear of harm. But there were those who had no mind to submit to Northumbrian dominion. The Christian Welsh prince Cadwallon united with the heathen Penda of Mercia to challenge the power of Edwin; who was overthrown and slain at the battle of Heathfield in 633.

Oswald.

Little more than a year had passed when a worthy successor to Edwin was found in Oswald, the son of Ethelfrid (Edwin's predecessor), who in the meantime had been dwelling apart, with the Columban monks of Iona, in the Hebrides. Returning to Northumbria, which was distracted for need of an efficient head, he led a small army against Cadwallon, whom he overthrew

and slew in the victory of Heavenfield near the Tyne. This battle finally ended the danger which had threatened, of a Celtic reconquest of the north. The great fortress of Bamburgh became the Royal city of the north, from which Oswald, warrior and saint, ruled Northumbria; not without wise counsel from the holy St Aidan, one of the brethren from Iona. His sway in fact, like Edwin's, seems to have been recognised for a time over most of the island, for the crushing blow to Cadwallon at Heavenfield probably made the Welsh and the men of Strathclyde ready to profess submission; while fierce old Penda of Mercia, bereft of his British ally, was not at first disposed to challenge his supremacy. The over-lordship, however, did not prevent Penda from invading East Anglia and smiting that kingdom; and Oswald had only been eight years on the throne when the Mercian vanquished and slew him in battle at Maserfield (642).

Oswy.

Now for a space Northumbria was again divided into Bernicia and Deira, the former ruled by Oswy, the latter by Oswin, both men of high qualities. Matters were simplified when Oswy killed Oswin and reunited Northumbria under his single rule. Meanwhile Penda, already past seventy, continued to harry his neighbours successfully and impartially till at last Oswy—whose son and daughter were married to Penda's daughter and son—took the field against the old pagan, whose allies deserted him almost in the hour of battle; and the ancient champion of heathenesse perished fighting at Winwaed. With his death ended the opposition to Christianity; for his sons were all of the Faith.

Egfrith.

Wulfhere, Penda's successor (after a brief interval), maintained the power of Mercia, but turned his arms more against Wessex on the south than against Northumbria on the north. The nominal supremacy of Northumbria lasted throughout the reign of Oswy and his son Egfrith, till the latter was slain at the great battle of Nechtansmere in 685, in an attempt to conquer the Picts and Scots. This completely broke the power of Northumbria, and secured the independence of the whole of the Strathclyde Celts.

Mercia: Ethelbald and Offa.

After this, for more than a hundred years the supremacy among the English kings belonged to Mercia. This supremacy became marked in the reign of Ethelbald (716—757); but in his latter years Wessex, which had been perpetually trodden down by her mighty neighbour, recovered some of the territories reft from her, of which she was not again deprived. Ethelbald's successor was Offa (757—796), who exercised perhaps a more indisputable supremacy than any earlier king had done, and was looked upon by the Pope and by his great contemporary

Charlemagne as king of England. The wall he built on the Welsh boundary is still known as Offa's Dyke.

The Church.

As we noted at the end of the last section, it was the Synod or Conference at Whitby in 664, when Oswy was ruling Northumbria, which settled the question whether the Church in England should be organised according to the Roman model directed by the successors of Augustine, or on the Celtic lines of the successors of Columba, who were mainly instrumental in spreading Christianity through Northumbria and Mercia. It is curious to observe that the contest turned not on any principle of order, discipline, or doctrine, but on the diverse practice of the Roman and the Celtic Churches in calculating the date at which Easter ought to be celebrated. King Oswy, after hearing the argument on both sides, came to the conclusion that the Roman method of calculation had been enjoined by St Peter, and must therefore be right. The adoption of the Roman practice involved the adoption of the Roman organisation; and so the Church in England remained in close association with the Holy See. Under the guidance of Theodore of Tarsus, who about this time was appointed by the Pope to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, the Church throughout the country was organised as a single body. Each kingdom was divided into bishoprics, and perhaps each bishopric into parishes, though that is exceedingly doubtful; the primacy of the whole resting with the see of Canterbury. Thus there was one English Church and one English Church system, long before it could be said that there was one English nation. And during the next century (the eighth) this English Church gave the world two among the greatest of medieval scholars and divines—the "Venerable Bede," translator of the Bible and the great historian of his times, and Alcuin, the friend of the great Emperor Charlemagne.

Archbishop Theodore.

CHAPTER II.

THE HOUSE OF CERDIC: 802—1066.

§ 1. *The rise of Wessex, and the Coming of the Danes. Egbert to Alfred,* 802—901.

Egbert of Wessex, 802—839.

OFFA had been dead for nearly five and twenty years before the supremacy of Mercia yielded to that of Wessex, then under the rule of Egbert; another of the various monarchs to whom is attributed the glory of having first united all England under one dominion. The accession of Egbert to the throne of the House of Cerdic—whose blood has run in the veins of every king of England since that time, save Canute and his sons, Harold Godwinson, and the Conqueror himself—was not unlike that of Edwin to Northumbria two hundred years before; for he had been a refugee in the court of Charlemagne from a jealous kinsman, Bheortric, who ruled Wessex. On Bheortric's death in 802, Egbert succeeded without opposition. But Mercia at this time held firm sway over the dependent kingdoms of Essex, Sussex, and Kent, and was too strong to be challenged. For some years Egbert was content with consolidating his own dominion, and extending it over the "West Welsh" of Cornwall and Devon. But the death of the Mercian king Cenwulf in 820 brought a disputed succession; a usurper seized the sceptre; against him Egbert promptly declared war and overthrew him in battle at Ellandun. Kent, Sussex, and Essex were glad to accept the sovereignty of Egbert's son Ethelwulf in place of that of the Mercian viceroy, and East Anglia was prompt to seize the opportunity of throwing off the harsh Mercian yoke. Before 830, Egbert was acknowledged as over-lord by all England south of the Humber; and distant Northumbria soon followed suit when he threatened to march against it. He even brought the princes of North Wales into some sort of subjection; probably his supremacy as "Bretwalda" was more really felt throughout the island than that of any who had claimed the title before him.

He becomes Bretwalda.

Before Egbert's death in 839, a new danger to England had become manifest. From about the middle of the sixth century till the end of the eighth, no foreign invader landed on the shores of England; the people of the island forgot the habits of their sea-roving forefathers and became a purely land-folk. But while Egbert's predecessor was ruling in Wessex, the first galleys of the Danes, Northmen, or Vikings made their appearance on the East coast. Plain pirates and robbers were they, who sailed in their "long-ships" from Denmark or the fiords of Norway, to carry off spoils and captives and leave behind them desolation. For many years they sought merely plunder, coming in fleets of increasing size, sacking villages and towns on the coasts, sailing up the estuaries of every navigable river not only in England but all along the coasts of France and Spain, penetrating even to the Mediterranean, and carrying with them such havoc that in the Churches a new petition was added to the Litanies—"From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord deliver us." No one seems to have thought of facing them on the seas. In Egbert's day, they wrought devastation in Northumbria, but otherwise came in no great numbers to England till his closing years, when he had two great fights with them, at Charmouth in Dorset and at Hengston Down not far from Plymouth.

The Danes.

Egbert, dying, was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf, an eminently pious and virtuous ruler, but no great statesman or warrior. Year after year the Danes came ravaging; clashed with the English armies of the sub-kings of Mercia, Northumbria, East Anglia, and Kent, or of Ethelwulf's valiant bishop Ealhstan in the west; were sometimes worsted, more often victorious; then sailed away again. In 851 for the first time, instead of sailing away they established winter quarters in the Isle of Thanet (where Hengist and Horsa had planted themselves four hundred years before); though they had just met with a severe check from Ethelwulf at Ockley in Surrey. The other notable features of Ethelwulf's reign—which ended in 858—are: that, with his youngest son Alfred, he paid a visit to Rome, which has been magnified into a far-sighted attempt to unite the forces of Christendom in resistance to the heathen Danes; that he bestowed a tenth of his personal property on the Church, which has been regarded as the origin of "tithes"; and that he was obliged to make his eldest son Ethelbald king or sub-king of half Wessex.

Ethelwulf, 839—858.

After him reigned four of his sons in succession: Ethelbald, who died in 860; Ethelbert, who died in 866; Ethelred, who died in 871; and Alfred the Great, who ruled from 871 to 901.

Throughout the thirteen years which passed between the death of Ethelwulf and the accession of Alfred, the Danes continued to harry Wessex; but—what was more serious—in the reigns of Ethelbert and Ethelred, they came to the east coast to stay; mastered Northumbria and East Anglia where the sub-king Edmund was martyred, giving his name to Bury St Edmunds; and established themselves in the heart of Mercia. It is clear enough that the supposed "union of all England under one king" did not mean that England was yet capable of united action against a common foe. The sub-kings might recognise a common head, but there was no common or national organisation. At last in 871 the Danes met with a severe check from Ethelred and his brother Alfred at Ashdown in Berkshire, but it was only a check. Then Ethelred was slain in fight, and Alfred became king.

Ethelwulf's elder sons, 858—871.

So fierce and so ceaseless was the contest in this "year of battles," as men called it, that both sides were exhausted, and agreed to a peace which lasted four years; but it meant peace only for Wessex, not for England. The Danes tightened their grip on the Midlands and on the North, where they ravaged impartially English Northumbria and Celtic Strathclyde.

Alfred and the Danes, 871—878.

In 876 the Danes again poured into Wessex from Mercia, were forced to withdraw again next year, but the year after took Alfred by surprise; so that he escaped with difficulty, and had to take hiding in Somerset, in the Isle of Athelney. Here tradition says he let the cakes burn, and here he gathered followers and held out stubbornly, like Hereward the Wake in the Isle of Ely some two hundred years later. Then the tide turned; a victory in Devon enabled Alfred to collect a considerable force; he marched against the main Danish army and smote it at Ethandune (Edington) in Wiltshire. This triumph resulted in the treaty of Wedmore or Chippenham (878); by which Alfred won the withdrawal of the Danes not only from Wessex but from all Mercia west and south of Watling Street—roughly, a line drawn from Chester to London—while the Danish chief or king, Guthrum, with some of his *jarls* or nobles, received baptism. The land beyond Watling Street became known as the Danelagh.

Alfred the Great, 871—901. (1) The Danish struggle, 871—878;

Alfred, who was now thirty, employed the fourteen years of peace which followed in the work of organisation and improvement. Himself a lover of learning, he sent for learned men even from over seas to help in educating his people, and in translating such works as were available for their

(2) the years of peace, 878—892;

edification. The personal piety and virtue of the heroic soldier, who was as wise as he was valiant, encouraged religion and righteous life in others. He caused a history of the English folk to be drawn up, which was the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, giving literary form to the idea of a single English nationality; besides translating Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* for the popular benefit. He compiled himself the "Dooms of Alfred," which means that he put into shape a legal system, which was a combination of the customs established by long usage, the judgments of preceding rulers, and the Mosaic law; the whole being modified by himself in consultation with his Witan or Council of State.

(3) Alfred's Army and Navy, 892—901;

But with the Danes lording it over half England, and unlimited possibilities of fresh swarms of them coming from over seas, it was not enough for an English king to organise education and religion and law. Alfred was as great, as far-seeing, as original, as inventive, in war as in peace. The English had had no fortresses: they relied on simple hard fighting in the open field. Alfred not only introduced some improvement in the system by which men were called to arms; he also began to establish fortified posts. When, in his later years, a fresh Danish war broke out, and the famous rover Hasting attacked England, stirring up his kinsfolk of the Danelagh to new broils, Alfred realised that the true way of dealing with the invader was not to wait till he was ashore but to meet him on the seas; and he, first of all English kings, built ships of war and manned them for the purpose of fighting the Northmen. But before he had created his fleet, there was a severe contest; for the invading Danes received assistance from the men of the Danelagh. Victory however rested with the English king, who passed in peace the last years of his life; which closed in 901.

(4) Wessex and the Danelagh.

The England that Alfred left was no longer the old collection of rival kingdoms: yet even now it could hardly be called one nation. For it was practically divided into the Anglo-Saxon half, west and south of Watling Street, and the Anglo-Danish half, east and north of that line. The Danes did not exterminate: they mingled readily with the Angles, being of a kindred Teutonic stock. But, on the whole, in the Danelagh, the Danish element predominated over the Anglian. Still the whole Danelagh recognised the overlordship of Wessex, though only in the same sort of fashion as Mercia had recognised the overlordship of Northumbria, or Northumbria that of Mercia: while the Danish population was quite as likely to give its sympathies to Danish invaders as to its Saxon neighbours and over-lords.

§ 2. *The Wessex kings of England; Edward the Elder to Edward the Martyr*, 901—978.

Only less great than Alfred himself, his son and grandson Edward (called the "Elder") and Athelstan completed the work of the hero-king.

Edward's accession was troubled by a cousin, Ethelwald, who attempted to assert a title to the throne. According to modern ideas, Ethelwald's title was good: for he was the son of Alfred's elder brother, Ethelred, and according to later law, it was he, not Alfred, who ought to have succeeded in 871. But there was never a strict law of succession recognised in England till long after the Plantagenet dynasty was established. In Saxon times, the son succeeded the father if there was no particular reason to the contrary; but for good reason he might be set on one side and replaced by another "Atheling" or Prince of the Blood Royal. When Ethelred was killed in the "year of battles," it was a matter of course that he should be followed not by a child but by his vigorous young brother. No one would have dreamed of making Alfred regent till the little Ethelwald grew up; nor would anyone in 901 have suggested that Edward, whose abilities had already been thoroughly tested, should withdraw to make way for his cousin. Ethelwald's challenge however showed where the danger to the unity of England lay. He threw himself on the support of the Danelagh, and the Danes naturally saw their chance of subverting the supremacy of Wessex; just as in 820 Egbert of Wessex had used the disputed succession in Mercia to subvert the supremacy of the mid-land kingdom.

Edward the Elder, 901—924.

The rule of succession.

The revolt came to an end when Ethelwald was killed in a great battle; but it had become clear that the supremacy of Wessex must be asserted much more decisively—that the Danelagh must not remain in a semi-independent state. In Alfred's time, his half of Mercia had been ruled by an "Ealdorman"—which meant very much what was afterwards called an "Earl"—to whom he gave his eldest daughter Ethelfled in marriage. The Ealdorman dying, Ethelfled was known as the "Lady of Mercia," exercising what we should call vice-regal powers on behalf of her brother Edward. She it was who brought practically all Mercia once more under one rule, carrying out the practice introduced by Alfred of establishing fortified posts in the Danish districts; and when the valiant lady died, Edward himself resumed the control of Mercia. In the meantime, he had also put an end to the independence of the south-eastern Danish kingdom of East

Subjugation of the Danelagh.

Anglia and Essex; so that he was not merely over-lord but actual king of all England south of the Humber. North Wales, Northumbria, and Strathclyde, also owned him as over-lord, while the Chronicle says that "the Scottish king and all the Scottish people chose him as father and lord."

Athelstan, 924—940.

Edward was succeeded in 924 by his son Athelstan, who, undisputed master of England south of the Humber, set himself to make his control of the north also a reality. The most noteworthy episode of his reign is the great combined rising of the kings of Scotland and Strathclyde, with the Dane Anlaf (who had been driven out of Northumbria) from Ireland. At the famed battle of Brunanburh, probably somewhere on the borders of Scotland, the rising was crushed (937). Athelstan died in 940.

The successors of Athelstan, 940—979.

Two younger brothers in turn succeeded him; Edmund and Edred. Both of them had a good deal of trouble with Northumbria, in spite of Brunanburh; and it appears that Edmund thought it as well to bestow Strathclyde on the king of the Scots, Malcolm, though not of course as independent of England. In the reign of Edred, the Northumbrian kingdom finally passed out of existence, its ruler from thenceforth having only the title of Earl. Edred, dying in 955, was followed by Edmund's elder son Edwy, a boy of fifteen. Edwy lived only four years, and was followed in 959 by his brother Edgar, known as the "Peaceful," from the general quiet which prevailed in his reign. This is the king of whom it was said that eight subject kings rowed his barge. Probably the steady government of the sixteen years of his reign—he was only thirty-one when he died—was mainly due to the influence of the great prelate known as St Dunstan. Young as Edgar was, he managed to be twice married, and to leave an elder son who became Edward "the Martyr"—murdered at Corfe by the servants of his step-mother Elfrida—and a younger son Ethelred; who was made king by that foul deed of his ambitious mother in 979, he being then nine years old.

St Dunstan.

From the end of Edred's reign to the beginning of Ethelred's the most important personality was that of St Dunstan, who was already becoming a leader of the strict reforming party among the Churchmen; who were zealous to put an end to a laxity of ecclesiastical discipline, and to a disregard of the canons or official ecclesiastical laws, notably in the matter of the marriage of the clergy, which were generally prevalent in England. The chroniclers of the time, from whom we derive our knowledge of the events, were monks of this party—bitter against the unlucky Edwy,

who was a puppet in the hands of a mother-in-law who quarrelled with Dunstan—warm in praise of Edgar, who in political and ecclesiastical affairs was guided by Dunstan—and much more interested in recording the miraculous doings of the Saint than anything else: but there is very little doubt that Dunstan's influence was on the side of sound policy, order, and morality, and that he was a man both wise and honest, though we cannot regard excessive authority of the ecclesiastical body in temporal affairs, and the subjection of the State to their interests, as a good thing, if prolonged.

§ 3. *The Danish Conquest*, 979—1042.

Northmen and Danes in the tenth century.

Since the last years of Alfred, the Danes or Northmen who had troubled England had been only the chiefs of the Danelagh —of Northumbria, of the Mercian division known as the Five Boroughs (Derby, Stamford, Leicester, Nottingham, and Lincoln) and of East Anglia with Essex. The Viking invasions had ceased. The Northmen had been leaving England almost alone, though they had established themselves in Ireland, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, and Cumbria. But they had also established a dominion in Northern France, where the Duchy of Normandy was a good deal like the English Danelagh, or rather like what the Danelagh might have been if it had been organised under a single ruler. And in the meantime, the lands from which the Vikings came had been consolidated into the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The storm was now to sweep down once more upon England, with an organisation and a power behind it unknown in the earlier incursions.

Ethelred the Redeless, 978—1016.

And England had no better head than Ethelred the "Unready," more correctly and with even more point "the Redeless" —Ethelred Evil-counsel—a man who could be perfectly relied on to take the most ruinous course and to employ the worst instruments that he could find. He was still a boy when the raiding began. When he was twenty, there was a great battle at Maldon, worthily celebrated by a contemporary poet, where some of the men of Essex fought like heroes and others proved craven. In that year the Archbishop of Canterbury gave evil counsel to the "redeless" young king, advising him to buy off the robbers, who departed well satisfied—with cheerful anticipations of being bought off again, which were not disappointed. Treachery and cowardice reigned in high places; utter demoralisation spread

through the ranks of the English, only emphasised by occasional displays of the highest heroism, which showed what they could still do when tolerably led. From 994, when Sweyn king of Denmark came himself, along with the still heathen Norse hero Olaf Tryggvason, and carried off a double ransom after meeting a stubborn check from the men of London, there is a ceaseless record of devastating incursions, and of huge ransoms mounting higher and higher, every four or five years. To pay these ransoms, Ethelred levied a new and hitherto unheard of tax on land, which bore the significant name of the Danegeld. In 1002, on St Brice's Day, Ethelred perpetrated a crime as foolish as wicked, ordering the massacre in cold blood of all Danes in Wessex—in sheer terror lest they should turn against him. So the wretched story goes on; till in 1013 Sweyn changed his plans and resolved to make an actual conquest of England. Then Ethelred took flight, to find an asylum in the court of Normandy, which had provided him eleven years before with his second wife Emma, the Duke's daughter.

The Danish Conquest, 1013.

England submitted to Sweyn, for resistance was hopeless. It made little difference that Sweyn died, for his son Canute (more correctly Knut) was ready to take his place. Still, the English resolved to send for Ethelred again. He ventured back, and his valiant son Edmund Ironside flung himself into the struggle. Ethelred died, and with their new, daring, and capable leader, it seemed that the tide might yet be turned. But the arch-traitor Edric Streona, an ealdorman who had repeatedly ruined the English defence, once more played the traitor at Assandune, and Edmund was defeated. Canute however came to terms, and the land was again divided, a good deal as in the days of Alfred. But the death of Edmund a few months later was decisive. England, weary of the struggle, accepted the young King of Denmark as lord of the whole island (1017).

Edmund Ironside, 1016.

Ethelred had had two sons by his first wife: Edmund Ironside and Edwy. The latter was soon removed by Canute. The two sons of Emma of Normandy, the second wife—Alfred and Edward—were young boys at the Norman court. Edmund's two male children were sent out of the country. Next year Emma accepted Canute's own hand in marriage, and became queen of England for the second time.

Canute the Rich, 1017—1035.

Hitherto Canute, who was only one and twenty, had given promise of being as ferocious as any of his ancestors. But after the first year, the old savage spirit only broke out in him two or three times. He made up his mind to rule England in the character

of a great English sovereign, King of Denmark though he was. He dismissed the great Danish force which had achieved the conquest, though at the expense of a heavier Danegeld than any before; and he gave the country peace, order, and good government Before he took matters in hand, Malcolm of Scotland possessed himself of Northumbria as far south as the Tweed, and set the borders of Scotland where they now stand, though in later years he professed himself Canute's "man." Canute divided his realm into four great provinces. Northumbria had a Danish earl, East Anglia another. For some months Edric Streona's treachery was rewarded by the earldom of Mercia. After that he was put to death, and his place was taken by an Englishman, Leofwine, whose son Leofric afterwards succeeded him. Wessex, in the wide sense of England south of the Thames, Canute kept at first in his own hands; but very soon he raised an Englishman, Godwin, who was of no high descent, to the earldom of Wessex, and married him to a kinswoman of his own, Gytha, whose nephew became king of Denmark a generation later. He treated the clergy and the monasteries handsomely, which encouraged the enthusiasm of the monkish chroniclers. He treated Danes and English in England as one folk, not as conquerors and conquered; and the twenty years of his rule must have seemed a golden age, after the nightmare reign of Ethelred.

When he died in 1035, England fell to his son Harold Harefoot, born before the marriage with Emma, of an English mother: Emma's son Harthacnut took Denmark, though Earl Godwin and Wessex—probably out of opposition to Leofric of Mercia—at first tried to establish him in England. But the opposition to Harold was brief. Then, though no one had proposed to revert to the line of Cerdic, Alfred, the elder of Ethelred's surviving sons, was enticed from Normandy, blinded, and allowed to die. Godwin was credited with the responsibility for the crime; historians still dispute whether he was innocent or guilty. In 1037 England united in accepting Harold; but he was a bloodthirsty young savage, and died unregretted in 1040. Then Harthacnut was brought from Denmark to be king; but he proved equally brutal and bloodthirsty. His mother Emma however exercised some influence, and it was considered safe for Edward, Ethelred's son, whose mother she also was, to accept an invitation to come over to England from Normandy, and be in some way associated with his half-brother as ruler of the kingdom. Harthacnut's excesses were hurrying him to an early grave; in 1042 he died in his cups at a wedding-feast. Edward "the Confessor" ascended the throne, the

Harold Harefoot, 1035—1040.

Harthacnut, 1040—1042.

last of the sons of Cerdic who reigned in England, though the blood of Cerdic flowed in the veins of all his successors save the two who ruled next after him; for even the Conqueror's wife was descended from a princess of the Royal house of Wessex.

§ 4. *The Saxon Restoration: the Confessor, Harold, and Hastings,* 1042—1066.

Edward the Confessor, 1042—1066.

Amiable, blameless, colourless, a pious devotee, the "Confessor" was revered by the monks as almost a saint; but of statesmanship he had no particle. His reign is mainly a record of the rivalry between the great families of Earl Godwin and Earl Leofric, tempered by the king's obstinate clinging to Norman associates and especially to Norman priests, which gave Godwin the opportunity of posing—perhaps genuinely—as a patriotic champion of "England for the English," the opponent of influences imported from France.

Northumbria as usual seems to stand somewhat apart, under its stout Earl Siward. Leofric, the Mercian earl, the spouse of Lady Godiva, was really lord of only a portion of that ancient kingdom. The rest of the land was divided between Godwin and his sons and kin. A nephew, Beorn, held the Five Boroughs; the eldest son, Sweyn, had another portion of Mercia with the adjacent piece of Wessex; the second son, Harold, had the eastern counties north of Thames. Among them, Godwin's family were earls of half England; his daughter, Edith, was made Edward's queen.

Triumph of the foreigners, 1051.

Trouble befell the great Earl's house; first through the violence and misconduct of his son Sweyn, who brought upon himself a well-deserved sentence of outlawry for the crimes of seduction and murder, yet was presently reinstated in his earldom. Then, nine years after Edward's accession, the Godwins suffered a temporary eclipse. The king had just procured the appointment of the Norman Robert of Jumièges to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, when his brother-in-law, another Norman, Eustace of Boulogne, fell foul of the citizens of Dover. Lives were lost; Edward ordered Godwin to punish Dover; Godwin flatly refused. Another batch of Frenchmen were infuriating the folk of Herefordshire, where Edward had bestowed a small earldom on one of them. Leofric and Siward supported the king, less from loyalty than from jealousy of Godwin; Wessex was divided between loyalty to the crown and approval of

Godwin's attitude; there was a commendable aversion to plunging in civil war; Godwin's cause grew daily weaker, and he and his sons had to fly the country—Godwin to Flanders, Harold and Gurth to Ireland. William Duke of Normandy took the opportunity to visit England, and said afterwards that Edward promised him the succession.

The return of the Godwins, 1052.

These events meant a triumph for the king's Norman friends; but the result was that when Godwin and Harold reappeared next year (1052) there was an overwhelming reaction in their favour. Sweyn, happily for the family, disappears from the narrative. All their honours and earldoms were restored, and when Godwin himself died in 1053 under a paralytic or apoplectic seizure, Harold became practically the ruler of England. Robert of Jumièges had already taken flight from the country, and the see of Canterbury, though not legally vacant, was bestowed on Stigand—an appointment which was confirmed at a later date, by a pope who was himself afterwards deposed and stigmatised as an "anti-pope."

Scotland and Wales.

To this latter half of Edward's reign belongs the story of Macbeth, and of Siward's invasion of Scotland in support of Malcolm Canmore, who soon after wrested the crown from the usurper. About the same time, the Welsh, headed by the valiant and successful king Griffith, harried the Marches or border shires; but peace was made, and Griffith married Aldgyth the granddaughter of Leofric. It was not till 1063 that another rising caused Harold to reduce the country more thoroughly than had yet been done—slaying Griffith and later marrying his widow—but still leaving it practically independent.

Mercia and Northumbria.

Between 1055 and 1065, another of the Godwinsons, Tostig, was given the earldom of Northumbria on the death of old Siward; on whose young son Waltheof was bestowed the small midland or East Anglian earldom of Huntingdon. The hostility of the families of Leofric and Godwin had already been illustrated by the outlawry of Leofric's son Alfgar, to whom Harold's earldom of East Anglia had been transferred when Harold himself succeeded Godwin as Earl of Wessex. On Alfgar's outlawry it was again transferred to Gurth, Harold's brother. Then old Leofric died, and Alfgar was restored to Mercia; he too died, and was succeeded by his son Edwin. Now Tostig's rule of Northumbria was so evil, that the Northumbrians revolted and chose for their earl Morkere or Morcar, the second son of Alfgar. Whether from distrust of Tostig, or in the hope of reconciling the family feud,

Harold supported the outlawry of Tostig and the establishment of Morcar in Northumbria. Thus the northern half of England was ruled by the grandsons of Leofric and the southern half by the sons of Godwin; while Tostig departed into exile, vowing vengeance, and Harold endeavoured to cement the alliance between the houses of Leofric and Godwin by marrying Aldgyth, widow of Griffith and sister of Edwin and Morcar.

It was probably in the last year of the Confessor's reign that Harold by some ill-hap fell into the hands of Guy of Ponthieu, was handed over to Duke William of Normandy, and took some oath of homage to him which William at least chose to regard as a pledge to secure him the succession to Edward.

Whatever Harold may have sworn, when Edward died in January 1066 the national Witan unanimously elected him king of England; ignoring the hereditary claims of Edgar the Atheling, the grandson of Edmund Ironside, who with his sister Margaret had been brought back to England by his father—now dead—some years before.

Accession of Harold, 1066.

The Norman Duke was prompt to proclaim Harold a perjured traitor, and to set about preparing a mighty armament wherewith to make good his claim to the English throne; which rested on nothing whatever but the alleged promises of the Confessor and Harold, neither of whom had any sort of right to determine the succession. But Harold's oath taken on the holy relics at Rouen, and the fact of his consecration by the uncanonical Archbishop Stigand, sufficed to make the Pope bless the banners of the Duke; and the prospect of rich territorial rewards gathered nobles and adventurers to his support. Through spring and summer he gathered his forces and built his fleet; Harold for his part gathering also a mighty army and fleet which lay on the south coast through the summer, waiting for the invader.

The invader tarried; but Tostig, venomous and vengeful, came on his own account to try and harry Wessex. Beaten off by Harold's ships he sailed for Northumbria, but when he landed was driven away again by Edwin and Morcar. Summer dragged into autumn; the Wessex army's provisions failed; on Sept. 8th it was disbanded, and the fleet was dispersed, and more than dispersed, by a great storm. Then Harold was greeted in London with the news that Tostig was in Northumbria again; and with him the valiant king of Norway, Harold Hardrada, a famous warrior, bent on conquering England even as Sweyn of Denmark had conquered it fifty years before. Rapidly calling fresh musters, Harold

Stamford Bridge, Sept. 1066.

the king flashed north; in a fortnight he was near York. Meanwhile Hardrada had already routed the northern earls at Fulford Bridge: he had other matter to deal with now. Harold sent messages of amity with great proffers for a reconciliation to Tostig: for the Norse king, if he would not depart—"seven feet of English ground, or a little more if he needs it, seeing he is said to be a big man." Tostig stood by his ally; and the armies joined battle in the terrific slaughter of Stamford Bridge, where, when the victory was practically won, the Norsemen refused the offered quarter and fell fighting. Both Tostig and Hardrada were among the slain.

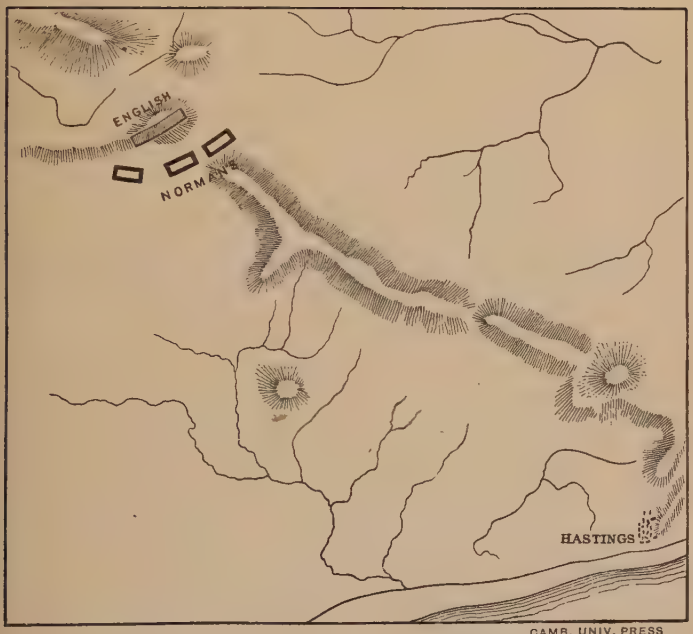
Battle of Hastings, Oct. 14.

This was on Sept. 25th. Three days later, William and his army landed on the now unguarded south coast at Pevensey. Thence they marched to Hastings and fortified themselves: ravaging the neighbouring country. Swift and indomitable, Harold was back again in the south on Oct. 13th, with the Wessex levies once more gathered to his banners; occupying a strong position a few miles from Hastings, now marked by Battle Abbey. No very great blame can attach to Edwin and Morcar for failing to reorganise their forces in time to join him. Probably Harold would have done wisely to fall back wasting the country, and await reinforcements. But he would not lay Wessex waste; perhaps he looked to repeat the swift triumph of Stamford Bridge. On Oct. 14th was fought the great battle which ended the Saxon kingdom for ever. Hour after hour the Norman horsemen hurled themselves up the slopes against the English shield-wall, and were rolled back again and again. At last the English yielded to temptation, and dashed from their lines upon the flying foe; but the flight was a feint, and the old impenetrable formation was never recovered. Then the Duke bade his archers shoot high, so that the arrows should drop on their foe; one of them pierced the eye of the English King. At last the storm of attack broke through; round the "Fighting Man," the flag of Harold, no quarter was given or taken. When night fell, the spot was marked by a great mound of slain. The field of Senlac or Hastings had been fought and lost.

§ 5. *English Institutions before the Conquest.*

King and Witan.

In the England which had since Alfred's day become so far consolidated that it recognised one king and only one, we see on a larger scale the development of what had been the working arrangements of the small kingdoms of earlier years. The kingdom had its State Assembly of "wise men"—the Witan or



THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

Witenagemot—meaning generally persons of authority and position. What rules there were, deciding who had a right to attend, we do not know. With the Witan clearly lay the right of electing the successor on a monarch's death. The Witan of Wessex seems, until her kings became acknowledged kings of England, invariably to have made its selection from among the unquestioned descendants of Cerdic; preferring a son or brother of the last king, but not holding strictly even to that limit. The Witan of all England accepted Canute and his two sons, restored the House of Cerdic in the person of the Confessor, and chose Harold in place of the young Atheling. After the Conquest, the "notables" who composed the Great Council, which was the representative of the old Witan, were the greater and lesser barons, in other words, the principal holders of land, and high ecclesiastics. The qualification probably corresponded to that for the English assembly.

The "Dooms."

Legislation was the work of the king, in consultation with his Witan. We have seen that Alfred issued a written code of Laws, his "Dooms" or decisions; into which modifications were introduced by the Dooms of later kings, among whom Canute was conspicuous. In later times, the code was known as "the good laws of king Edward," but that only meant the laws which were in force in his day, the laws as he received them; for he introduced no material changes. The Dooms are almost entirely taken up with the penalties for crimes, mostly stealing, and cattle-stealing in particular, with regulations for the capture of criminals, and with the conduct of trials. All these were based on traditional customs and precedents, which varied in different parts of the country and required to be more or less brought into a general harmony and uniformity.

It was natural that among these the most prominent should have been the Wessex Dooms, which had been put into shape to some extent and written down some two hundred years before Alfred's day by an earlier king of Wessex, Ine. From these we derive a good deal of knowledge as to social distinctions. Offences against the person, injuries to life or limb, were punished by fines—*wergilt*—varying according to the station of the sufferer; a custom which was evidently introduced to put an end to the primitive practice of blood-feuds, under which the kin of a murdered man avenged his death on the murderer and his kin, thus setting up retaliations in endless series, which it was a point of honour to maintain. But when the wergilt had been paid, the thing was finished and done with. At the top of the tree in the scale of penalties came the king; next to him, the Archbishop and the Athelings or those of the

Ranks of Society.

Blood Royal; then the ealdormen and bishops; then thegns; then ceorls; and below the ceorls, the theows. The ealdorman was the ruler of the great territorial division called a shire; the thegn, a considerable land-holder; the ceorl the free husbandman or yeoman, with his own plot of ground; while the theow was in some sort a slave, bound to service. Later a practice grew up of the lesser folk "commending" themselves to the greater, rendering service in return for protection—a step in the direction of the feudal system which was growing up on the Continent. At the close of the period, it is clear that many of those who sprang from what was originally the class of free ceorls were no longer free in the full sense, but held their small plots as dependents of some "lord" to whom they owed some kind of service.

The practice arose of placing more than one shire under the control of an ealdorman; and this was extended with the disappearance of the old kingdoms. Thus Alfred's son-in-law, the husband of Ethelfled "the Lady of Mercia," was ealdorman of (English) Mercia, which included many shires. This was perhaps the origin of the appointment of shire reeves (sheriffs) or magistrates. The title of ealdorman was changed to that of earl; probably a new meaning, borrowed from the kindred Danish term *jarl*, was given to the term *eorl*, which at first seems to have applied to persons of distinguished ancestry. We saw that Canute divided the whole country into four great earldoms; though their number was increased later, mainly for the benefit of the sons of Godwin.

The Borough and the Hundred also developed after the time of Alfred. In his reign and in that of Edward the Elder we saw the fortification of towns coming into existence, especially in Mercia. The fortified town naturally became a trading or market centre; and then the *burh* or Borough had its own organisation and its own chief magistrate or port-reeve. Outside the towns, the shires were divided into "hundreds," which probably meant originally groups of a hundred households, each holding its *hundred-moot* or assembly monthly, to punish offenders against the law. Similarly, the *shire-moot* met at regular intervals under the presidency of the sheriffs. These assemblies were gatherings of the freemen of the hundreds or shires, whether thegns or ceorls. Nothing existed which at all corresponded to trial by jury or to the examination and cross-examination of a modern law-court. Practically, the complainant had to bring forward a sufficient number of responsible persons who swore that they believed the accused to be guilty; the accused was cleared if he could bring forward a sufficient number of responsible persons

The Borough.

Shire-moot and Hundred-moot.

who were ready to declare that they believed him innocent; if he failed, the "moot" passed judgment, inflicting the penalty in accordance with the authorised "dooms."

Trinoda Necessitas.

We need not here discuss the very interesting and much debated question as to the primitive customs out of which these institutions grew. It will be sufficient to note further that the whole population was liable for service in the *fyrd* or militia, which was summoned generally by shires; and similarly for the maintenance of fortifications, and of bridges—the three public duties comprised under the term *Trinoda Necessitas*. With this we may complete our sketch of the general outline of the national institutions found in England by the Conqueror; which, modified by or modifying the feudal system, gave birth to the British Constitution.

BOOK II.

IN THE DAYS OF THE BARONS.

1066—1509.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONQUEROR.

§ 1. *William the Conqueror*, 1066—1087.

William's movements.

The last of the sons of Godwin fell on the disastrous field of Hastings. If the jealous earls of Mercia and Northumbria, the brothers Edwin and Morcar, had hoped that chance might place the English crown on one of their own heads, they were disappointed; for the Witan turned to the House of Wessex, and elected the young Atheling, Edgar, the grandson of Edmund Ironside. But it was one thing to name a boy king, and another to find a man who was capable of succeeding where Harold had failed; who could gather and lead a united army against the invader, and bid fierce defiance to the grim Norman.

No such man was forthcoming. While Englishmen sat still and did nothing, William acted. Before marching on London he descended on the coast forts. He fell upon Romney and smote it: Dover yielded prompt submission. Then he turned to Canterbury, which followed the example of Dover. Then he fell ill; but while perforce he tarried, Winchester and other towns of the south-eastern shires submitted; the Confessor's widow, Harold's sister Edith, sent gifts to the Conqueror. From London itself, Archbishop Stigand and others began to negotiate. Still, when William recovered, he did not march at once on London, but moved westward; crossing the Thames at Wallingford, to throw his army between the capital and any possible movement of the northern earldoms. Having thus cut off London from succour, he turned east again, laying the country

waste. Resistance was so manifestly out of the question that the Atheling himself, with sundry bishops and leading citizens, came to the Conqueror and offered him the crown. On Christmas Day, he was crowned at Westminster. As far as forms went, he had succeeded to the throne not by conquest but by election of the Witan: but that he had won it by the strong hand as a foreign invader was a truth which received grievous illustration on the day of the coronation. For when the shout was heard, of the assembled people acclaiming the new king, his Norman troops took it for a cry of battle, and fell to burning. Amid this ominous tumult the Norman was crowned king of England.

William crowned King.

William had no wish to rule as a tyrant; he intended to control English and Normans with an even hand: but the hand was to be no gentle one; its mastery was to be felt convincingly. The realm, however, had been won for him by the aid not only of Norman barons and knights, his own vassals as Duke of Normandy, but also of other miscellaneous barons and knights who had joined his standard, with the Pope's blessing and with the promise of a goodly share in the spoil. Moreover, William had a convenient theory that Harold, in wearing the crown of England and bidding him defiance, had acted as a perjured traitor, and that all who fought for him shared his guilt. Their lands and goods were therefore forfeit by law, and might be legitimately bestowed on his own followers, Norman or Breton or Fleming. Thus most of the lands of Wessex and East Anglia, whence Harold had gathered his followers, passed out of English into what may be called, inclusively, Norman hands. Also it followed naturally that the new proprietors should hold their lands not under the old English system, but under the system to which they were accustomed—that is, not as absolute owners but as tenants, holding from the crown in virtue of the payment of certain recognised services and dues. Those English who had recognised Harold but had not fought for him were also, in William's eyes, guilty, though in a less degree. So they were not deprived altogether of their lands, which were confiscated and then restored to them on the payment of heavy fines—but on the new Norman tenure, not the old English one.

Distribution of estates.

The confiscations at present did not extend to the Northern earldoms; roughly speaking, they were covered by the earldoms of the sons of Godwin, the shires south and east of a line drawn from the Wash to the Severn, together with Hereford beyond Severn, but excluding Devon and Cornwall. Edwin and Morcar and Waltheof had held aloof from Harold. But all this southern district was now

garrisoned by William's foreign vassals: while the Northern earls had not been long in proffering allegiance.

Before taking his new kingdom regularly in hand, William wished to put his dukedom of Normandy in thorough order. Thither he returned—taking in his train the three great English earls, Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof, as well as the Atheling. He left behind in chief control Odo, bishop of Bayeux, ruling the district south of the Thames, and William Fitz-Osbern ruling the whole of the north, except Northumberland. Northumberland itself was handed over to a new English earl, Copsige, who however was promptly murdered; after which that region subsided for a time into vague anarchy, under another Englishman, Gospatric, who purchased from William the succession to Copsige.

Odo and Fitz-Osbern.

During the King's absence, which lasted through 1067, his lieutenants would not or could not control the new Norman proprietors, who made haste to tyrannise over and despoil the native population; and these in turn soon became fiercely incensed. Returning in December, 1067, William found that the south-western shires thought they could bargain with him about their own liberties, so in 1068 he marched upon Exeter. A tolerably prompt submission however was rewarded by lenient treatment. This opposition in the West had hardly been suppressed when Mercia and Northumbria rose in the name of the Atheling, with the idea that the kings of Scotland or Denmark might come to their aid—for the former had to wife a daughter of the House of Cerdic, the Atheling's sister, and the latter based a claim to the English crown on the Danish monarchy of Canute. But the aid was not forthcoming at the moment; Edwin and Morcar found second thoughts best, and the Mercian rising caused little trouble. The earls were pardoned; but a Norman was made earl of Leicester, and castles were raised to hold the country in awe. The North followed suit, and Edgar Atheling retired to the court of his Scottish brother-in-law, Malcolm Canmore (who figures in Shakspeare's *Macbeth*). A Flemish knight, Robert de Commines, took the place of Gospatric. Commines proved too much of a brigand for the Northumbrians, and in the following January (1069) there was another rising in which he was slaughtered; but again William by a rapid march quelled the insurrection without trouble.

The insurrection of 1068.

As the summer passed, however, King Swegen or Sweyn of Denmark decided in his turn to try an invasion, the population of Yorkshire and the Fen country being largely Danish. A great fleet sailed into the Humber, and in September York was seized;

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ENGLAND AND THE LOTHIANS

Norman and Plantagenet period

the population of course siding with the invaders, and Earl Waltheof distinguishing himself by his feats of arms.

Revolt and subjugation of the North, 1069.

The flame was kindled everywhere—in Devon, on the Welsh Marches, and elsewhere. William struck at the Northumbrian rising. The Danes withdrew to Holderness, where the King could not attack them without ships; but he made the North a desert from the Humber to the Tees. Then he harried Mercia. In the South and West, his lieutenants did their work effectively. In these operations the winter of 1069—1070 was passed, and in early summer the Danes sailed away. Sweyn did not think the business of dispossessing Duke William sufficiently promising. All that was left of the insurrection was the Camp of Refuge in the Fens, where Hereward the Wake long maintained a stubborn resistance to the Norman.

Hereward the Wake.

The only quite certain fact about that semi-mythical hero is that he and his band held out in the Isle of Ely till the end of 1071, and that William was obliged to undertake in person the business of crushing their resistance. His legendary exploits may be agreeably studied in the stirring if somewhat gory novel by Charles Kingsley which bears his name.

The Conquest completed, 1072.

With the fall of Ely, Edwin and Morcar vanish from the story; they were in some way mixed up with Hereward's proceedings. Waltheof, restored to favour, remains the only surviving English chief. Edgar Atheling flitted awhile between Scotland and Flanders, but ultimately made his peace with William and caused no more trouble. Malcolm of Scotland, after an incursion by the Conqueror in 1072, made a compact of amity, receiving lands in England and doing homage for them. The English chroniclers affirm, and the Scottish chroniclers deny, that he also did homage for Scotland. This treaty practically concluded the conquest of England. Henceforth, such trouble as William had in his new kingdom arose from his own Norman baronage; the principal embroilments of his later years lie outside of England altogether, having their source in Normandy and in the relations of its Duke with other Dukes and Counts, or with his own sons—affairs which kept William himself out of the country for the greater part of his time.

Troubles from Norman barons, 1075—1082.

Of disturbances in England, the only one which might have become serious was a conspiracy in 1075. The son and successor of William Fitz-Osbern, Roger Earl of Hereford, and the Earl of Norfolk, Ralf Guader, both being young men, elected to disobey the King's orders in respect of a marriage between the families which was forbidden by him.

Having resolved to defy him, and having also other grievances, they further determined to throw off their allegiance altogether, and drew, or tried to draw, Earl Waltheof into a plot for the partition of the kingdom. Waltheof repented, and divulged the scheme to Archbishop Lanfranc, William being in Normandy at the time. The English supported the Government, and helped to overthrow the two rebels. Roger was captured and imprisoned for life: Ralf Guader escaped from the country. Waltheof was seized, found guilty of treason, and executed; and so disappeared the last of the English earls. Once again in 1082 we hear of the king being obliged to lay heavy hands on one of his own Normans—his half-brother Odo of Bayeux. In this case there was no rebellion, but Odo, in pursuit of ambitious projects of his own, designed, in conjunction with Hugh, Earl of Chester, to lead a military expedition on the Continent, their troops being drawn from England. William, absent at the moment, heard the news and promptly reappeared, suppressed the whole scheme, and shut the bishop in prison—where he remained till the King's death.

William and his sons.

The troubles in Normandy were largely due to quarrels between William and his eldest son Robert. When the Duke invaded England, he had installed his son as Duke of Normandy, after a fashion of the times; not as substitute for himself but to secure the succession. Robert (who is known by the nickname Curt-hose) was a sturdy and valiant soldier, a worthy knight but not over wise; and got it into his head that he had a right, after the conquest, to act as the reigning Duke of Normandy. The neighbouring nobles, as well as the king of France, who was the Duke's feudal superior, encouraged the dispute which resulted; and there were plenty of William's own vassals who did the same—very much preferring a weak over-lordship like Robert's to the iron hand of his father. In one of Robert's attempts to assert his rights by force of arms, father and son met in single combat on the field of Gerberoi, without recognising each other; William was unhorsed and would have been slain, had he not been rescued by an English thegn, Tokig of Wallingford. Robert was keenly distressed when he found that he had been so near killing his own father, and a reconciliation was patched up. But the grim William had a thorough contempt for the incapacity of his eldest-born; and though he meant him to succeed to the Dukedom, he chose that his second son William should follow him on the throne of England.

William's death.

In 1087, while heading an expedition against the town of Mantes, the Conqueror, now sixty years old, received an internal injury from which he very shortly died. To Robert he

left Normandy; to William England; to his clever third son, Henry, no territory at all. His daughter Adela was wedded to the Count of Blois. Of that marriage we shall hear again. For the laws of succession in those days were very unsettled, as between members of the same family; and when the Conqueror's sons were dead, his daughter's son claimed the English throne.

§ 2. *The New System.*

We have seen that at the very beginning of the Conqueror's reign nearly all the great estates in the southern half of England were parcelled out among his Norman and other foreign followers. The same process was repeated after every insurrection, so that by 1072 the Normans were in like manner spread over Mercia and Northumbria to the Tyne; and where the Normans came, their castles rose, massive stone buildings made to defy every attack.

Limitation of estates.

But of one thing the Conqueror was careful. He saw in France a king to whom he owed allegiance as suzerain or feudal head, and to whom other dukes and counts owed a like allegiance. But every duke or count was lord of a great region, had his own host of vassals, and made wars and alliances with other dukes and counts very much at his own pleasure, while the suzerain was powerless to control them. He had watched from abroad a movement in England along the same lines, till, though the descendant of Cerdic might be king, the land was divided into the great earldoms of the sons of Godwin, of Alfgar (Edwin and Morcar) and of Siward (Waltheof). He would have none of his barons standing in such a relation to him; and the great earldoms vanished. A trusted servant might hold wide territories, but they were scattered. His earls were earls of a shire only—of Hereford, of Kent, of Norfolk, of Northumberland; not of Mercia, or Northumbria, or Wessex. In France the vassals of the Duke of Normandy or of the Count of Anjou owed allegiance to their immediate feudal superior, the Duke or the Count; it was commonly held that their obedience was due to him, not to *his* feudal superior the King of France. In England the Conqueror's object was to multiply the tenants-in-chief who had no feudal superior but the King himself; and though one man might be tenant-in-chief in respect of several estates, yet if they were scattered over England he could not combine them into a principality or semi-independent state like Normandy. Fitz-Osbern or Odo of Bayeux might be justiciar of half the country, but only as representing the King; they were overlords only of the vassals on their own estates.

Tenants-in-chief.

This was William's plan for averting the great danger of the feudal system as it prevailed on the Continent. There, one great feudatory—still more, a combination of two or three—could set the suzerain at defiance. In England, before any great district could stand up in arms against the suzerain, a whole group of tenants-in-chief would have to be in agreement, all able to rely on the rest to act in concert. This check on the power of feudatories or great vassals of the crown was further strengthened to some extent by formal insistence on the doctrine that the vassals' vassals were bound to obey not their immediate superior but the suzerain, if the demands of the two should clash. This was probably the point of the "Oath of Salisbury" in 1086; when a great gathering of crown tenants and their vassals was held, in view of a possible Danish invasion, and all who were present swore to be "the king's men" against all his enemies. This view of the relation between vassals and over-lords in the course of time prevailed in England, held the power and ambition of individual barons in check, and forced them to act in concert when the Royal power threatened to become tyrannical; whereas the other view predominated on the Continent. An important difference was thus made between feudalism in England and feudalism in Europe.

The moot of Salisbury.

English institutions had in some ways been changing so as to become more like the feudal model. Men who held land had taken to placing themselves under the protection of bigger and more powerful landholders, and rendering them services in return for this protection. The new feudalism adopted this custom to itself. The lawyers began to lay it down that the man who had thus "commended himself" to some "lord" held his land from that lord, not as his own property; and the lord in turn held it either from a superior lord or baron in the same way, or direct from the King. Thus all the land was the King's; the occupier of the soil was no longer regarded as the owner but as a tenant, either of the King or of a vassal of the King. It followed that he could no longer, as of old, transfer himself and his land to the protection of some other lord—as far as he was concerned, the land was his lord's property, and he himself was permanently attached to his lord's service. The services and dues rendered of old for protection by the free landholder became services and dues rendered for the land itself; and when the King confiscated estates, and either bestowed them on his Normans or allowed the old owners to ransom them, Norman and Englishman alike held them in consideration of feudal services. On the other hand, rights of "manorial" jurisdiction were now deemed—in accordance with Norman but not with English

Feudal tenure.

law—to belong to the lord; which partly, though not altogether, superseded the old shire-moot and hundred-moot. The towns, however, not falling among the landed estates, retained their old liberties and their old jurisdictions. The famous Domesday Book, compiled at the end of William's reign, was a record of a survey of the country (with some omissions), showing by whom and under what conditions all the land was held, and what were the charters or locally established customs of the towns as well as of the country districts.

Adaptations of Saxon system.

The central government was changed little in form but a good deal in effect. For the Witan remained still in the shape of a Great Council of the leading men, but of men brought up on the feudal theory; so that it ceased to be a national Council claiming to impose its will on the King, and became an assembly of notables to give the suzerain advice on such matters as he desired to submit to it. The King's treasury was supplied by his feudal dues, and for special purposes he could levy the land-tax which had been instituted of old under the name of Danegeld. William was not a legislator, *i.e.* a maker of new laws. He introduced what was to a great extent a new system, but he did so almost unconsciously; because it was the system to which he and his Norman followers had been accustomed all their lives. And he made government easier by having information and facts collected and registered methodically.

William and the Church.

In another direction the Norman Conquest brought about important changes: it Normanised the Church. In 1070 William brought over a great churchman, Lanfranc, to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and to remove the reproach of laxity and uncanonical behaviour from the clergy. Lanfranc introduced stricter discipline, putting a check, for instance, on the marriage of clerics. With William's approval, the government of the Church was separated from the temporal government, clerical synods meeting at the same time as the secular councils. In 1076 the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions were definitely separated, Church courts thenceforward dealing with matters which seemed to belong to the Church as the guardian of morals and religion. But while the authority of the Church was thus distinguished from that of the civil power, and her character, in intention at least, was spiritualised, neither William nor Lanfranc was disposed to submit to the tremendous pretensions which the Papacy was at this time putting forward, and which were zealously pressed by the great Pope Gregory VII., who became Pope in 1073. Gregory claimed that William held the throne of England under a grant from the previous

William and the Pope.

Pope, Alexander II., and as a vassal of Rome—a claim which William declined to admit for a moment; recognising only such spiritual authority as had been acknowledged by his Saxon predecessors. Lanfranc himself, on a mission to the Papal Court, made for the time being a settlement of another question, that of "lay investitures." The Pope affirmed that the right of making ecclesiastical appointments lay with him, and that, in nominating officers of the Church, secular princes were guilty of a profane usurpation. Lanfranc showed that this was not a usurpation but a privilege which had been conceded to the English Kings, with certain reservations; and he persuaded Gregory to compromise by confirming the privilege to William during his lifetime. Gregory in fact was not willing to forfeit the Conqueror's goodwill; seeing that William, whatever his faults, was at least a loyal and indeed a generous son of the Church, though determined to admit no Papal interference in secular concerns, or curtailment of rights or privileges enjoyed by his predecessors on the throne of England.

The Forest Laws.

The thing that remained all but intolerable to the English folk was that the English thegns, great and small, were to so great an extent dispossessed, and their places taken by insolent foreigners, who, with few exceptions, paid very little regard to the rights of the weak, over whom they tyrannised almost unchecked; though it was William's honest intention to check oppression. But for one piece of purely selfish legislation William was directly responsible. "He loved the tall deer as he had been their father" says the chronicler; he introduced the Norman Forest Laws, which made the slaying of the King's deer a greater crime than the slaying of the King's subjects; and to make his great hunting-ground, the New Forest in Hampshire, he swept away churches and villages. The chroniclers, in whose eyes the sacrilege involved was the worst part of the proceeding, exaggerated the destruction wrought; probably in the great forest all but some ten square miles had been waste before. Still the whole idea was unheard of in England, utterly repugnant to all tradition; and it was perhaps the innovation which did most to keep up among the English the bitter sense that they were a conquered people.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONQUEROR'S SUCCESSORS: 1087—1154.

§ 1. *The Red King*, 1087—1100.

William II.

None loved the Conqueror. "Stark man he was, and men had great awe of him" wrote the chronicler. But grasping, merciless, and relentless as he was, it was his will to be just; he was no profligate; after his fashion, he feared God. His son William II.,—Rufus, the Red King—had some of his abilities, none of his virtues, all of his vices exaggerated, and some other vices in addition. He was brutal, savagely licentious, a monstrous blasphemer. He was indeed moved by the fear of God, when he thought he was dying; but at no other time.

The Conqueror left Normandy to Robert and England to Rufus; but it rested with the Witan—or the Council—to elect or reject him. Rufus hurried to England from his father's death-bed, obtained Lanfranc's support, and was chosen King, promising to be guided by the Archbishop. Difficulties arose fast enough. Nearly all the barons of England were barons of Normandy also, owing allegiance to Duke as well as King. When Duke and King were one man, this was no matter; when they were two, and the two were at odds, it would matter very much. Many of the barons now thought it would be much more convenient to have the indolent Duke Robert as their sole over-lord, than to be the vassals of the fierce and energetic William for their English estates. Before the Red King had been six months on the throne, half a dozen of the greatest barons, headed by his uncle Odo of Bayeux (whom he had set at liberty) were in open revolt. William took the bold step of throwing himself on the support of his English subjects; with complete success. They knew at least that the rule of the barons, when curbed by a strong master like the Conqueror, was less intolerable than when they were left to themselves. The

Revolt in support of Robert.

King made fair promises; the "fyrds" or local levies answered his call; the revolt was crushed, and Odo was banished. Nominally, the object of the rising had been to assert the claim of William's elder brother to the throne; but Robert only made a half-hearted attempt at invasion, and was easily beaten off.

William's exactions.

The Red King made his promises without the least intention of keeping them. In another year, Lanfranc was dead, and in a short time William's chief counsellor or instrument was another churchman of a very different type, Ranulf Flambard. William cared nothing for the welfare of his subjects, but he meant to be obeyed, and he meant the barons to feel that he was their master. Therefore to some extent he kept them in order, and restrained them from despotic violence. But he put no restraints on himself, or on the group of parasites who formed his court. He supplied his treasury by violent distortions of feudal law. Thus on the death of a "tenant" he maintained that the estate reverted to the crown; that the heir had no right of succession, but must pay heavy fees, arbitrarily fixed, before he could enter on his inheritance. In the same way, when an episcopal see or an abbey fell vacant, he would make no new appointment, but seized the revenues for himself; or where he did make an appointment, he required huge fees from the new bishop or abbot. Thus, on the death of Lanfranc, four years passed with no Archbishop of Canterbury at all.

Scotland, 1091—7.

One of William's chief desires was to get Normandy for himself, and in 1090 he made war on Robert, by way of vengeance for his brother's share in the rebellion of Odo. The quarrel was ended for the time by a mutual agreement that, whichever of the two brothers survived the other, he should succeed to the dominions of both. This was followed in 1091 by a campaign in Scotland, which was concluded by a treaty in which King Malcolm promised William the same obedience which he had yielded to his father. Rufus however made another attack next year, seizing Carlisle and the southern portion of what was called Strathclyde—the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland—which still belonged to the King of Scotland. In 1093, Malcolm retorted by invading England, but was ambushed and killed by Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland. After that, there was confusion in Scotland for some years, successive sons of Malcolm and his brother Donalbain capturing the throne from each other; till at last, in 1097, one of them, Edgar, was finally established by William's assistance. The anarchy in Scotland, however, during these years left Rufus free to follow his own devices elsewhere.

In the meantime, Rufus again went to war with Robert in 1094, but without much result, though he persuaded his brother Henry to take his part. The war, however, gave him an opportunity for a characteristic trick. While he was in Normandy, Flambard summoned the fyrd of the southern counties for service in Normandy. According to the rule, they gathered, and a sum of money for their expenses was collected at the same time. Thereupon they were disbanded, but the money was kept.

Ranulf Flambard.

In 1095 there was a new and formidable baronial rebellion, at the head of which was Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland. The Red King's rule, however harsh and oppressive to the common folk, was still more resented by the barons, who had a strong objection to being held in control. But William's arms were successful; as usually happened, though not always. The rebellion was crushed. Some of the leaders were imprisoned, and blinded, or otherwise mutilated: others suffered little beyond the loss of lands, or a heavy fine.

Mowbray's rebellion.

In 1096 however, matters were simplified for Rufus. The power of the Mohammedan or Saracen dynasties threatened the Byzantine Empire at the eastern extremity of Europe, and was with difficulty held in check in Spain, in the west. The Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was in the hands of the "Paynim"; Christian pilgrims were mal-treated. In 1095 the preaching of Peter the Hermit and the enthusiasm of Pope Urban roused Christendom; the First Crusade was organised to deliver the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracens; and the Duke of Normandy was one of those who felt moved to "take the Cross." Money was needed. He handed over his dukedom as security for a loan of ten thousand marks from his brother of England, and in 1096 went off to fight, manfully enough, in Palestine. The Red King was dead before Robert had found his way home again.

The first Crusade, 1096.

During the last four years of his reign, Rufus found occupation in Scotland, in Wales, in his ecclesiastical quarrels, and in grandiose schemes for the conquest of France. The first of these gave him little trouble. He established or helped to establish Edgar the son of Malcolm Canmore on the Scottish throne, in 1097; Edgar promising to be his "man," that is, owning him as feudal superior. Edgar, it is to be noted, was the first Scots King who identified himself rather with the Lowlands and his Saxon subjects than with the Highlands and his Celtic subjects. It is also to be noted that it is quite impossible to decide, among the conflicting records, how far the Lowlands—at least, the eastern Lothians—

Scotland, 1097.

were regarded as the independent property of the crown of Scotland or as a fief held from England.

The Lords Marchers.

For Wales, we remark that the Earls of Chester, of Shrewsbury, and of Hereford, ruling the border shires, and having as "Marchers" (that is dwellers on the marches of hostile territory, liable to invasion) exceptional powers—like the Earl of Northumberland—extended their dominions some way into Wales: but though Rufus himself invaded that country three times, his own incursions were practically failures. On the other hand, we observe an ominous accumulation of power in the hands of the brothers of the House of Montgomerie, of whom the most important was the very able and unspeakably cruel Robert of Belême—who purchased from Rufus the succession to the earldom of Shrewsbury on the death of his brother Hugh.

The quarrel with Anselm.

Of the ecclesiastical quarrels we have had a hint. From 1089 to 1093, William had held the see of Canterbury vacant. In the spring of that year he was taken ill; and illness, while it lasted, brought repentance. He gave ear to the admonitions of Anselm, the Abbot of Bec; vowed that he would amend his ways, make restitution for his evil deeds, and fill up the ecclesiastical vacancies; and finally appointed Anselm to the Archbishopric, in spite of that great man's extreme reluctance. Anselm was a famous scholar and theologian, and of a most saint-like character; he was all gentleness and Christian charity, but he was at the same time unswervingly resolute; nothing would make him deviate a hair's-breadth from what he thought right. He had no hesitation whatever in rebuking vice in the King or in any one else; and when William's illness and his fit of repentance passed away together, there was not much chance that the King and his Archbishop would remain in agreement for any long time. William demanded from Anselm, as being now a feudal vassal, an "aid" for his war in Normandy. Anselm denied the claim, but offered a present of 500 marks. William refused the present; but after a while said he would take it. Anselm had in the interval given it to the poor. Then, in accordance with all precedent, the Archbishop must obtain his *pallium* or episcopal mantle from the Pope. But for a few years past Christendom had been divided; there were two Popes, each claiming to be St Peter's successor. Anselm recognised Pope Urban. Rufus said that no Pope might be recognised in England but by the King's consent, so that Anselm in recognising Urban was a traitor. However, he consented to refer the question to his Great Council. Whereupon the barons—unlike the bishops, who were frightened—

stoutly supported Anselm, and declared him innocent. Such was the result of the Council of Rockingham (1095). It was natural enough that in 1097 Anselm found it vain to continue the struggle and retired from England; whereupon the King promptly reverted to his old practices, seizing the revenues of Canterbury, and refusing to fill up any ecclesiastical vacancies.

Schemes of conquest.

William, however, was making big schemes of conquest. Whether he had either the dogged pertinacity, or the material means, to have ever carried them out, is more than doubtful; especially as they were aimed in the first place against his suzerain (as far as Normandy went) the King of France—and France was now under the control of a capable soldier, Louis nicknamed *le Gros*. However, as he had got Normandy from Robert as security for a loan to help him to go crusading, so he was on the verge of obtaining Poitou and Aquitaine from their Duke who wished to follow Robert's example—when he went a-hunting in the New Forest, and an arrow aimed at a stag glanced from a tree and killed him. His corpse was left where it fell, and his brother Henry, who was one of the hunting party, made at full speed for Winchester, where the royal treasury lay, to seize it and secure the crown.

§ 2. *Henry I. "The Lion of Justice,"* 1100—1135.

Election of Henry; his Charter.

On August 2nd of the year 1100, the Conqueror's youngest son claimed the succession to the English throne. He asserted priority over his elder brother Robert, on the ground that he himself was born in England, son of the King of England; whereas, when Robert was born, the Conqueror had still been only Duke of Normandy. Also he had in his favour the fact that he was there on the spot, whereas Robert was not yet back even in his dukedom. These arguments prevailed. The Witan was hastily assembled and elected him; and he secured popular approval by forthwith issuing a Charter, promising redress of grievances, the abolition of evil customs introduced by Rufus, and adherence to and enforcement of the "Laws of Edward" as amended by the Conqueror. He conciliated his English subjects by taking to wife the Scottish princess Edith (otherwise Matilda), niece of Edgar Atheling, so that once more a child of the House of Cerdic might be on the English throne. Also he threw Ranulf Flambard into prison, and invited Archbishop Anselm to return to the country.

Henry was now thirty-two, and he was to rule England for five-and-thirty years. His rule was good for the country. He was himself a cold and selfish person, capable and resolute; with a strong bias in favour of system, method, and order, as long as they did not interfere with his plans. He had no moral scruples about breaking promises: he did not as a rule make them unless he meant at the time to keep them; but, if it was convenient to break faith, he broke it. The administration of justice without respect of persons always strengthens a King: therefore he made it his business to see that justice was so administered; and for the same reason he was more inclined to be lenient than cruel. He was not a creative statesman, but he was a clear-headed administrator; and the work he did very much simplified matters for his greater grandson, in spite of the nineteen years of anarchy that intervened between the reigns.

Characteristics.

Henry was hardly on the throne when his brother Robert reappeared in Normandy with a newly-married wife. He soon resolved to challenge Henry's title; and it was certain that the more turbulent of the barons at least would support him, from their natural preference for an indolent and incapable ruler. The next year, 1101, he landed in England. Some of the barons joined him; some made bargains with Henry, who had at any rate the hearty support of the English levies. It was fortunate, however, that Robert was content to accept a pension and promises of help in his own Norman affairs. The Treaty of Alton removed the pressing danger. Henry promised amnesty to Robert's supporters, but he took care to find pretexts for attacking them on other grounds. When in due course he summoned the Earl of Shrewsbury, Robert de Belême, to appear before the Great Council and answer to various charges, Robert and his brothers took up arms. But the King's measures had already paralysed the more dangerous barons before he struck at the Montgomeries, so that he was able to crush them in one campaign, and drive them from the kingdom (1102). But this did not end the matter, for the exiled barons congregated in Normandy, where Duke Robert was quite unable to control them. Consequently Henry presently resolved that he must take possession of Normandy and control them himself, on the ground that Robert was not carrying out his engagements under the Treaty of Alton. It was not, however, till 1106 that a decisive battle was fought at Tinchebrai, and won chiefly by English soldiers. Robert was taken prisoner, and spent the rest of his life—nearly thirty years—in confinement.

Duke Robert.

Robert de Belême.

Tinchebrai.

From this time there were no more revolts in England. Henry, however, continued to be troubled by the existence of Robert's young son William "le Clito," whom he had not kept in his own hands after Tinchebrai: and whose claim to Normandy could consequently be used by Henry's enemies or rivals as a pretext for attacking him. Thus, almost throughout the reign, the King of England was periodically engaged in defending his position in Normandy. He thought to strengthen his position by marrying his daughter Matilda to the German Emperor, and his son William to the daughter of Fulk, Count of Anjou. But this latter alliance was broken by the disaster of the "White Ship" (1120), when the prince was drowned; and tradition relates that Henry "never smiled again." Henry, having now no male heir, took a second wife (Edith having died three years before). Whereupon the troubles in Normandy broke out afresh, and were only brought to an end in 1125. In May this year, the Emperor Henry V., husband of Henry's daughter Matilda—commonly known as the Empress Maud—died;—and nineteen months later the King induced the Great Council to swear allegiance to the widow as his own successor. Among those who took the oath was King David of Scotland, the last of the sons of Malcolm Canmore who sat successively on the throne of Scotland—brother therefore of the late Queen Edith, and uncle of Maud. David took the oath, as holding the English earldom of Huntingdon, having wedded the daughter and heiress of Waltheof. Stephen, Count of Boulogne, brother of the Count of Blois, and son of Henry's sister Adela, was another of those who took the oath. The death of William le Clito in 1128 removed the figurehead which Norman disaffection or foreign hostility had hitherto employed for vexing Henry's peace.

The White Ship.

Empress Maud.

The baronage in England had learned by 1106, if not sooner, that Henry was at least as much their master as the Red King had been. Further, he made that mastery more complete by breaking up estates among the sons of a tenant on his death, and by exercising a careful supervision over marriages—just as the Conqueror had forbidden and punished the marriage between Ralph Guader and the sister of Roger of Hereford. He insisted on the principle adopted in the oath of Salisbury (of 1086), and forbade the barons to raise castles except by the Royal license. Their powers were also increasingly held in check by the development of the old national system of administering justice as against the new feudal jurisdictions; cases arising between tenants of different lords being carried before the shire courts, instead of to the court of

Repression of Barons.

the defendant's lord. But a more decisive effect, in strengthening the King's own hands, was produced by the activity of justices whom he sent on circuit, and of the Curia Regis or King's Court; which served as a Court of Appeal, while its judgments were established as the final interpretations of doubtful points of law. The Court recognised all manner of old customs, but it aimed largely at introducing uniformity, that is, at getting rid of practices peculiar to this or that part only of the country. The men who formed the Curia Regis were practically the same who also sat in the Court of Exchequer; whose business it was to take charge of the Treasury accounts, receiving and checking the sums paid in by the sheriffs, who collected them in each shire. If Henry was less arbitrary than his predecessor in his exactions, he probably made up for it by a more methodical system, giving fewer opportunities for evasion.

The King's Courts.

The King's treatment of the ecclesiastical questions of the day was characteristic. He recalled Anselm, with whom he always remained on courteous and friendly terms; but he steadily declined to surrender any rights or privileges maintained by his predecessors. The battle was being fought everywhere over "investitures"; the successors of Gregory VII. at Rome maintaining that no layman had authority to nominate bishops and abbots, while the lay princes argued that they had and must have the right of controlling such appointments. The difficulty was finally got over by an agreement that ecclesiastics should do homage to the King for the "temporalities," but should not receive the insignia of office at his hands. The theory of spiritual independence was preserved; but the King retained the practical power of appointment (1106). Anselm died in 1109. There were further disputes with the Papacy in later years: but Henry never swerved from maintaining the claims which he attributed to his father—such as, that appeals to Rome should only be made with his consent, and Papal Legates admitted to England only by his leave.

The Investiture Dispute.

The events of Henry's closing years have to do mainly with his desire to secure the succession to his daughter the Empress Maud. Immediately after the Great Council had sworn allegiance to her, he found a new husband for her, not in one of his own barons, but in Geoffrey, the son and heir of Fulk of Anjou. This marriage, which took place in 1129, roused much hostility; for the whole baronage was angrily averse to having England and Normandy annexed to Anjou, which seemed likely to be the outcome; and Henry felt it necessary to make the members of the Council renew their oath in 1131—an oath which, as they

The Succession.

showed very soon after, few of them had any intention of keeping. The long reign was brought to an end in 1135 by Henry's death; and with it terminated for a time the rule of Order and Law.

§ 8. *The Anarchy of Stephen*, 1135—1154.

Election of Stephen.

Succession to the English throne by primogeniture was not yet recognised. The King was elected by the Witan, usually but not necessarily from one house. Harold Godwinson had followed the Confessor; William the Norman had followed Harold; and William's eldest son had been twice passed over in favour of younger brothers. There was a strong objection to placing a queen on the throne: Maud had a son; but he was a baby, and no one would accept her husband. Apart from Stephen's oath to support Maud, there was nothing to prevent one of the Conqueror's grandsons of the House of Blois from claiming the succession. The third brother, Henry, was Bishop of Winchester, and therefore excluded from candidature. When the old King died, in December, he and most of his barons were in Normandy. The barons agreed to nominate the eldest brother, Theobald, Count of Blois. The second brother, Stephen, did not await their deliberations, but hurried at once to England, and got himself elected on the spot, ignoring his oath: before the Empress and her Angevin husband, who were busy with quarrels elsewhere, realised that prompt action was necessary. The late King's experienced ministers, and all the churchmen, led by Henry of Winchester, gave Stephen their support. Theobald of Blois was not ambitious, and declined to oppose his younger brother, whose position was much stronger than Henry's had been when the Red King died.

Robert of Gloucester.

Nobody was quite prepared to challenge his title; but presently David of Scotland, who had sworn allegiance to his niece the Empress, invaded the north. Stephen bought him off by ceding Carlisle and the part of Strathclyde which Rufus had seized. The great lord of the west country, however, was the half-brother of the Empress, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of King Henry: and Robert paid allegiance only in very doubtful terms. Fortunately, Geoffrey of Anjou thought of Normandy, not of England; and, though he made himself troublesome, never became a serious menace to Stephen. But the greater barons were quick to take the measure of the new King; three of them were in open revolt within a twelvemonth; Robert of Gloucester had joined his sister and was weaving the threads of a great conspiracy. In the spring

of 1138, half the west was in arms in the name of the Empress. Stephen was a "bonny fighter" on the stricken field, but had no idea of planning or carrying out a systematic campaign; and while he was engaged in capturing castles here and there, the Scots King again invaded the north. The northern men might not care about the rights or wrongs of Stephen and the Empress, but they counted the Scots as enemies in any case, and achieved a great victory at Northallerton, at the "Battle of the Standard" (Aug. 1138), which saved Stephen for the time. Peace was made with Scotland next year, with the curious result that the earldom of Northumberland was bestowed on the Scots King's son.

Battle of the Standard, 1138.

Stephen was alienating the barons who supported him by the favour he showed to new men, and especially to the captains of mercenaries whom he employed very largely. His strength lay in the support of the Church—so he alienated the churchmen. Probably he suspected them of intending to hold the balance in the struggle and to turn their position to their own advantage. But when he demanded—as he was legally entitled to do—that they should surrender to his charge the various castles in their territories, he turned them against him at once; including the Archbishop Theobald, whom he had just appointed, and his own brother, Henry of Winchester, whose disgust at not being made Archbishop he had attempted to soothe by allowing him to be made Papal Legate. In the autumn (1139) Maud and her brother, Robert of Gloucester, landed in England to make good her claim to the crown.

The Church alienated.

The north of England looked on at the struggle between the rivals, for the most part without taking any active share in it. In the midlands and in the south, every baron took sides and changed sides with a single eye to his own interests, and to what he could get by way of reward. Government there was none; and castles rose all over the country. The barons and their retainers, the bands of foreign mercenaries and their captains, robbed and pillaged and indulged in all manner of outrage. In February, 1141, Stephen was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln. In April, an assembly of clerics, which passed for the Witan, elected the Empress "Lady of England"; at midsummer, London accepted her. But she behaved with such arrogance that the Londoners presently drove her out of their city again. Stephen's queen raised an army in Kent, the Lady of England was driven westward from Winchester, and on the retreat Robert of Gloucester was taken prisoner. On All Saints' Day the two queens agreed to release the two great

Empress Maud.

prisoners. Robert went abroad to bring over Geoffrey of Anjou, but Geoffrey preferred to harass Normandy; and while the Earl was away, during 1142, Stephen's arms prospered. Roughly speaking, for the next five years the east acknowledged Stephen, the west acknowledged Maud, and the north acknowledged neither. There were no military performances of serious interest or of serious consequence; and there was no government.

In 1147 Robert of Gloucester died, and the Empress left the country. Her party was now without any head in England; but on the other hand the whole of Normandy had by this time fallen to the Angevin Count. Stephen was growing old and was anxious to secure the succession of his son Eustace; on the other hand young Henry of Anjou, the son of Maud, was growing up, and would have his adherents. In 1151, when the boy was eighteen, Geoffrey of Anjou died, after handing over Normandy to him; and in the following year Henry startled everyone by inducing Eleanor of Aquitaine to marry him, thereby making himself lord not only of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, but also of Poitou and Aquitaine—in other words, of half France. Since Eleanor had already been married to and divorced by Louis VII. of France, the marriage did not make that monarch friendly—but it gave Henry a mighty dominion. In January, 1153, Henry landed in England. The rivals did not fight, but they negotiated—each with his army at his back. The hopes of Stephen were dashed by the death of Eustace; and Henry was content to accept a treaty by which he was to recognise Stephen as King while he lived, but was acknowledged as his successor, setting aside Stephen's younger offspring. In the meantime the mercenary troops were to be dismissed, and the "unlicensed" castles, said to number more than 1000, were to be dismantled. A year after the treaty Stephen died; and the first Plantagenet ascended the throne.

Henry of Anjou.

The Treaty of Wallingford.

The reign of Stephen was an object-lesson to the baronage, the Church, the people, and the future King, of England. It showed what feudalism meant when the barons got out of control—bloodshed, rapine, utter lawlessness, and universal misery. All the evils of the system had been let loose upon the land at once. The sight of it made men crave for something better, and ready to welcome a strong hand, a clear head, and a resolute will to exercise control. It was to be Henry's work so to mould the realm of England that such a disastrous reign as that of Stephen might never again be possible.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY II.: 1154—1189.

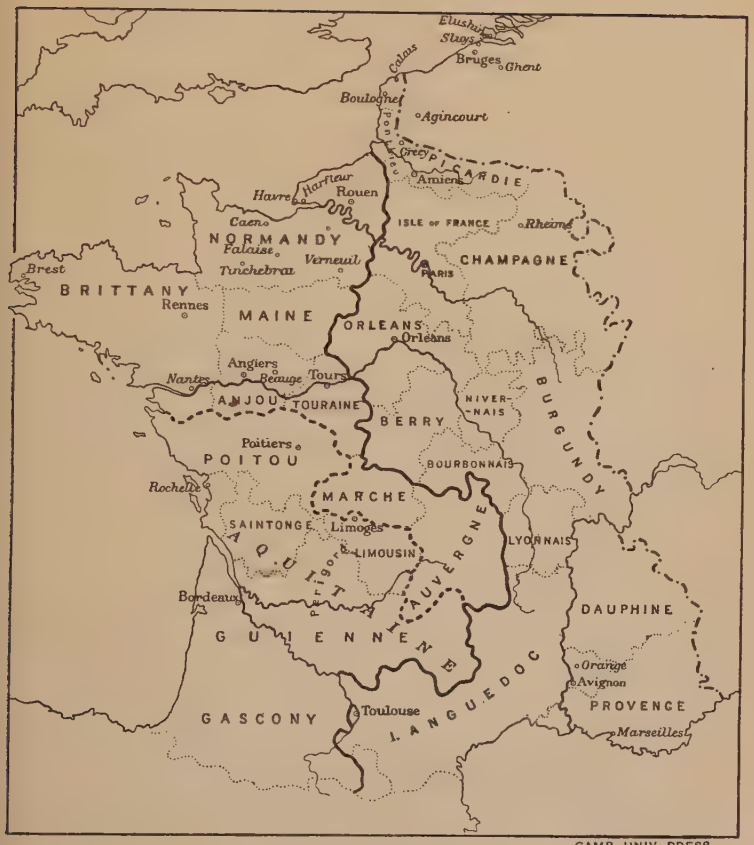
§ 1. *The first Plantagenet*, 1154—1162.

The Plantagenet inheritance.

When Henry of Anjou—surnamed Plantagenet from the sprig of broom (*planta genista*) which his fathers had adopted as a badge—entered on his English inheritance, he was already lord of all Western France from the Normandy coast to the Pyrenees: for even Brittany owed some allegiance to the Norman dukes. The French King, his nominal suzerain, was actually master of much less territory. We must not, of course, think of this great dominion as the possession of England; but one man owned England and Normandy and Aquitaine, whose personal ambitions and aspirations were more intimately connected with his French possessions than with England itself. Hence, more than half Henry's reign, which, like his grandfather's, lasted thirty-five years, was spent abroad; and he was never in England for more than two years consecutively. But his business in England was government, and his business abroad was war or intrigue; with the result that he left to his sons a legacy of French troubles, and in England an administrative system which gave her people more secure order and larger liberties than were enjoyed by any other nation.

Henry's advisers.

At twenty-one years of age he had no large schemes in his mind of reforms for his kingdom. The anarchy of the last nineteen years was to cease, and the system of Henry I. was to be restored. The chief adviser of the crown was by tradition the Archbishop of Canterbury. He placed at the head of the Exchequer Nigel of Ely, a nephew and disciple of Roger of Salisbury, who had organised it for Henry I. For his Chancellor—one of the highest official posts, in close connexion with the King—he took Thomas Becket, the Archbishop's secretary, who very rapidly became his most intimate companion.



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FRANCE

in the time of the Plantagenets

Eastern Boundary of France

Eastern Boundary of the Angevin dominion at its greatest

North Eastern Boundary of the English dominion under the Treaty of Bretigny

Order restored.

The new King was a man of limitless energy and unceasing vigour. He set to work at once to do what Stephen had promised but not performed. He ordered the Flemish and other mercenaries to leave the kingdom: and they went. He had the unlicensed or "adulterine" castles pulled down. He cancelled the titles of the new earls liberally created by Stephen and Matilda, and the grants made to them—rewards bestowed on mere adventurers. As far as possible, the lands which had changed hands during the anarchy were restored to the original owners. Here and there a great baron resisted, but the resistance was easily and promptly put down, for most men were weary of disorder and insecurity. All this was completed before Stephen had been dead nine months. That it was done thoroughly, and was generally approved, is shown by the fact that no one attempted an insurrection for nearly twenty years. In other respects Henry II. seems at once to have set going again the machinery for administering justice which had been established in the time of Henry I. In 1156 he was occupied in France. Next year, he was back in England, dealing with a few refractory barons. There was an expedition into Wales; and the King of Scotland (Malcolm IV., a grandson of David) once more restored the district of Strathclyde south of the Solway—doing homage also for his English earldom of Huntingdon. In 1158 Henry, having by this time brought the government of England into complete working order, returned to France, where he was detained till 1163.

The Toulouse campaign.

Of the operations in France the most important is Henry's great expedition against Toulouse in 1159. Eleanor his wife had a very weak claim in that County. The campaign has three points of interest. The extremely secular character of the Chancellor Thomas Becket at this time is illustrated by his active participation in the warfare at the head of a great retinue of knights; and Henry's own character is shown by his refusal to attack Toulouse in person when he learned that his suzerain the French King was himself in the city. The third point is that for the first time, at least on a large scale, the crown tenants in England, lay as well as ecclesiastical, were allowed or induced to substitute money payments for knight-service; that is, instead of providing a number of knights to fight under the King's banners, they paid an equivalent sum, known as Scutage, or shield-money. Thus, instead of having about him knights who were only bound to serve for a brief period, and might hold themselves at the command not of the King but of their lord, Henry was able to hire soldiers whose interest it would be to serve him and no one else.

Scutage.

Another result which would make itself gradually felt was, that the practice of paying scutage in place of knight-service would set the barons free from the feudal duty of maintaining knights, and so would lead to their reducing the armed force hitherto constantly at their disposal. In the reign of Henry I., scutage had been applied almost exclusively to lands held by the clergy—not by barons—with knight-service as a condition.

Death of Archbishop Theobald.

It was not till the beginning of 1163 that Henry found himself free to return from his French Duchies to his English kingdom. In the meantime an event had happened which was to have serious results. At the end of 1161 Archbishop Theobald died. He was a man of no little wisdom and ability; and Henry had been content to wait till his death before calling in question the rights and privileges which churchmen had been gradually arrogating to themselves since the death of Henry I. But Henry II. had only bided his time out of respect for the old Archbishop; and when Theobald died, he put in his place a man on whom he counted to take, and help him to enforce, his own view of the relations between Church and State—his Chancellor Thomas Becket. In June, 1162, Becket was installed, while the King was still abroad.

§ 2. *The King and the Archbishop*, 1162—1170.

Thomas of Canterbury.

Henry had completely mistaken his man. The ideal for a Chancellor was, to be the King's right hand man. The ideal for an Archbishop of Canterbury was, to be the champion of Holy Church. Thomas had played his part in the first *rôle* excellently; the King meant and expected that he should continue to play it in his new office. Becket, however, proposed to play the part which he regarded as appropriate to the new *rôle*, dropping the old part altogether. The Chancellor was the servant of the King and the State; for him, the interests of the Church were subordinate to theirs. The Archbishop was the head, in England, of his Order, and its interests to him became at once paramount over those of State and King.

Growth of Clerical Privileges.

Now in the time of the Conqueror there had been disputes about the authority of the Papacy and the Crown: but Archbishop Lanfranc had supported William and persuaded the Pope to ratify for him the rights he claimed. In the two reigns following there had been further disputes, in which Archbishop Anselm supported the Papal claims; and a compromise was arrived at as to the points in dispute. Then came the anarchy

of Stephen, during which the churchmen became the only body which consistently maintained some standard of law and of principle, and held together as a united organisation. They were thus enabled to establish or reassert practices which had been prohibited under the earlier Norman kings, and to extend—with general acquiescence—the jurisdiction which had been bestowed, or restored under restrictions, by the Conqueror and by Henry I. While the civil administration was in a state of chaos, the effect of all this was beneficial. But when the reign of law and order and system was restored, the King was determined to recover for the secular powers the authority which in the interval the Church had usurped. The Archbishop was equally resolved to surrender no jot or tittle of authority on which a grip could be maintained.

The main points on which issue was to be joined were the following. It had been laid down by the Conqueror that without the king's leave no legal appeals should be carried to Rome, no vassal of his should be excommunicated, no legate should be admitted, and no cleric might leave the country. Throughout Stephen's reign, the first of these regulations had been systematically, and the second and fourth occasionally, ignored. Further, the ecclesiastical courts had claimed the sole jurisdiction in all cases in which the person of a "clerk" was concerned, a clerk meaning not a priest but any one who was in Orders at all. Consequently a clerk who had committed a crime, no matter what it might be, was liable only to the penalties which the ecclesiastical courts had power to inflict—penalties very much milder than those imposed by the ordinary law. It is indeed very doubtful whether, except in cases of treason such as that of Odo of Bayeux, any charges against clergy had been withdrawn from the ecclesiastical courts: but it is evident that a dangerous and unsatisfactory state of things resulted, where there was one law for the laity and another for the clergy, and the clergy were to be the sole judges when one of their own body was said either to have committed a wrong or to have suffered one. All this the King was determined to amend, on the plea that it was contrary to the former law and custom of the realm; while Becket meant to assert every point of clerical privilege as the Divinely sanctioned right of a sacrosanct order.

Benefit of Clergy.

Becket was no sooner appointed than he flung himself into his new part. He resigned the Chancellorship. For the magnificence of his household he substituted a vast hospitality to the poor; the pleasure-loving man of the world became a pious ascetic, without losing any of his capacity for business. The

Becket aggressive.

barons were irritated by having claims made against them which under a more easy going or more conciliatory régime had been allowed to slumber. Some of the clergy were concerned or supposed to be concerned in certain scandals and crimes; Becket protected them. Then he quarrelled with Henry about a matter which was not properly ecclesiastical at all. It had been the business of the sheriffs to collect a tax called the "sheriff's aid" (which has been confused with the Danegeld), under an arrangement which made the process profitable to them. Henry, at a Council held at Woodstock, proposed to transfer the collection of the tax to Exchequer officials. The Archbishop sided with the sheriffs, and declared that the Church should not pay a penny except to them.

Council of Westminster, 1163.

Three months later (Oct. 1163), at a Council at Westminster, the King made proposals for an agreement between the ecclesiastical and the civil power. If a cleric was charged with crime, he should be tried by the ecclesiastical court, but with one of the King's officers present; and, if found guilty, should be degraded from his order, and then handed over to the lay authorities to be dealt with. Becket objected; one crime, one penalty—degradation was enough. The King asked whether the clergy would conform to the ancient customs of the realm. They would—"saving the rights of their order." Henry tried to get the support of the Pope, who sent an emissary to mediate. Becket, apparently under some misapprehension, was persuaded to say that he would give the desired promise.

Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.

A council was summoned at Clarendon (Jan. 1164); the King put forward for acceptance the list of what he regarded as ancient customs—which meant, in fact, any reform he wanted for which something that might pass as a precedent could be produced. These are known as the Constitutions of Clarendon. As under the Conqueror, no appeals to Rome, no excommunication of the King's vassals, no going abroad of clerics, was to be permitted except by leave of the King. Clerics charged with crime were to be tried and punished by the secular courts, unless the judges chose to transfer the case to the ecclesiastical courts—an entire innovation. The King's courts were also to try questions about advowsons and presentations. Further, the clergy were to stand to the King, in respect of their lands, in the same relation as other tenants-in-chief; bishops and abbots were to be chosen by the King, and were to do homage for their lands before investiture; the sons of "villeins" might not take orders without their lord's consent. These were really claims that had been made in the past

by the Crown, but had been always held disputable. Under a threat of violence, Becket and the clergy yielded, having at first stood their ground. But if the Archbishop ever had any intention of giving effect to this assent, he was absolved from it by a dispensation from the Pope.

Council of Northampton, Oct.

In October the King held a council at Northampton, and made a direct personal attack on Becket; requiring him to account for large sums of money which had passed through his hands as Chancellor, but in respect of which he had received a formal quittance when he resigned that office. The Archbishop, in defiance of the Constitutions of Clarendon, appealed to Rome. For this the Council condemned him; that night he fled, and made his way to France. It is extremely improbable that he was in any real danger, but martyrdom was appropriate to the *rôle* of a champion of the Church resisting an earthly tyrant.

Becket abroad.

The French King was very well pleased to make things uncomfortable for the Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine—in all friendliness, of course. The Pope lent his ear to the Archbishop who, endowed with legatine authority, began in 1166 solemnly to hurl the anathemas of the Church at the head of Henry and his supporters. Then Pope Alexander—not wishing for a violent quarrel with the King of England, since he was already at odds with the German Emperor who refused to recognise him and had set up an anti-Pope—tried to mediate. Negotiations were protracted, with very little sign of an agreement being reached, till at last in 1170 Alexander threatened Henry with an Interdict, for having his son crowned as his successor by other hands than those of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry surrendered. There was a formal reconciliation.

Murder of Becket, 1170.

Becket returned to England, while the King remained abroad; but his first step was to suspend the bishops who had taken part in the coronation. The news caused a frenzied outburst of wrath on the part of Henry. The wild words he uttered were caught by listeners who had a grudge against Becket. They slipped from the Court, unobserved, and in hot haste rushed to the coast, crossed the channel, and appeared at Canterbury, assailing the prelate with fierce charges of treason. The monks dragged him away into the Cathedral; the knights, who had withdrawn to arm, rushed in. He faced them, defiant, scornful, triumphant; where he stood, they cut him down. The world shuddered, aghast at the awful sacrilege. The name of the slaughtered Thomas of Canterbury was added to the Church's roll of martyrs and saints.

§ 3. *Henry's later years; Ireland and Strongbow; the King's strife with his sons*, 1170—1189.

The strife between Henry and Becket lasted from the beginning of 1163, six months after Becket became Archbishop, till the end of 1170, when he was murdered on Dec. 29th. During these years, Henry's administrative reforms, which are to be examined in the next section, were in progress: here we note that, as in the case of scutage, their effect was so to increase the royal power and to curtail the power and privileges of the greater barons that some of these thirsted for an opportunity of throwing off the yoke. During four of these years consecutively, Henry was in his French dominions; returning to England in the spring of 1170 for that coronation of his eldest son which was the cause of the final and fatal rupture with Becket. Henry I. had made his Council swear fealty, first to his son William, and afterwards to his daughter Maud or Matilda. In like manner Henry II.—following foreign, not English, examples—resolved that his eldest son should be actually crowned; so as to make his succession absolutely secure. The crowning of the King of England was indisputably a right of the Archbishop of Canterbury; hence the indignation of the Pope as well as of Becket when the ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of York.

Coronation of Prince Henry, 1170.

In 1170 Henry had four sons: Henry, who was fifteen; Richard, thirteen; Geoffrey, twelve; and John, three. Each son, as he grew up, became a fresh thorn in his father's side; always with the encouragement of their mother Eleanor of Aquitaine.

But before entering on the story of these troubles which forms the drama of Henry's later years, another event of importance must be described. This was the establishment of adventurers from England in Ireland as vassals of Henry. At the outset of the reign, Henry had proposed to undertake the subjection of Ireland; and the Pope had issued a Bull authorising him to do so, on the ground that the Celtic Irish Church was schismatical. He himself deferred putting the scheme in execution, being sufficiently occupied with other matters; but he allowed the Earl of Pembroke, Richard de Clare (known as Strongbow), certain Fitz-Geralds, and others, to go to Ireland as allies of Dermot McMurrough, king of Leinster, and there to acquire extensive lordships. Strongbow succeeded Dermot as king of Leinster, though without taking that title. In 1171, then, it became important that Henry should himself take possession of Ireland lest a new kingdom

Strongbow in Ireland.

under Norman rulers should be set up there. He had a further reason for wishing to be out of reach; for the murder at Canterbury threatened to unite against him every enemy he had, backed by all the thunders of the Papacy; and it was of great importance to avoid any collision with anyone till he could make such submission to the Pope as should lead to his being publicly restored to favour in that quarter. So to Ireland he went, received homage, as "Lord of Ireland," not only from the newly established Normans but also from several Irish chiefs, and established Hugh de Lacy in Dublin as Justiciar. But now he found himself called away to meet the Papal legates: of which the consequence was that the new government in Ireland was left only partly organised; and the old anarchy returned, though in a guise somewhat altered by the fact that the most powerful chiefs were no longer actual natives but Norman barons, owing a formal allegiance to the King of England.

Henry goes to Ireland, 1171.

At Avranches, in May, 1172, Henry's submission to the Pope was arranged, and ratified by his public absolution in September. The practical effect was to secure for the Church the main point of contention: for more than three hundred years, "clerks" were tried and punished by ecclesiastical courts alone; it was only under the Tudors that the privileges known as "Benefit of Clergy" were first modified and then abolished. On the question also of appeals to Rome, Henry found himself obliged to give way; since it was impossible to dispute that the custom was thoroughly established at the time of his accession. But where the "custom of the realm" was indisputably what Henry affirmed it to be, the Pope on his side gave way.

The compromise of Avranches, 1172.

Henry had made his peace with the Church; but in 1173 the series of open quarrels with his sons began. He had marked the eldest, Henry, as his successor in England, Normandy, and Anjou; the second, Richard, as the heir to Eleanor's duchy of Aquitaine; Geoffrey was the husband of the heiress of Brittany. John was not provided for, and the father had thoughts of Ireland for his youngest and favourite boy; but in the meantime, he wanted the elder brothers to give up some of their castles to the child. Young Henry—he was now eighteen—refused, demanding to be given immediate control of either Normandy or England, and then taking refuge with the suzerain, Louis of France. The storm burst suddenly on the King from every side. The Kings of France and Scotland; the counts of Champagne and Flanders; his own sons; all made common cause. The great earls of Leicester

Outburst of hostility, 1173.

and Norfolk reckoned that their time had come to recover the practical independence of Stephen's day, and several other barons joined them. But England in general, and the lesser barons in Normandy too, had learnt their lesson; they did not want a return to the days of Stephen. They either stood neutral, or declared for the King. The rising in England was promptly stamped down by the loyalists; the attacks on Normandy failed. In the summer of 1174, Henry felt his French dominions sufficiently secure to let him return to England, and there conciliate public sentiment by pilgrimage and penance at the shrine of the now sainted Thomas. Almost at the same moment, William the Lion, the Scots king, was captured near Alnwick. Henry's triumph was complete. The baronage themselves had finally pronounced against the feudalism which meant that for each baron might was right; and the captive King of Scotland, by the Treaty of Falaise, was forced to own himself Henry's man, and himself, with his barons, to do homage to Henry as Scotland's over-lord. It is to the credit of the humanity, and, still more, of the policy of the King, that he did not slay his foes or even strip them of their lands. But he laid their castles level with the ground.

Triumph of Henry, 1174.

Alnwick and Falaise.

In the years following, the Continent recognised Henry's power and position; and in England his administrative reforms were steadily carried on. But his rebellious sons were still to fill the last years of his life with bitterness. Again, in 1183, young Henry picked a quarrel with his brother Richard; Geoffrey joined him. The old Henry—he was fifty now—supported the injured son. Young Henry was stricken with disease, and died; now that Richard was the eldest son, bickerings soon arose between him and his father. In 1186 Geoffrey died also; immediately afterwards, his son, Arthur, was born.

Henry's sons.

By this time there was a young King on the throne of France—Philip Augustus. News came from the east that the "Latin" kingdom of Jerusalem was in great danger from the advance of the Sultan Saladin: that the western kings must unite in a crusade, if the Holy Sepulchre was to remain in Christian hands: finally, that Saladin had taken Jerusalem. For a moment, the western kings did lay aside their quarrels to prepare for a great crusade; a heavy tax, known as the Saladin Tithe, was collected in England—and then fresh quarrels broke out; first between Richard and Philip of France; then between Henry and Richard, Richard and Philip uniting against the old King. John, unknown to his father, joined them. In

1189, the young princes combined in a sudden attack on the old King. He retreated before them; with Richard hard on his heels, he sued for peace. Father and son met; Henry yielded all demands, but even as he gave the kiss of peace, he breathed a furious curse into Richard's ear. One of the conditions made was, that he should freely pardon all who had taken part against him; when the list was brought to him, the name of his son John stood at its head. The discovery was the final blow that broke his heart; two days later, he was dead. Men said that Richard, as hot in his remorse as in his anger, came to look on the corpse; and blood began to trickle from the nostrils—accounted in those days a sign of the presence of the dead man's murderer.

Henry's death.

§ 4. *Henry's Government; the Crown and the Feudal System*, 1154—1189.

We have now to review the administrative system established by Henry, developed out of the laws and customs of the realm as they were understood and enforced in the time of his grandfather. The problem of Government was, to arrive at a system under which the Baronage, the Church, and the Commonalty, should all contribute to the common welfare. The Papal system, as it had been conceived by Gregory VII. and his successors, threatened to claim for the Church a power which would have subordinated all civil governments to it altogether. How that difficulty was dealt with, we have seen in the story of the Becket controversy. The feudal system threatened to free the greater barons from all central government, and make each man a law to himself—and to his weaker neighbours. We have seen that this danger was successfully dealt with, but have not examined the details of how this was done. From the commonalty, no danger threatened; and by protecting them the royal power was greatly enhanced. With this development of the royal power arose another danger, that it would degenerate into a tyranny; and presently we shall find the baronage and the Church combining to keep that danger in check. But in the reign of Henry, the development of the royal power was a necessity; it was the condition of checking clerical aggression on one side and baronial disintegration on the other.

Henry's problems.

The business of government lies in the control of foreign policy, in legislation, in the provision of revenue and of military service, and in the administration of justice. For the first two, the power lay with the King, who might consult his Council if he chose, but was

in no way bound to act on its opinion or advice. It was not at all what we mean by a Parliament; nevertheless, Henry II. was in the habit of calling it and listening to it with some frequency.

Money replaces Service.

Military service was regulated in two ways; by the pre-Norman claim of the King, maintained after the Conquest, to call out all free landholders in arms, and by his feudal claim as suzerain to demand the service of his vassals and their vassals. In this a great modification was made by the institution or extension of scutage, which we noticed at the time of the French war in 1159, substituting payment for knight-service. The system was carried further by a similar demand for "aids" instead of armed men from the shires and the towns. But besides this, the military power of the Crown as against the barons was increased by the ordinance of 1181 known as the Assize of Arms, which extended the claim for personal service under the old "fyrd" law to new classes of the community.

The new sheriffs.

The institution of scutage seems to have taken the place of the old Danegeld or land-tax invented in the time of Ethelred the Redeless. Another measure by which Henry improved his financial position was that of making almost a clean sweep of the sheriffs who were responsible for collecting the King's shire-dues, and putting in their place exchequer officials who were not only selected as being honest and capable, but also were free from local interests and from fear or favour towards local magnates. The Saladin tithe of 1188 was a new tax, levied on "personal" property—that is, property other than land—but this does not fall into the general scheme of taxation; the crusade on account of which it was raised being a quite exceptional object.

Administration of Justice.

By his administration of justice, again, the King strengthened his own hands, weakened those of the barons, and encouraged the commonalty to take their own share in it, by an institution which developed into the grand-jury; accused persons being presented for condemnation or acquittal before the itinerant courts, by juries of "hundreds" who had already, on the evidence, adjudged them guilty. Henry I. had made the King's Court or Curia Regis a sort of committee of the Great Council, which served as a Court of Appeal; and he had begun the practice of sending round the country travelling or itinerant Justices, who came to be known as Justices in Eyre. The members of the Curia Regis, who also sat as Barons of the Exchequer, were chosen, not because they were great magnates, but because they were competent officials with a knowledge of the law. So it was also with these

itinerant Justices; who inspected both the barons' manorial courts and the sheriffs' courts, and thus checked in both those classes of court the tendency to distort justice in favour of the barons. These arrangements had fallen out of use under Stephen, but were revived at the very beginning of the reign of Henry II., and were more thoroughly organised from time to time, especially by the Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton in 1166 and 1176. This was the origin of the Judges "going on Circuit." One of the reasons why their doing so became necessary was, that the Curia Regis or King's Court itself was always in the same place as the King himself; and whether the King happened to be in Aquitaine or Normandy or Ireland, suitors before the King's Court had to pursue him thither. Late in his reign, Henry also established a special legal committee of the Curia Regis, known as the *Curia Regis in Banco*, from whence arose later on the two Courts of "King's Bench" and "Common Pleas." His Justiciar was a great lawyer, Ranulf Glanville.

Thus it was that the first Plantagenet, on lines suggested by the methods of Henry I., organised a system of administration on the great principle of extending equal justice to all classes of his subjects; bringing it, so to speak, to their doors, and restraining all class privileges which were in danger of being perverted to the injury of the unprivileged.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SONS OF HENRY OF ANJOU: 1189—1216.

§ 1. *Richard Coeur de Lion*, 1189—1199.

The King and the Third Crusade.

Out of his whole reign of ten years, Richard I. spent less than twelve months in England. He had been brought up with the idea that Aquitaine was to be his share of the Plantagenet inheritance, and it was only during the last six years that he had expected to succeed his father on the English throne. England to him was still only one province out of the many of which he was lord; so that except during one brief interval the government of the country was entirely in the hands of ministers.

The appeal from Jerusalem which set the third Crusade in motion had reached Europe in 1188. Richard had been first of the Princes to give ear to the call. The crusading passion took possession of him in fiery earnest; remorse for his treatment of his father made him the more zealous; and for the sake of the Crusade he flung all other considerations to the winds. Many other princes, each with his own private ends in view, were pledged to take the Cross; among them the cold and crafty Philip of France, once the sworn brother-in-arms of Richard's brother Geoffrey, and now ostensibly Richard's own friend.

In August the King, his succession unchallenged, was in England. His arrival was heralded by an amnesty to all who had taken part against him in the late feuds, and to various other offenders. His mother Eleanor, who had been for some time in durance, was set at liberty. But what he wanted was money for his Crusade; and he set about getting it by every means he could devise. For money, the treaty of Falaise with William the Lion was cancelled, and the independence of Scotland restored; for money, offices were sold right and left; for money, those who held offices they wished to resign were allowed to resign them. In

Money-raising.

December he had already started from England. It was not till July however that he embarked from Marseilles for Palestine. He left as Regent in England his Chancellor Longchamp, a low-born Norman out of Normandy: while he had given in marriage to his brother John the heiress of Gloucester, and endowed him with extensive earldoms: thereby laying up troubles.

Richard in Palestine, 1191—2.

It was not till June, 1191, that Richard joined the Christian army before Acre, which it was besieging. Tyre was the only stronghold in Syria and Palestine which had not fallen into Saladin's hands: and here at Acre, the ranks of the Christians were torn by dissensions; the main source of division being a hot dispute whether Guy of Lusignan or Conrad of Montferrat should be recognised as king of Jerusalem—when the kingdom should be recovered. Richard had wintered in Sicily, where he had quarrelled with, and then been reconciled to, Philip Augustus. On his way thence, he had chastised Isaac Comnenus of Cyprus for certain outrages of which he had been guilty, and made conquest of the Island. Arrived at Acre, he championed the cause of Guy of Lusignan; while Philip supported Conrad. Dissensions did not diminish; but it was not long before friend and foe alike recognised that, both in military ability and personal prowess, Richard was without a rival among the Princes present. Five weeks after his arrival, Acre was taken. The prisoners were spared, on conditions; the conditions were not fulfilled by the date fixed, and by Richard's order the prisoners were put to the sword.

The success only led to new dissensions. Richard had an angry quarrel with Leopold of Austria; Philip, jealous of Richard, declared that the affairs of France demanded his return; both he and Leopold left the army. The Crusaders agreed in making Richard the general of the host, which marched on Jaffa as a preliminary to a direct move on Jerusalem. There was a furious battle and a great Christian victory at Arsouf, where Richard performed prodigies of valour. Jaffa fell; but, after advancing towards Jerusalem, Richard decided—probably rightly—that the attempt to capture the Holy City must be deferred. Before the march on Jerusalem took place, next spring, Conrad of Montferrat had been murdered by Mohammedan assassins; and there were not wanting enemies who charged Richard with the crime. Richard succeeded in leading the army within sight of Jerusalem; but the city was all but impregnable, and it was obvious that the Crusading troops were in no condition to besiege it with success. Finally, a three years' truce was arranged with Saladin, the Christians remaining in possession of Tyre, Acre, Jaffa,

and other fortresses. In October (1192) Richard sailed from Acre: with every intention of returning to renew the struggle for the Holy Sepulchre at the earliest opportunity.

Another eighteen months passed, however, before Richard reached England. The Count of Toulouse, Leopold of Austria, Philip Augustus, and the German Emperor, all had grudges against him, and were all on the look out to capture him—as he had been rash enough to separate himself from his fleet. Travelling almost alone, he was caught by Leopold and presently handed over to the Emperor, who held him in durance, demanding an immense ransom. Thus it was not till March, 1194, that he was once more in his kingdom.

Richard in captivity, 1193—4.

During the four years of Richard's absence, trouble was brewing. Longchamp was thoroughly loyal to the King, but he was unpopular—with the barons, as an arrogant and pushing upstart: with the English, because he was ostentatiously contemptuous of them: with Prince John, because of his loyalty. In the winter of 1190-1, while Richard was in Sicily, complaints reached him, and he sent over the Archbishop of Rouen, Walter of Coutances, to share the Regency with Longchamp, and if necessary to supersede him. John and Longchamp were already almost at open war. Then in the early autumn there appeared on the scene another Geoffrey, an illegitimate brother whom Richard had made Archbishop of York. Geoffrey, landing in England, refused to take the oath of fealty to Richard, and was dragged from sanctuary and imprisoned by Longchamp's sister, who was in charge of Dover. John called a conference of the barons, who summoned Longchamp to appear: when he failed to do so, Walter of Coutances produced his commission and claimed to be made regent and justiciar in Longchamp's room. London, on receiving from John a promise of new liberties and powers of self-government, supported the barons. Longchamp fled the country and Walter of Coutances became Chief Justiciar.

Longchamp, 1189—92.

This brings us to the winter of 1191-2, when Philip Augustus returned to France and Richard was still in Palestine in command of the Crusading army. John and Philip at once began to intrigue together, but during 1192 they were prevented from taking active measures; partly by the Justiciar and the Queen-Mother, who were suspicious of John and would not let him leave England, partly by the French nobles, who declined to support Philip in attacking the territories of a Crusader in Palestine.

John's intrigues, 1192—4.

When it became known, at the beginning of 1193, that the King of England was in the clutches of the Emperor of Germany, John and Philip devoted their energies to getting him kept in prison, the Justiciar and the Queen-Mother to procuring his release. The ransom required was a cruel strain on the resources of the country; but loyalty prevailed, unprecedented taxes were paid, and enough was raised to set Richard at liberty. It is remarkable that all John's intrigues met with no sort of response in England; and, with the support of the Great Council, Hubert Walter, newly-appointed Primate and successor to Walter of Coutances as Justiciar, very promptly crushed an attempt at insurrection on his part in the beginning of 1194.

Richard's return, 1194.

In March Richard landed; John very soon surrendered, and was magnanimously forgiven by his injured brother. John's complete failure is a striking testimony to the disappearance of the old feudal spirit of rebellion, and to the new prevalence of public spirit among the baronage, produced under the system which Henry II. had inaugurated.

Richard was in England for a couple of months only. After he left, he never returned; and while he was there, he was again entirely occupied in raising money to pay off the balance of his ransom and to enable him to take vengeance on Philip of France. John he chose to spare almost entirely. The Great Council, called at Nottingham, assented again to heavy taxes; the expedient adopted in 1189 of selling offices was resorted to once more. Richard departed; and the government was left in the hands of the Archbishop and Justiciar, Hubert Walter, who, like Longchamp, enjoyed the further advantage of legatine powers from the Holy See.

In Normandy Richard soon found that his own resources would

Richard in France.

not suffice to enable him to crush Philip. The desultory fighting, the strategical preparations, and the political intrigues with a view to forming an overwhelming combination against France, need not detain us, since they were rendered entirely

Hubert Walter, 1194–8.

abortive when the King died. But Walter's administration in England is of importance, because it gave new political weight to a class which hitherto had counted for little—the knights of the shire: men who were below baronial rank, owned no vast estates, and commanded no great personal following, but were for the most part tenants-in-chief, that is, holding their lands direct from the Crown: the class which was destined shortly to compose the great bulk of the Commons House of Parliament.

The four years of his rule were marked also by a large extension of the powers of self-government among the towns. For them, as

for the knights, the maintenance of law and order was wholly desirable: both were sufferers from the prevalence of any kind of anarchy. An ordinance of 1195 appointed knights in every "hundred" as custodians of the peace—practically, heads of police. In 1194 and 1198, the elective principle was introduced, the Justices in Eyre being instructed to provide for the election in each shire of four "Coroners," who should decide what cases were to be reserved for the King's Justices—which had hitherto been done by the sheriffs—and similarly for the election of a committee of four knights who (again in place of the sheriffs) should nominate the juries to present cases at the Assizes. On the same principle, Walter granted, first to Lincoln and then to several other towns, the privilege of electing their own magistrates; though in other respects he curtailed the privileges which Prince John, at the beginning of the reign, had granted to London, as a bribe to secure the support of the capital against Longchamp. It was during this period, however, that we first hear of protests in London itself against the unfair way in which taxes pressed upon the poor—resulting in the suppression by violence of one William Fitz-Osbert, who made inflammatory speeches to the poorer citizens.

Election of representatives.

The rule of Hubert Walter came to an end in 1198, in consequence of the failure of an attempt to exact maintenance for a force of 300 knights to be maintained for a year in Normandy. The Great Council, headed by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, declared that they were not bound to service beyond sea; and it was clear that the country was growing restive under the repeated calls for excessive taxes. Walter retired, and was succeeded in the office of Justiciar by Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, afterwards made Earl of Essex. But Richard's reign was nearly over. He attacked one of his vassals, on whose lands a golden ornament had been turned up by a peasant's plough, for keeping a share of the treasure-trove: a cross-bow bolt pierced his shoulder, as he was besieging the castle of Chaluz; the wound mortified, and on April 6th, 1199, Richard the Lion-Heart went to his fathers.

Death of Richard.

§ 2. *King John*: (a): *the loss of the Angevin Empire, and the Papal Quarrel*, 1199—1213.

Despite the stormy impulsiveness and the gusts of passion which interfered with all the deep laid schemes of Richard, it is possible that if he had lived his genius might have led to a complete triumph over

Philip of France; but that monarch, cold and wary and false, was far more than a match for Richard's brother.

Election of John.

By the interposition of Hubert Walter, whom he made not Justiciar—Fitz-Peter retained that office—but Chancellor, the Great Council, having received sundry promises, elected John to the English throne; in preference to his nephew Arthur of Brittany, a boy of twelve, whose hereditary claim gave him the better title, since Geoffrey his father came between Richard and John. But if Philip had been ready to combine with John against Richard, he was no less ready to undermine John's position; and now proceeded to espouse the cause of Arthur as rightful heir at least to Anjou, Maine, and Brittany. When it appeared, however, that the alliances prepared by Richard might prove too strong for him, Philip compounded with John for a sum of money, and recognised his title.

Collapse of the Angevin dominion, 1199—1205.

But John was an adept at making enemies. He divorced his wife, Hadwisa of Gloucester, on the score of consanguinity, kept his grip on her dower, and married Isabel of Angoulême; thereby enraging the Gloucester connexion, and also the Count of La Marche, whose son was betrothed to Isabel. In 1201, a great part of Poitou was consequently in revolt. Meantime, John's allies had become implicated in engagements of their own, and Philip had extricated himself from the difficulties which were hampering him in 1199. He intervened, and summoned John before him as a vassal. John failed to appear; so in 1202 Philip took up arms to assert his suzerainty, and recognised Arthur's title to all the Angevin heritage except Normandy. The young Count attacked the old Queen-Mother Eleanor; but while she held out, John arrived to succour her; Arthur and all his following were taken by surprise and forced to surrender. Yet the temporary success of John's arms availed him nothing. The barons of Normandy had no trust in him as a captain; the population were enraged by the conduct of his mercenary troops; sentiment everywhere was shocked by the brutality with which prisoners were treated; and soon the story, the truth of which has never been seriously doubted, that he had murdered his nephew Arthur in captivity, completed his ruin. When Philip, in 1203, invaded Normandy, he met with no real resistance. John himself fled to England. The last strongholds there, and all Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, submitted to Philip during 1204. Of all the Angevin dominion in France, nothing remained in 1205 but Gascony and part of Poitou.

From this time the relation of England to French dominions controlled by her kings takes a new aspect. For fifty years she had been a province of the Angevin Empire; for ninety years before, her kings had accounted her as of not greater importance than Normandy. Her ruling class were foreigners, speaking a foreign tongue, and owning estates in a foreign land: though by degrees it had become customary for one son to inherit the English and another the Norman estates, so that by the end of the twelfth century there were not many barons of England who were also barons of Normandy. Below the rank of the greater barons, the distinction between Norman and Englishman was already fast disappearing; and now the interests of the baronial class itself lay in England alone. The sense of national unity, which had been growing steadily stronger among the old population, now spread through every grade of society. Henceforth, if an Edward or a Henry wrests provinces from the French king, they are reckoned as English conquests, the foreign possessions of England; for a king of England, England never holds a secondary place. At the time, however, the loss of the Angevin Empire was, for the king, ignominious in the extreme. The loss was hardly completed when he entered on a new quarrel which brought new degradation.

Development of Nationalism.

In 1205, Archbishop Walter died. John nominated for the office John de Gray. The bishops were willing, but the right of election lay with the monks of Canterbury. The younger monks chose their own sub-prior, and hurried him off to Rome to get his appointment ratified by Pope Innocent III. While he was on his way, the elder monks joined with the bishops, and elected John de Gray; another commission was despatched to the Pope to obtain ratification. The Pope asked for a third commission with power to make a new election. It was sent—pledged to Gray; but Innocent nominated on his own account a fresh candidate, Stephen Langton, who was elected. Every one of the parties in the affair had by this time acted unconstitutionally. John was furious; he refused to accept Langton, and seized the estates of the Canterbury monks. Innocent responded by threatening an Interdict. John defied him, and in March, 1208, the Interdict was imposed; which meant in effect that every church in the country was closed. John retorted by seizing all lands held by the clergy, excepting those who would refuse to obey the Interdict. Innocent then threatened to excommunicate John formally. John offered to give way in part; the Pope would accept nothing but complete surrender. For four years John bade him defiance. The

Quarrel with Pope Innocent, 1205—13.

The Interdict, 1208.

country was acquiescent, chiefly because the revenues the King was drawing from the Church lands made heavy taxation unnecessary; but under the surface, danger was brewing. In 1212, John became suddenly aware that he could rely on no one, should the Pope issue a Bull deposing him, and invite Philip of France to put it in execution. In 1213, Philip was ready to move—also a hermit, Peter of Pontefract, had been proclaiming as a warning from Heaven that this year John should cease to reign. John made practically unqualified submission to Innocent on May 13, and on May 15 surrendered the kingdom to him, to be held as a fief of Rome. The King of England became the Pope's "Man."

John's submission, 1213.

With the Pope brought over to his side, the fear of deposition passed. A new phase of John's reign opens. The reign of Stephen had shown the necessity of restricting the power of a feudal baronage; John's was showing that now it was against the King himself that the principles of law and order must be asserted: Baronage, Church, and People standing together.

§ 3. *King John: (β): Magna Carta; the Crown and the Barons*, 1213—1216.

Even when John ascended the throne, the immense exactions of Richard had been rousing antagonism to that power of the Crown which had been exercised so beneficially under Henry. On John's behalf, Hubert Walter had promised that the rights of the barons should be recognised. The Archbishop's restraining influence checked, while he lived, the excesses in which the King would fain have indulged, but not enough to satisfy the barons; his treatment of the clergy during the years of the Papal struggle ranged them against him; that struggle was hardly over when the Justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, who had acted on the same lines as Walter, died; the new Archbishop, Stephen Langton, became the greatest of the champions of English liberties. The strife between King and baronage began forthwith.

Hostile forces.

John had no sooner made his peace with the Pope than he proposed to recover the Angevin inheritance. An English fleet burnt or captured some hundreds of French ships in a Flemish port; and John wished to follow up the success by an invasion. But England did not believe in John, and did not desire a French war. Until John received his formal absolution, the barons refused to follow an excommunicated King; when the absolution had been pronounced, they fell back on the doctrine of Hugh of Lincoln in the Great Council in 1198, and

The barons refuse aid, 1213.

declared they were not liable for foreign service. Langton called on the King to fulfil his promise of amending the government. Still, John with his foreign allies managed to raise sufficient forces to attack Philip early in 1214. But this policy received its death-blow at the battle of Bouvines (July), where the arms of the allies were shattered. For the rest of the reign, the constitutional struggle at home occupies the field.

Demand for reforms.

John was hardly back in England when he found that the demand for reformation of the government had taken a definite shape. Their own good sense and the influence of Langton made the barons resolve to insist not on their own class interests but on the liberties of the nation, of all classes, as expressed in the charter of Henry I. John intrigued desperately to break up the coalition against him into hostile factions; but he failed. In the spring (1215), the confederate barons marched on London; there they were welcomed, and such supporters as John possessed made haste to desert him. Resistance was hopeless. On June 15, 1215, at Runnymede, he accepted "Magna Carta," the Great Charter which ever since has been counted the fundamental declaration of English liberties.

Magna Carta, 1215.

The Charter was not intended to introduce a revolution. The barons and ecclesiastics who framed it meant it to be almost entirely a clear and final definition of customs which had prevailed, and of rights which had been recognised in the past and ought to be maintained, or restored if recent innovations had set them aside. The demands made on behalf of the Church were few—freedom of election, and the confirmation of unchallenged rights. The barons claimed restrictions of the power of the King over tenants-in-chief as feudal suzerain, and at the same time and in the same way restricted the power of the lord over his vassals. The three great feudal "Aids"—the right of the suzerain or lord to demand provision for his ransom, for the knighting of his eldest son, and for the marriage of his eldest daughter—were retained. For imposing scutage, and for other Aids, the consent of the Great Council must be obtained. The Great Council was to consist of all tenants-in-chief, the greater barons to be summoned personally, the lesser by writs to the sheriffs. No man might be imprisoned or punished except on fair trial by his peers. These were the leading provisions of the Charter; the one revolutionary thing about it was the establishment of a committee of twenty-four lay peers, with the Mayor of London added, with authority to compel the King, by force of arms, to keep to the Charter.

John was eager to free himself from the bonds imposed on him; there were many of the barons who were eager to go much further in limiting his powers. The great principle was affirmed, once and for all, that the King may not over-ride the law; but it was not easy to give it immediate effect in practice. The Pope took John's side, annulled the Charter, and suspended Stephen Langton. The clergy were frightened and stood aside. The effect was to exasperate the barons and to give an ascendency to the more violent party among them: they appealed to Louis, the heir of the French throne, to come to their assistance—John, they said, should be deposed and Louis elected, for the monarchy of England was not necessarily hereditary. Before the end of the year there was open war; until May, 1216, the advantage lay with John, who relied mainly on foreign mercenaries. In that month, the arrival of Louis seemed to turn the scale; but before long, doubts arose of the good faith and good intentions of the French Prince. There was a revulsion against the idea of accepting a French king, and many of the barons wavered. Hubert de Burgh, placed by the King in command of Dover, held out stoutly, and a reaction in John's favour—that is, against Louis—seemed probable; when, in October, he died suddenly—from a surfeit of peaches and ale, says tradition. So passed away the worst king and the worst man who ever disgraced the English throne.

Repudiation and rebellion.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY III.: 1216—1272.

§ 1. *Minority, misrule, and foreign favourites,* 1216—1258.

King John's death left the course of the succession hanging in the balance. His heir was his son Henry, a boy of nine; but at the moment most of the barons were in arms on behalf of Louis. The Pope, however, and his legate in England, Gualo, were on Henry's side. His party named the stout old Earl of Pembroke, William Marshal, "Rector" of the country and the King, whom they crowned at Gloucester; following this up by re-issuing the Great Charter—though suppressing the clause about taxing only by consent of the Council. At the beginning of 1217 the party of Louis seemed likely to get the upper hand; but when he withdrew to France for two months there were many important defections, and when he returned, the suspicion that he meant to treat England as if he had conquered it for himself deepened the disaffection. In May the King's party achieved a great success in the fight known as the "Fair of Lincoln"; and in August Hubert de Burgh, with a fleet from the Cinq Ports, attacked and demolished a larger French fleet which was bringing reinforcements. The English, being to windward, were able to fling quicklime in the faces of the enemy—an illustration of the method of fighting in those days. John had been by no means devoid of military talents, and he had been acute enough to understand the value of a navy—perhaps the only fact which stands to his credit. This victory really ended the war; a few weeks later peace was made, Louis leaving the country, and his supporters being granted pardon for their rebellion on very easy terms; while a second confirmation of the Charter was issued.

Henry proclaimed King.

Expulsion of the French.

Till 1219 the old Earl of Pembroke ruled; on his death, control passed into the hands of another Papal legate, Pandulf—the same who had received John's submission in 1213—Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, who was now Justiciar. Pandulf retired after two

Justiciary of Hubert de Burgh, 1219—32.

years, and Stephen Langton obtained from the Pope (Honorius, the successor of Innocent) the satisfactory promise that during Langton's own life there should be no other legate. The treatment of the English clergy by both Gualo and Pandulf had created among them a strong feeling against encroachments on the part of the Papacy. Hubert's government was vigorous. The Royal castles were resumed. The earls on the Welsh Marches, in alliance with the Welsh Prince Llewelyn, offered resistance, but were successfully repressed. Then the most troublesome body—the foreigners who had fought for and been rewarded by John—headed by one Falkes de Bréauté, defied the government, but were overcome and driven out of England (1224). This finally put an end to the party among the barons whose real aim had been to recover the feudal position of privilege which had been so necessarily suppressed by Henry II. On the other hand, Louis, who had just succeeded to the crown of France, had mastered most of Poitou; and it seemed that an active campaign against him would be necessary, when he died leaving a boy—Louis IX.—to succeed him. The French policy of aggression was brought to an end.

In 1227 Henry came of age; and, though Hubert de Burgh remained Justiciar, he could no longer follow his own policy. For thirty years Henry misruled the country, while the barons chafed but could find no competent leader to conduct an effective opposition. Henry was a prince who possessed many domestic virtues, many accomplishments, and was valorous enough. But he was a very incompetent soldier. As a statesman, he was at once foolish and obstinate, deaf to argument but the tool of his favourites. He was anxious to rule autocratically, to recover the lost French provinces, and to please the Pope; and he never made a promise without breaking it.

Henry III.

In 1232 the King got rid of Hubert de Burgh. Henry had involved himself in a feebly conducted but expensive war in France—where he still retained Gascony—and in England heavy taxation was imposed on the clergy in compliance with demands from the Pope, while vacant benefices were filled up with foreigners, to the popular disgust. The discontent broke out in a series of acts of violence. De Burgh's bitter enemy, Peter des Roches, charged him with connivance; the Justiciar was further ordered to account for moneys in respect of which he declared he had received a quittance. He was deprived of offices and estates, though a smith flatly refused to forge fetters for the man who had saved England in 1217, and popular sentiment was on his side. Peter des Roches and a flood of his foreign associates filled every office.

Peter des Roches, 1232—4.

For a moment it seemed that the smouldering opposition amongst the barons would find a leader in Richard Marshal, son of the old Earl of Pembroke. Even though Richard himself was killed in a skirmish, Henry found himself unable to quell the resistance he had kindled; Peter and his associates were dismissed in 1234. But in 1236 the King married Eleanor of Provence; and there was a fresh incursion of foreign favourites—the Savoyard uncles of the new Queen, and their train. It is at this time that we first hear in England of Simon de Montfort, who was soon to take a leading part on the stage; but just now he is one of the foreigners. He was a younger son of another Simon de Montfort, a French baron who was notorious for the part he played in a crusade against the Albigensian "heretics." The Montforts claimed the earldom of Leicester, through the mother of the elder Simon, and the younger Simon was admitted to the title. His private marriage with the King's sister in 1238 was hotly resented by the English barons; but he left the country next year, on account of a personal quarrel with the King.

Simon de Montfort.

The popular hatred of the foreigners and of Papal encroachments was in 1237 intensified by the arrival (at Henry's request) and the behaviour of another legate, Otho, who made monstrous demands on the purses of the clergy. In spite of perpetual and earnest protests from the Archbishop, Edmund Rich, Henry continued to concede anything and everything required by the Pope; who at this time regarded England as a private estate of his own, where the clergy—while the King was on his side—were at his mercy, however much they might protest. Protest they did, persistently, under the leadership of Edmund, and after his death under that of Grosseteste, the able and admirable Bishop of Lincoln.

Henry and the Papacy.

In 1242 Henry made a final and quite futile attempt to recover French provinces. The result was that Poitou passed definitely to France; and further, barons who held fiefs from both Louis and Henry were obliged to surrender their estates in one country or the other, so that no one was left who owned a double allegiance. The English barons had declined to support this war, on the ground that they had not been consulted; they met the King's demands by presenting a list of the taxes which had been imposed during the reign, showing that Henry's extravagance was a serious grievance. Another demand for money in 1244 was met with determined opposition by the Great Council (now beginning to be known by the name of Parliament), who advanced proposals that in future they and not the King should appoint the Justiciar, Chancellor, and some other officers of state. Both Simon de Montfort and

Misrule, 1242—58.

Richard of Cornwall (the King's brother, who was later elected King of the Romans) appear on the committees which made these remonstrances. In 1247 there was another incursion of foreigners, kinsmen of the King's mother. Montfort was sent off again as governor or seneschal of Gascony. But in 1254 it became evident that a settlement between King and barons could not long be deferred. Montfort returned to England to lead the baronial opposition and renew the demand that the great officers should be nominated by the Great Council; while the King wanted money for the marriage of his son Edward—who was fifteen—to Eleanor of Castile. Henry further entangled himself in an exceedingly costly project, partly out of ambition and partly to please the Pope, by accepting for his second son Edmund, called Crouchback, the kingdom of Sicily. The enormous demands made in 1257 (and partially complied with) in connexion with this plan, coupled with the ill success which had attended a Royal expedition against another Llewelyn of Wales, brought matters to a head in the following year.

§ 2. *Simon de Montfort, and the Barons' War*, 1258—1272.

The Provisions of Oxford, 1258.

In April, 1258, a Great Council or Parliament was summoned to meet in London. It consisted of the greater barons, and two elected knights of the shire to represent each shire. The barons demanded the appointment of a Committee of Reform, the dismissal of the foreigners, and a fresh Council, to meet at Oxford in June. Henry found that he had no choice but to submit. The reforms demanded were then embodied, by the so-called Mad Parliament, in the Provisions of Oxford. In effect, an entirely new governing body was formed, to act instead of the Great Council. It consisted of a Council of fifteen barons selected by an elaborate process, and another body of twelve barons, chosen by the baronage and called a Parliament. In spite of provisions for carrying out the principles of the Charter, it soon became evident that there were members of this very oligarchical body who meant to use power for their own ends rather than for the public good; and so early as February, 1259, Earl Simon and Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, quarrelled violently; the former insisting on popular rights and the latter on baronial privileges. We presently find young Edward—who may conveniently be referred to as the "Prince," though that title had not yet been attached to the King's sons—posing as a supporter of the popular side against the barons. In 1259 the Provisions of Westminster were

issued to supplement those of Oxford, chiefly with regard to the conduct of sheriffs and the baronial jurisdictions; and the Council in the same year made a French treaty, resigning, for an indemnity, the English claims on Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou.

Baronial dissensions.

In 1261 Henry obtained from the Pope a release from his oath to maintain the Provisions of Oxford. In 1262 Gloucester died; his son became an adherent of Simon instead of a rival, and on the other hand Edward drew to his father. In 1263 the barons, with Montfort at their head, were openly in arms to maintain the Provisions, which as things stood meant something very like the dictatorship of Simon. Evidently, however, during the course of the year, jealousy of the great Earl and the difficulty of working with him, carried many great barons over to the King's side; and both parties agreed to refer the whole dispute to the arbitration of King Louis IX. of France—one of the noblest characters in history. But Louis had not grasped the condition of affairs in England; while he knew that in France it was a necessity for the King's hands to be strengthened against the baronage, just as it had been in England under Henry II. a hundred years earlier. He annulled the Provisions of Oxford, and his award practically gave Henry all he claimed. This award (Jan. 24, 1264) is known as the Mise of Amiens.

The barons' war; battle of Lewes, 1264.

Both parties had undertaken to stand by the award; but the Earl refused to be bound by it, as the other side would undoubtedly have done if it had gone against them. Many of the barons at once left the popular cause; the towns and the commonalty, on the other hand, were enthusiastically in favour of Montfort. Apart from the Earl himself, however, there was not much military ability among his commanders or experience among his followers; and the movements during the first months all seemed to point to the success of the Royalists, who were now led by Henry's brother, Richard of Cornwall, recently elected King of the Romans, and by Prince Edward. At Lewes, however, on May 13, Montfort won a complete victory. He drew the fiery Edward into making a hot attack on one point of his line, while his own best troops were massed elsewhere. Like Rupert in the Great Rebellion, Edward swept his opponents away and pursued them in their headlong flight for miles, returning to the field of battle only to find that in the meantime Montfort had secured a decisive victory. The result was that Henry had to surrender both himself and his son into Simon's hands. A temporary agreement was arrived at, known as the Mise of Lewes.

The Mise of Lewes provided that the King should be guided by a Council, to be selected by a board of arbitrators, in which no foreigners should be admitted; and that the Charters should be observed. Other matters were to be arranged by the board of arbitrators. Unfortunately, difficulties arose over the construction of this board. In the first scheme, the Papal legate was to be a referee. Simon found that the legate had instructions which made him a mere partisan. All attempts to construct a fairly impartial board failed. Montfort himself therefore devised a scheme of government which was proposed at a Parliament or Great Council in June—not six weeks after the Mise. At this Council there were again present two elected knights from each shire. Under the scheme the Parliament was to choose three electors; these three were to choose a Council of nine; the King was to act only with their assent, but in his absence they might act, provided that six of them were in agreement. No foreigners were to be among the electors or in the Council. The Parliament was evidently on Montfort's side, as he and the young Earl of Gloucester, with the Bishop of Chichester (who was of the same party), were the electors appointed. But when this new Constitution was set to work, it meant that the great Earl did exactly what he thought fit.

A new Constitution.

In December a new Parliament was summoned, which is famous and important; not on account of what it did, but because for the first time a new element was introduced into its composition. Hitherto the Great Council had consisted, first, of all tenants-in-chief who could conveniently attend. Then a distinction had grown up between the greater and the lesser; and latterly, instead of all the lesser barons being summoned, each shire had elected usually two representative knights only. But on this occasion Montfort wanted a Parliament which he could rely on to support him; the summons to attend was not issued to many of those who were likely to oppose him; but, as the towns were mainly on his side, the towns were called upon to choose and send representatives to the assembly. This was the Parliament of 1265, which met in January of that year.

De Montfort's Parliament, 1265.

Once more, however, jealousy of Simon and his dictatorial character were breaking up his party among the greater barons. Some of the King's party were raising mercenary troops abroad; the Pope persistently threatened the clergy who supported the Earl. The Mortimers on the Welsh Marches were in opposition; the Earl's own sons brought unpopularity on him by their misconduct; Gloucester was beginning to be defiant, and retired

War renewed.

to the west country. That meant that he, with the Mortimers, would organise war; and Montfort marched against them, passing the Severn. Edward, who was with Montfort, made a sudden dash for liberty, escaped by hard riding, and joined Gloucester, to whom he pledged his word that the reforms Gloucester had supported should be maintained. Simon was now in the heart of a country entirely hostile. His son marched up from the east to relieve him, and reached Kenilworth; but Edward there surprised him by a forced march and a night attack; the relieving force was cut up and scattered, and young Simon was only able to throw himself with a few followers into the castle of Kenilworth.

De Montfort overthrown at Evesham.

Edward's movement left the Severn unguarded, and the Earl seized the opportunity to cross. But his sole chance lay in the immense superiority of generalship which had been his in the past; for he was enormously outnumbered. Edward, however, had learnt his lesson in the school of defeat, at Simon's own hands; there was no more blundering on the side of the royalists. The Earl too, unaware of the events at Kenilworth, was trapped by a trick which caused him to mistake Edward's division for the friendly troops of his own son. At Evesham on Aug. 4th, his force was utterly overwhelmed; every man of note in the party was slain on the field. So perished Simon de Montfort: an adventurer perhaps in the first instance; masterful and dictatorial; but one who developed into a genuine patriot of the heroic order, whose aim was honestly the welfare of England. He fell, but his work was done; the principles for which he had fought were confirmed under the rule of the man who conquered him. He had been the leader of the baronage in their resistance to an autocratic monarchy; but the baronage would not stand by him, because he was also the champion of the weaker classes against baronial privileges. The people loved him, and accounted him a saint. He was not a saint; but he was a man of a great heart.

Pacification, 1266—7.

Even at the moment of his fall, it became evident that his principles were not dead. Gloucester had deserted his leader, and helped to overthrow him; but his enmity was against the man, not the cause; Edward himself was in sympathy with the cause up to a certain point. Evesham was a victory not for Henry's absolutism, but for his son Edward; and Edward knew that he would be far more powerful if he accepted constitutional limitations than if he endeavoured to secure an intolerable absolutism. It is true that Henry began by making sweeping confiscations; but Kenilworth still held out, and there

were other centres of stubborn resistance. Terms of pacification were finally arranged, at the end of 1266, by the *Dictum de Kenilworth*; which permitted the restoration of most of the confiscated lands, on payment of a heavy fine. The great Charter was confirmed, and in 1267 the Statute of Marlborough recognised the principles on which the Provisions of Oxford had been based. Henry, under Edward's guidance, made no more aggressive demands, and the Prince in 1270 found himself justified in leaving the country and joining a crusade; inspired thereto by the example of King Louis. He was still in the Holy Land, when the old King breathed his last in November, 1272.

Death of Henry.

§ 3. *The progress of England*, 1216—1272.

We have now traced the development of the political organisation of England during the two centuries which followed the Norman Conquest. In the eleventh century, she was a country whose native population was ruled over by a governing class who were foreigners and regarded themselves as conquerors. In the thirteenth century, the blood of the two races was thoroughly mingled, and the principal grievance of the governing class was that foreigners were allowed to take part in the conduct of affairs. This sense of national unity, and the growth of public spirit, distinguish the evil rule of John and the obstinate mismanagement of Henry III.; turning both, in the long run, to the establishment of what a later age called the "weal publique." The meaning of public spirit is, that the men who have the abilities and the power to serve the State are prepared to sacrifice their own personal gain to secure the welfare of the community.

Public spirit.

We can see the change that had taken place during these two hundred years. Under the Norman kings, power to serve the State had lain with the great barons and with the ministers whom the kings selected and supported. The barons with few exceptions thought of nothing but their personal interests; the power of the ministers was not independent, resting entirely on the success with which they preserved the royal favour. The vigorous government of the Conqueror and Henry I. was due not to public spirit but to the knowledge of the kings that it would be to their profit to govern well. The anarchy under Stephen taught the men who could not hope to make themselves little kings that the men who did try to make themselves little kings must be curbed. Public spirit was so far awakened that they ceased to look to immediate personal interests, but rather combined to maintain the

Causes of its development.

general interests of their class. The restraint put on the great barons put more power into the hands of the class of knights. Law and order are always in the interest of the mass of the community; the policy of Henry II., extending power not to individuals but to a class, brought the balance of power definitely to the side of law and order. When the king himself became the great law-breaker, the bulk of the greater barons had already learnt that even their individual interests were better secured by maintaining law than by every man playing for his own hand; to restrain the tyranny of the king, they were ready to concede limitations on their own power of acting tyrannically—that is, as individual tyrants; not on their power of concerted action. The majority had learnt that the individual interests of the majority would be best obtained by seeking in concert the general interests of the majority.

New ideals of knighthood.

Self-interest however is not quite sufficient to account for the change. Among the barons led by Montfort, there were those who had no objects beyond recovering class privileges; but there were also those who were equally insistent on the rights of other classes even when these curtailed the privileges of their own. The idea of a public duty had taken root. Already at the close of the eleventh century, the selfish brutalism of early feudalism, exemplified in characters like Robert de Belême, was touched by the fervent idealism of the first crusade. Men began to see in Godfrey de Bouillon a nobler type than in William Rufus. The ideal of knighthood changed; self-sacrifice for the sake of an ideal became a part of it. The romance and the pageantry of the chivalry which was created in the twelfth century are typified in the generous recklessness of Coeur de Lion; its insufficiency comes out in his violence. There was still in it a large element of primitive barbarism. But it provided a much higher personal ideal than that of the earlier age, because it developed the notion of duty. And as the idea of duty grew, there came a still higher conception of knighthood, types of which are such men as Earl Simon and Edward I., who set justice as the highest of the knightly virtues. Their notions of justice might be warped; but the course which they persuaded themselves was the just one was the course they followed. The noblest example, the culminating point of mediaevalism, is to be found in the character of St Louis.

In this development of character, the Church did her best work.

The Church's moral influence.

The great ecclesiastics of the first period, such as Gregory and Anselm, made claims for the Church which it was impossible for temporal potentates to admit; but their justification lay in the fact that the Church alone was

upholding any high standard of conduct for Christendom to follow. The Popes took the lead in calling upon Christian nations to forgo their quarrels with each other and repel the advance of the Crescent. From them came the best inspiration of the Crusaders: among them were to be found the conspicuous examples of men who would dare all things and endure all things for a cause which they accounted holy. In the latter half of the twelfth century, such men as Becket and Pope Innocent stood on a lower plane; they fought not for Christendom first, but for ecclesiastical privileges first; yet still they stood not for self, but for a cause. Stephen Langton, Edmund Rich, Bishop Grosseteste, all stood in the fore-front of the English struggle for liberty; all were men of conspicuously noble lives.

The great churchmen however had in the thirteenth century ceased to stand out notably above the great laymen; yet in the reign of Henry III. the Church did once again vindicate herself as an elevating and purifying force. For it was then that the two great Orders of Mendicant Friars came into being, named after their founders St Francis of Assisi and St Dominic. These men of religion no longer sought seclusion in the cloister, but went forth to spread abroad the Christian ideal of helpfulness, of glad self-sacrifice, for the love of humanity as well as for the fear of God. What they preached with enthusiasm, they practised with energy, effectively teaching the common humanity of high and low, and the mutual duty of all men to succour each other; ideas which again in public affair take expression in public spirit.

The Friars.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDWARD I.: 1272—1307.

§ 1. *Edward and the English Nation.*

The fusion of Races.

It was the work of Edward I. to consolidate and give a definite shape to the principles which had been gradually developed in the government of England, during the two centuries which passed between the battle of Hastings and the battle of Evesham. The Conqueror had found England a kingdom but not a nation. The English people only acquired the sense of unity from the domination of the foreign Norman baronage, which gave a common ground of hostility to the common oppressors of the native English. While Norman kings ruled, the baronage was still foreign; the kings strengthened themselves against the barons by calling on the support of the English. The policy of Henry I., developed by Henry II., was directed to strengthening the Crown, and curtailing the power of the greater barons; a process which in turn involved the maintenance of popular liberties against baronial oppression. The interests of all who stood below the great feudatory lords in rank and power were so closely allied—especially as the families which held estates both in Normandy and England became parted into English and Norman branches—that the actual fusion of races proceeded apace.

Sense of National Unity.

The reign of John hastened the development of the idea of English nationality in two ways. The loss of the Angevin empire deprived even the greater barons of their estates beyond the channel, so that their personal interests centred entirely in England; and the attitude of the king and the barons towards the Commons became reversed. It was the barons who made common cause with the people against the oppressive powers of the king—it was no longer the king who

supported and was supported by the people against the oppressive power of the barons. Then under Henry III., the national feeling, the feeling of the English-born against foreign rulers, was intensified by the groups of foreigners, Poitevins and Savoyards, whom the King assembled about him. It was by identifying himself with this Nationalist sentiment that the foreign born Simon de Montfort was able to place himself at the head of the opposition to the King.

Edward's Nationalism.

Thus Edward ascended the throne, the first King for whom it was natural to keep before himself as his first aim the greatness not merely of himself, or of his dynasty, but of the English nation. He was the first who could realise that no personal aggrandisement at the cost of the national well-being would bring even to himself power so great or renown so enduring as the magnification of England's power. Thus we shall find that while he grudged and resented the surrender of any jot or tittle of royal power and prerogative, while he availed himself of every technical trick for asserting royal rights, he knew, as the Tudors knew, when to accept defeat and how to give it the appearance of something like moral victory, how to gain instead of losing credit by giving way. If he strove to concentrate the substance of power in his own hands, he had learnt from Earl Simon that the extension of privileges to the Commons would increase the vigour of the whole body politic.

His aims.

This conception of the work of a national King takes in Edward's reign three aspects. The first is the organisation and establishment by Statute of a strong system of government or constitution in England itself, on the lines marked out by the developments of the last two centuries. The second is the extension of the influence of England on the Continent—not the acquisition of territories by the Plantagenets as feudatories of France. The third is the completion of the island nation by the incorporation or inclusion, under a single dominion with England, of Wales and Scotland. Edward's reign may be regarded either as the completion of one phase of England's development, or as the starting point of a new one. Whichever way we look at it, it is equally advisable at this stage to get a clear idea to work upon of the conditions prevailing when he ascended the throne, and of the foundations upon which he had to build.

Foreign policy.

We have seen that on the Continent the Angevin empire, with the exception of Guienne and Gascony and some neighbouring districts still in dispute, had passed to France. The question of those disputed districts still awaited settlement; but

otherwise, the business of Edward's foreign policy was to enable him to act as arbiter in the quarrels of foreign potentates. From this head we pass on to the Welsh and Scottish policy.

Wales. Wales was a perpetual thorn in England's side. A great part of what we now call Wales had been gradually brought into subjection by the Lords Marchers, the great Earls of the counties from Hereford to Cheshire, to which had been added the earldom of Pembroke. But the remaining native principalities, while owning the King's suzerainty after an intermittent fashion, had never been successfully subjugated, and were always eager to recover their lost territories. Throughout, it had been necessary for the Lords Marchers, always liable to find themselves at war with the Welsh, to have "palatine" powers; which meant a much more autocratic jurisdiction and a greater freedom from the interference of the central authority than other earls possessed. Hence resistance to the Crown was always more likely to take a pronounced form and was more difficult to repress, on the Marches than elsewhere. Thus the comparative independence of Wales involved the comparative independence also of the Lords Marchers. The Welsh princes, Jorworth, his son Llewelyn, and after an interval a second Llewelyn, had turned the English baronial wars of the last twenty years to their own account. Wales thus remained a positive menace to the peace of England.

Scotland. Scotland, on the other hand, had not actively interfered with England for a hundred years. The Scots kings had habitually rendered homage to the English kings; but never indubitably and explicitly for the kingdom of Scotland, except during the fifteen years when the Treaty of Falaise (1174) was in force. On the other hand, there were several English barons who held lordships in Scotland; the northern kingdom might at any time become hostile; and the advantage of combining the whole island into one nation, with common interests, presented itself very strongly to the mind of a statesman with large and comprehensive views.

Parliament. Turning then to the domestic conditions; the Charter had definitely established the fundamental principle that the prelates and barons, the lesser as well as the greater, had a right to be consulted on questions of policy, and might not be taxed except by their own consent given in the Great Council. Representation in the Great Council or Parliament by elected knights had become established by practice since the Charter, and Earl Simon had set the precedent of summoning representatives from the towns also. On this basis, Edward was to give lasting shape to Parliament.

Justice.

The jurisdiction of the barons in their own manorial courts, and their control over the jurisdiction of the shire-courts whether as sheriffs themselves or through sheriffs who were careful of their interests—had been checked by the establishment of the itinerant judges or justices in Eyre; who, being selected by the King and having no connexion with the localities they visited, were independent of baronial influence: while certain cases were reserved for the King's Courts of Exchequer and the Curia Regis. Edward was to extend and further systematise the organisation of these Courts—the Exchequer for finance, the Court of King's Bench for cases involving the royal authority, and the Court of Common Pleas for suits between subjects.

Revenue.

The King's treasury was supplied first of all from the Crown lands or actual royal demesnes; next by contributions from the shires, collected by the sheriffs, in respect of common lands; thirdly by feudal claims on vassals for fees on successions and marriages, and the like, and by corresponding claims on the towns, called tallages. The old land-tax called the Danegeld disappeared after 1163; but for special war-purposes there had been the knight-service, replaced in the time of Henry II. by scutages and aids. In the same reign, the Saladin tax had for the first time introduced taxation of moveable property. The practice, when the King required money beyond the sources of income named in the first group, which may be called his normal income, was to demand supplies from some section of the community—it might be the towns, or the clergy, or the barons; but the principle now established was that no such demands might be enforced unless the Great Council or Parliament had been consulted and had assented. We have also to notice two other sources of income which lay entirely in the King's hands. The Plantagenets allowed a number of Jews to settle in England, and extended to them a certain amount of protection, in return for heavy exactions supplemented by frequent loans—a protection which had not secured them against horrible anti-Jewish riots, the most notorious of which took place just before Richard started for Palestine in 1189; and the Kings had always had the recognised right of taxing foreign goods at English ports, the tax representing a royal license to sell the goods in England. It will be clear that the feudal claims, especially the conditions under which land was held, or could pass from one proprietor to another, would make a great difference in the amount which the King could extract from his tenants: and that the whole field presented a wide subject for legislation.

Outside the political field, Edward's reign is marked by the same process of organisation on national lines, in the field of commerce and industry.

Commercial beginnings.

In the early Middle Ages, England produced for herself from her own soil all the necessaries of life: food, clothing materials, building materials, iron. Before the Conquest, the things that had to be made could be made either by each household or by local artificers, or procured from some town where craftsmen congregated. The Conquest increased communications with the Continent; foreign craftsmen, notably weavers from Flanders, came to England, and settled; foreign merchants were allowed to set up establishments. Englishmen bought more foreign goods, and sold more of their goods to foreigners. In particular, large quantities of wool and leather were sent abroad, while wine was imported from Gascony and cloth from the Low Countries. A difference grew up between what we should call merchants and tradesmen—for instance, between men who bought or manufactured and sold cloth, and men who made and sold clothes. But each town had its own trade regulations, its own rules for admitting foreigners or people from other parts of England to the privilege of trading within its jurisdiction. The inhabitants of each town were jealous of anything like competition from outside; an enterprising tradesman from Hull could not plant an establishment in Norwich unless the Norwich traders thought it would be to their advantage. For the purposes of trade, in short, each town was a close community, keeping others at arm's length, not uniting with them or acting in unison with them. And so there was nothing to prevent the King from making bargains with this or that town.

Nationalisation of Commerce.

Edward, however, adopted the practice of making his bargains with representatives not of a place but of an industry—of obtaining from the wool merchants a grant of so much wool, or cash instead of wool, and so on; thereby educating them in the idea of looking to the common interests of the whole commercial body instead of merely to those of a particular place. The way was also prepared thereby for Parliament later on to insist that such bargains should no longer be struck between the King and this or that body of merchants; because the interests of the whole community were affected by such bargains—not only those of the wool-merchants or the leather-merchants with whom they were made. And in the same manner, while Edward granted a large number of the town charters which gave towns the privilege of self-government, it was part of his plan

to bring the commercial regulations of all the towns into as uniform a shape as possible, so that the same customs might prevail so generally as readily to become universal. From which again grew up the practice of Parliament laying down regulations which should apply universally, instead of each town having its own rules. Thus, though the work was not completed by Edward, the national instead of the local regulation of commerce, the idea of nationalism in this department of human activity also, took shape in his hands.

§ 2. *First period: Legislation and the Conquest of Wales,* 1272—1290.

First Statute of Westminster, 1275.

Though Edward was in Palestine when his father died, matters in England were so quiet that he spent a long time on the Continent on his way home, and only entered his kingdom in August, 1274, more than eighteen months after his accession. The next year a Parliament was called at Westminster, which by the *Statute of Westminster the First* initiated a series of reforms. Of this enactment, the most important part was that which granted the King a tax not on imports —which he could already levy at will—but on certain exports, notably wool and leather, from which he derived a permanent income. These soon came to be known as the ancient customs.

Quo Warranto, 1278.

In 1278 he issued a writ (known as *Quo Warranto*) for a commission of enquiry into the title by which a number of great magnates enjoyed special privileges and immunities from the ordinary law. These privileges had been enjoyed for a very long time, but the theory of the lawyers was that, unless they had been formally granted by the Crown, the Crown could cancel them. That might be sound law, but Edward very soon found that it would be bad policy to act on it, from the violence of the opposition it aroused; therefore, having collected the information and registered it, so that at least it would be impossible for new privileges to be usurped quietly and then claimed as "customary," he finally contented himself by leaving intact those which had been enjoyed ever since the accession of Richard I. In effect, he did not cancel privileges, but definitely put a stop to their extension. In the same year, 1278, Edward issued another writ requiring free-holders whose land was of the value of a "knight's fee" to take up knighthood, which obliged them to swear allegiance personally to the King.

Mortmain, 1279.

In 1279 came the *Statute of Mortmain* (the dead hand), prohibiting all grants of land to ecclesiastical corporations. This was intended to check the growing wealth and consequent power of the Church: but it had further justification.

Land held by a private owner paid fines to the Crown on the succession of each fresh heir and on some other occasions; it might "escheat" or lapse to the Crown by the failure of heirs, as had happened to the earldom of Chester; profits accrued to the Crown for "wardship" when the heir was a minor. But when land was held by a corporation, it never could escheat; the proprietor never died; there was no heir, and no wardship. Thus if an individual granted any of his lands to a corporation, he deprived the King of these feudal dues. More than this, a practice had grown up of conveying lands to the Church so as to secure these immunities, but accompanying the conveyance by a private bargain which really kept the control in the hands of the grantor and his heirs; which was in effect a method of cheating the Crown out of admitted rights. The statute however still allowed the granting of lands provided the King's permission were obtained, and in practice the permission was always given if the grantor's intentions were honest.

The Statutes of 1285.

The next great year of legislation was 1285, which witnessed the *Statute of Westminster the Second*, the *Statute of Winchester*, and the ordinance named from its opening words *Circumspecte agatis*. The first of these, while largely taken up with restoring laws and customs which had fallen into neglect, introduced an important innovation by the clause *De Donis*; the object of which was to prevent estates from being alienated or broken up. The system thus established is expressed by the term "perpetual entails"; it made the land the property not only of the living owner, but of his heirs unborn from generation to generation. The *Statute of Winchester* was in part a restoration and in part a revision of the militia system of the Assize of Arms (Henry II.), and of the local courts of justice. The ordinance *Circumspecte agatis* was a warning to the ecclesiastical courts not to interfere outside their own sphere—as they were very much inclined to do.

Quia Emptores, 1290.

Five years later (1290) the *Statute of Westminster the Third*, usually referred to by the title *Quia Emptores*, put an end to "subinfeudation"; that is, it enacted that when land which was not entailed was sold or granted away by the proprietor, the new proprietor should become the vassal not (as hitherto) of the seller or grantor, but of his lord. Thus if a tenant-in-chief sold some of his land, the new man became not his vassal but a tenant-in-chief himself; whereby the number of the King's personal vassals was increased. In this year also Edward, who

Expulsion of the Jews, 1290.

had always treated the Jews with extreme harshness, resolved to expel them finally from the country, thus depriving himself of what had long been a convenient

source of income to the Plantagenet rulers. The loss however was largely compensated by the establishment in England of societies of wealthy Italian bankers; and the expulsion of the Jews was so popular that Parliament rewarded the King by a special grant of money.

This concludes the legislation of the first period of Edward's reign. Its course had met with three interruptions, two from the affairs of Wales and the third from a long visit paid by Edward to France. The first falls between 1275 and 1278. During the recent barons' wars a pacification had been effected, in 1267, which left Llewelyn lord of the greater part of North Wales, on condition of his paying homage and an indemnity. But the Welsh Prince had dreams, derived from ancient prophecies, of establishing an independent kingdom. On Edward's accession, while the government was in the hands of a regency, he evaded every summons to do homage to the new King; and after Edward was back in England, he still contrived to find pretexts for not presenting himself. At last, in 1277 Edward lost patience, and resolved to punish the Welsh. Military operations were at first placed in the hands of the Lords Marchers, who recovered much of the territory that had been allowed to remain in Llewelyn's hands. In August Edward himself advanced from Chester. In September Llewelyn was completely cooped up in the Snowdon district. In November he made submission, and was deprived of everything except Anglesey and the Snowdon country, and heavily fined, but was otherwise received into favour.

Wales.

Treaty of Aberconway, 1277.

After the treaty of Aberconway affairs seemed to go smoothly. But the great districts which had been wrested from Llewelyn were brought under the ordinary system of English shire-government and English law; and the Welsh detested methods which were no doubt very much better than their own, but were entirely foreign to all their traditional ideas. Also there was much real oppression. By the time five years had passed they were all seething with the spirit of revolt, and eager to place themselves again under the chieftainship of Llewelyn. David, the Prince's brother, who before had played the traitor to him, was now on the side of rebellion. In 1282 Wales suddenly broke out in fierce insurrection. The people now were unanimous, which they had not been in 1277. When Edward was able to take the field his forces were not so well in hand as in the former year. It was not till December that he succeeded in winning the victory of Orewyn Bridge, after which Llewelyn himself was slain. Even

Subjugation of Wales, 1282—4.

then David remained in arms; but the resistance was hopeless; in June he was captured, and tried and executed in October. Edward planted the country with castles which completely dominated it; and the Statute of Wales (1284) provided it with a system of government which lasted till the reign of Henry VIII., when Wales was made part and parcel of England. The disappearance of the semi-independent principality simplified the process of restricting the powers of the Marchers within reasonable bounds; a process which was helped, as time went on, by the lapsing of Marcher earldoms to the Crown.

Edward in Guienne, 1286—9.

The Welsh problem being settled, Edward, after 1285—the year of the Second Statute of Westminster—spent the three years 1286—1289 in Guienne; but during his absence complaints arose as to the administration of justice and other matters, which he had to deal with on his return. Then in 1290 came the crisis in the affairs of Scotland which is the dividing point of the reign.

§ 3. *Second Period: Scotland, Parliament, and Papacy,* 1290—1307.

Scotland.

Under Alexander II. and Alexander III., the son and grandson of William the Lion, Scotland had prospered. The latter had married Edward's sister, and the relations between the two countries had been amicable. Alexander III. died in 1286, leaving as heir to the throne a three-year-old grand-daughter, his own daughter (the little Margaret's mother) having married the King of Norway. This child was accepted as Queen of Scotland, and, until she was old enough to be brought from Norway, the government was placed in the hands of a regency. In 1284 a son Edward had been born to the King of England, and a compact was readily arrived at that in due time he should marry the "Maid of Norway" and the two kingdoms should thus be harmoniously and peacefully united under one crown.

Death of the Maid of Norway, 1290.

But it was otherwise decreed. The young Queen sailed from Norway in 1290, but got no further than the Orkneys, where she died. The project of uniting the two crowns by marriage was spoilt, and then arose the serious question—Who was heir to the Scottish throne? There were no descendants of William the Lion to inherit; but his younger brother David left three daughters, and a son or a grandson of each of those three was now living. John Balliol, grandson of the eldest daughter, and Robert Bruce, son of the second,

Rival Claimants.

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THE BATTLEFIELD

of English and Scots, 1138—1715

each claimed the succession; the point of law was doubtful. Both were barons of England as well as of Scotland. The Scots appealed to the King of England to arbitrate.

The claim to over-lordship, 1291.

Now, as we have seen, the Kings of England had from time to time asserted, and had never quite unmistakably surrendered, a claim to the over-lordship of Scotland, though that claim had never been pressed further than a demand for homage. The Scots kings had from time to time repudiated the claim, and had never, except during the later years of Henry II., unmistakably done homage for more than their lands in England. In response to the Scottish appeal, Edward in 1291 summoned the magnates, but announced that he would pronounce judgment not as an outside arbiter but as over-lord. The Scots hesitated; Edward threatened to enforce his title at the head of an army. The Scots, with no acknowledged leader, were not in a position to defy him; no doubt they expected that the suzerainty would be as purely formal in the future as it had been—if it existed—in the past; and they conceded the point. The claimants did homage. Edward held the enquiry, and, in accordance with the feudal law of inheritance recognised in England, decided in favour of Balliol, who was crowned King of Scotland, paying fealty to the King of England.

Conference at Norham: John Balliol.

The Scots had overcome their qualms about conceding the formal suzerainty; what they had not bargained for was that this suzerainty should assume an actual practical character. This however was precisely the object Edward had in view. The law, hitherto doubtful, was now on his side, and he intended to have everything that the law allowed. In effect, the agreement of Norham meant, for him, that England had annexed Scotland. Wales he had secured already; the whole island welded into one nation would form the most powerful state in Christendom. But when his meaning became clear to the Scots, it seemed to them to imply their subjection to an alien yoke; which Scotland would by no means endure, whether legal technicalities were against her or no.

The Scots, however, did not at once fully realise the situation. Before they did so, Edward was to find his hands sufficiently occupied in other quarters. Holding or claiming Guienne, Gascony, and some other districts, as Duke of Aquitaine, Edward, in his capacity of a vassal, had had his differences with the French King; but now arose differences between the English nation and France. There had long been bad blood between the sailors of the two countries, in the Channel; and in 1293,

England and France.

though there was no declared war, there was a pitched battle between an English and a Norman fleet, in which the English had very much the better. Since there was also misbehaviour in Gascony, Philip the Fair called Edward to account. The law being on Philip's side as concerned Gascony, Edward surrendered some castles to him as a temporary arrangement till all the disputes should be satisfactorily settled. But as Edward had not appeared before him in person, Philip presently made it evident that he proposed to retain this hold on Gascony on the plea that his vassal was contumacious.

A French War.

The result was that in 1294 the King summoned a Parliament, carried through demands for money which fell with extreme heaviness on the clergy, and went to war with France.

A great force was gathered to proceed to Guienne; but only a small portion went, because Wales seized the opportunity to rise in revolt, under a leader named Madoc. Edward had to obtain fresh supplies from another Parliament before he could crush the Welsh rising; and in the meantime affairs went badly for him in Gascony, where the French were pushing forward: while his efforts to form a hostile coalition were unavailing. Two points are to be noticed. It

New military tactics.

was in the Welsh wars that Edward developed the tactical formation which was to give the English arms victory in many a hard-fought field—the plan of sending archers forward between the mail-clad squadrons, to wreck with their arrows the charge of the enemy's horse, or cut up their infantry so that they could not present a serried front against the cavalry charge which followed. The second point is that Edward realised the part that a navy could play in a French war, organised his fleets as they had never been organised before, and by so doing completely frustrated Philip's schemes for an invasion of England.

And now appears the beginning of an alliance which for nearly

Alliance of France and Scotland, 1295.

three centuries was to be a ceaseless menace to England, a ceaseless check on her power of aggression—the alliance of the French and the Scots. The latter had been irritated by the subservient attitude of King John Balliol to Edward; in 1294 the control was taken out of Balliol's hands and placed in those of a Council—much as had been done in England thirty-five years before; and in 1295 the Scots made an alliance with Edward's enemy, which from the English King's point of view was treason against his authority as suzerain.

This situation caused Edward in November to summon the Model Parliament, which fixed the type of Parliaments for the

future. Hitherto there had been much irregularity, and no definite rule as to who should be summoned. Now the greater barons or peers were summoned as one "estate" of the realm. Two knights from each shire, and two burgesses from each borough were called to represent the Commons. The prelates and representatives of the lower clergy stood for the other estate, the spiritualty. Each estate sat in a chamber by itself, and taxed itself to meet the King's needs. The chambers however were not permanently separated till 1333. The clergy too ceased to meet as an estate of Parliament, but made their grants in their own separate assembly, called Convocation; though the dignitaries thereafter sat also with the peers. Hitherto also there had been no definite regulation deciding who were to count as greater barons with a right to be summoned individually; the selection had been arbitrary. From this time it appears that the right became hereditary.

The Model Parliament, 1295.

Edward did not get as much money from the Model Parliament as he wanted. But he was able in spring (1296) to send an army to Gascony, and to proceed against Scotland, which was now in open revolt against the English allegiance. The resistance was broken in April at the battle of Dunbar. Edward marched through Scotland, receiving submission wherever he went. Balliol, as a contumacious vassal, had forfeited his throne by feudal law; and Edward as suzerain established a government of his own with Earl Warenne as his lieutenant or governor, Hugh Cressingham as treasurer, and English garrisons in various strongholds (August, 1296).

Balliol deposed, 1296.

Edward now deemed that his hands were free for a great expedition to restore his control in Gascony, where affairs continued to favour the French. Parliament was called in November. The lay bodies made adequate grants: but the clergy, headed by the recently appointed Archbishop Winchelsea, refused supplies. In the preceding February Pope Boniface VIII. had issued the Bull *Clericis Laicos* forbidding the clergy to submit to any exactions from any lay authority without the express sanction of the Holy See. The Archbishop held that allegiance to the Pope overruled allegiance to the King. The clergy would ask the Pope for leave to contribute: that was all. In high wrath, Edward outlawed the clergy—that is, he withdrew the protection of the law from their persons or property (Jan. 1297). But, with no contribution from the clergy, it was necessary again to call Parliament. He wished to lead one army to operate against Philip from Flanders, and to send another to Gascony. The great

Arbitrary action in England, 1296–7.

Earls of Norfolk and Hereford—Bigod and Bohun—as Marshal and Constable respectively, had a traditional right to attend the King in person, but he wished them to go to Gascony. Both had private grievances against him, and they seized their opportunity; saying they would go with him to Flanders, but would not go without him to Gascony. Edward, a man with a naturally hot temper controlled by a strong will, fairly lost it under the accumulated provocations. He would not be foiled, and he must have supplies. He seized the wool of the merchants, and stores of all sorts. The effect was to turn the Commons against him, as well as the Church and the barons. It seemed as if once again the nation would set the King at defiance.

Edward goes to Flanders, 1297.

The King's self-control, however, came to his rescue, and fortunately Pope Boniface also found that he could not maintain the extreme position he had adopted. A more moderate demand on the clergy was reasonably met; Edward announced that the wool and other goods seized should in course of time be paid for; he concentrated his energies on the Flanders expedition and let the Gascon campaign drop. He treated attendance to Flanders as a matter of grace, not as a feudal obligation; and thus he was enabled to take his departure thither in August. But the constitutional struggle was not yet over. Before he sailed—leaving England in the hands of a regency—the Earls presented a demand for the confirmation of charters, which he refused on the ground that the whole Council was not present. In his absence a Parliament was called by the regency, in September. As a condition of allowing the collection of supplies, the Earls there demanded the confirmation of the charters, and presented the petition *de tallagio non concedendo* (which has been erroneously regarded as a statute) against any aids or tallages being levied without assent of Parliament. The regents accepted the situation, and reissued the charters with additional clauses restricting arbitrary taxation. In November the King, at Ghent, ratified their action, and signed the *Confirmatio Cartarum*.

Confirmatio Cartarum, 1297.

A truce, 1298.

The intended campaign of Flanders never took active shape; negotiations were already on foot early in October, and in January a two years' truce was signed. In March (1298) Edward was back in England, where Scottish affairs had assumed a serious aspect; and he was soon to find that even the confirmation of the charters had not been generally accepted as a sufficient guarantee that he would recognise the popular liberties.

The English governors and soldiers left in Scotland in 1296 behaved very much as they had done in Wales, treating the population with brutal violence and insolence, as a conquered people. The people retaliated; William Wallace, a gentleman of Ellerslie, slew some soldiers who insulted him, and, being outlawed, gathered round him others, who had sworn, as he himself had done, never to rest till the oppressor was driven from the country. The outlaw band swelled to an army; it was joined by some of the barons. While Edward was taken up with his Flanders expedition, Warenne and Cressingham marched against Wallace. At Cambuskenneth, or Stirling Bridge, the Scot enticed half their army across the Forth and cut it to pieces; the rest fled. The rising became general, the English were driven from the country, and Wallace was proclaimed guardian of the realm in the name of King John Balliol. Then he raided the north of England with fire and sword, taking merciless vengeance for the wrongs done by the soldiery in Scotland. Therefore, on his return from Flanders, Edward was not long in taking the field against him. To the peasantry and many of the gentry Wallace was a hero; but in the eyes even of the barons who had joined his revolt he was an upstart, and they gave him little real help. At Falkirk Edward brought him to bay, and in spite of stubborn resistance the phalanx of Scottish spearmen, broken by the storm of English arrows, was at last unable to repel the charge of the mail-clad horsemen. The ranks once broken, defeat and rout followed. Wallace fled to the hills, and the baronage again professed submission. But they were readier to combine among themselves than to act under a "low-born" leader; and Edward's occupations in the south during 1299 enabled them to make head again.

William Wallace, 1296—7.

Falkirk, 1298.

The truce between England and France was followed up in June by the Peace of Montreuil; Edward himself, whose wife Eleanor had died in 1290, now married the French King's sister (though he was sixty), and his son was betrothed to the French Princess Isabella. Philip was restrained from active interference on behalf of the Scots; but even now, Edward in 1300 was unable to do more than make a military demonstration. The relations with the barons were still strained, for in 1299 he had evaded their demands for a fresh "Confirmation" by attaching to it a clause "saving the rights of the Crown." In 1300, they extracted from him some further concessions known as the *Articuli super Cartas*. But now, a piece of Papal interference enabled him to appeal to the barons. At the Parliament of Lincoln, 1301, Archbishop Winchelsea

Difficulties, 1298—1303.

maintained a claim put forward by the Pope—at the instance of the Scottish patriots—to the suzerainty of Scotland, setting aside Edward's feudal title. The barons gave full support to the King in a flat repudiation of the Pope's right to interfere in any way in temporal concerns. Yet, the still unsettled differences with France kept Edward's hands tied until in May, 1303, a definite Peace between him and Philip was signed.

Scotland, 1303—6.

At last the English King was prepared to make an effective and permanent conquest of Scotland, as of Wales. He spent more than a year in the country, marching as far north as the Moray Firth. The barons, as usual, offered no strenuous resistance. The indomitable Wallace strove to maintain a guerilla warfare; but early in 1305 he was betrayed into the hands of the English, and paid with the doom of a traitor the penalty of his dauntless patriotism. Scotland was once more strongly garrisoned, and a system of government was organised which—if the Scots had been prepared to accept it—might have served well to pave the way to a complete incorporation of the country as part and parcel of England. The weak point of it was that the Scots would have declined the most perfect government that man could conceive when imposed on them at the sword's point.

The revolt of Robert Bruce, 1306.

In 1306, young Robert Bruce, grandson of John Balliol's old competitor, made up his mind to strike for a crown, and in doing so to throw himself heart and soul into the cause of Scottish independence; which hitherto no leader had done save Wallace. He tried to secure the support of John Comyn of Badenoch, who had supported the cause more consistently on the whole than any of the other barons; but they quarrelled, and Bruce slew Comyn on the steps of the altar in the church were they had met. The sword was drawn and the scabbard was thrown away. In March, Bruce was crowned King of Scotland at Scone by a few of his friends. With the Comyn kindred against him, his first attempt at insurrection was checked at the battle of Methven, and he had to flee; but early in 1307 he was in arms again. Edward, now in his sixty-eighth year, was already preparing to take sweeping vengeance on the nation which had so persistently defied him. But by the time he had gathered his army on the Border, mortal illness was upon him. In July at Borough-on-Sands the great King, "the Hammer of the Scots," died even with the Solway in sight—leaving his last injunctions, that his bones should be carried at the head of the army till Scotland should be utterly subdued.

Death of Edward, 1307.

CHAPTER IX.

EDWARD II.: 1307—1327.

§ 1. *Piers Gaveston and the Lords Ordainers*, 1307—1313.

Father and son.

The first Edward was one of England's greatest kings. His first ambition was to make England a great and well-ordered state. Able, resolute, conscientious, he succeeded in that object. His defects were mainly two; while he took as his motto *Pactum serva*, "keep troth," he thought he had done his duty if he kept the letter of his engagements; and he was so thoroughly convinced of the justice of his own intentions that he regarded resistance to his will as a proof of depravity. But he learnt early that Englishmen were extremely tenacious of whatever they regarded as rights, and that Englishmen would never be well governed while they were hostile to the government. The one great failure of a successful reign was due to his refusal to see that the same rule applied to the Scots.

The second Edward was a complete contrast to his father. He had no idea of his responsibilities as a King; he was ruled entirely by personal likings and dislikes; he was at once obstinate and irresolute; he habitually chose the worst possible friends and advisers; he was destitute of military skill; he was faithless, without the cunning of the successful knave. He was not a would-be tyrant like John, but he had all the defects of his grandfather Henry III. in an exaggerated degree.

He was twenty-three when he came to the throne; for he was his father's fourth son, two of his elder brothers having died before his birth, and the third a year later. His first step was to leave the army and the conquest of Scotland to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; his second to recall to his side the worthless but witty companion and favourite, Piers Gaveston, whom the old King had banished, and to make him Earl of Cornwall. Then at the beginning of the next year (1308) he went to France to

Piers Gaveston.

bring home his bride Isabella; and the entire baronage was filled with fury, because he appointed as regent in his absence the favourite Gaveston, who was cordially and universally detested.

The greatest of the barons at this time was Thomas of Lancaster, son of the old King's brother Edmund (called Crouchback), on whom earldoms had been accumulated with the idea of strengthening the royal family. He, as well as Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and the great Earls of Hereford and Pembroke, were at hot enmity with the upstart Earl of Cornwall; and it was not long before Gaveston's banishment was demanded. The King was obliged to consent, but only dispatched him to Ireland as Lieutenant. The obnoxious favourite was at least out of the way. Edward wanted two things—money, and Gaveston. The country wanted reform of the chaos into which government had already fallen. In April, 1309, Parliament was summoned. Edward asked for money; Parliament presented a list of grievances and remedies. Edward offered to yield their demands if they would grant the money and recall Gaveston. After some months, the King got his way. But the lords who had consented—Warwick remained irreconcilable to Gaveston throughout—soon repented; they found Gaveston's insolence and his gibing tongue unendurable. In 1310 a Parliament met, of barons only, and demanded an immediate revival of a temporary constitution on the lines of the Provisions of Oxford of 1258—government by a Committee of Barons who were to set the realm in order.

Anger of the Barons.

A body of twenty-one "Lords Ordainers" was appointed, with Archbishop Winchelsea, the old antagonist of Edward I., at its head. It included Lancaster, Warwick, and Hereford, besides Earls who were comparatively friendly to the King, such as Gloucester and Pembroke. They were to administer affairs for eighteen months, and then lay definite proposals before Parliament. These proposals were duly presented in the Parliament held in August, 1311, and are known as the Ordinances of 1311. In part these were on the old lines, reaffirming the principles of the charters. In part, they provided for the expulsion of the Italian bankers, who supplied the King with money and were as unpopular as their predecessors the Jews had been. Of greater importance, as reforms, were the limitations on royal power laid down. The assent of the barons was to be necessary for the appointment of all great officers of state, for the declaration of war, and for the King's departure from the country: Parliament was to be called every year. The whole scheme was so far reactionary that the barons, not the Parliament

The Lords Ordainers, 1310—1.

of the three estates, were the controlling force. The Provisions of Oxford, not Earl Simon's later constitution, afforded the model. The real essence of the Ordinances, in the view of King and barons alike, lay in the demand for the expulsion of Gaveston and other "foreigners"; for the English barons regarded the Gascon subjects of the English King as foreigners. The Ordainers would make no concession whatever, and Edward found himself obliged to submit.

Gaveston was banished; but, in a very short time, Edward with amazing folly recalled him on his own responsibility. In January, 1312, the favourite was openly in the King's company in Yorkshire. The Ordainers promptly made their arrangements. Lancaster and Pembroke marched against Edward and Gaveston. In May the latter was cooped up in Scarborough Castle; in a few days he surrendered, Pembroke promising to ensure his safety. But Pembroke was so negligent in fulfilling his promise that Guy of Warwick, Gaveston's most relentless foe, was able to snatch him from custody, carry him off to Warwick Castle, and—with the approval of Lancaster and Hereford—cut off his head on Blacklow Hill. But the Earls by their action had alienated Pembroke, who was indignant that his pledged word had been set at nought. Gaveston, the main cause of offence, being removed, the violence and lawlessness of the deed created something of a reaction in Edward's favour, which was sentimentally increased by the birth, a few months later, of an heir to the throne. In December a formal reconciliation between all the parties was proposed; but it was not till near the end of the next year (1313) that a hollow submission on the side of the Earls and a hollow forgiveness on the side of the King, supplemented by a grant of money and the confirmation of the Ordinances, completed an insubstantial pacification.

The end of Gaveston, 1312.

§ 2. *Bannockburn, and the Independence of Scotland,* 1307—1314.

It was full time; for during the six years since Edward II. ascended the throne of England, Robert Bruce in Scotland had been slowly but persistently recovering the country; the work of the "Hammer of the Scots" was already all but wiped out. Edward I., at the height of his power, had found that the whole might of England was needed, alert and persistent, to hold Scotland in subjection. In these six years, the might of England had been wasted in the King's

Bruce recovers Scotland, 1307—13.

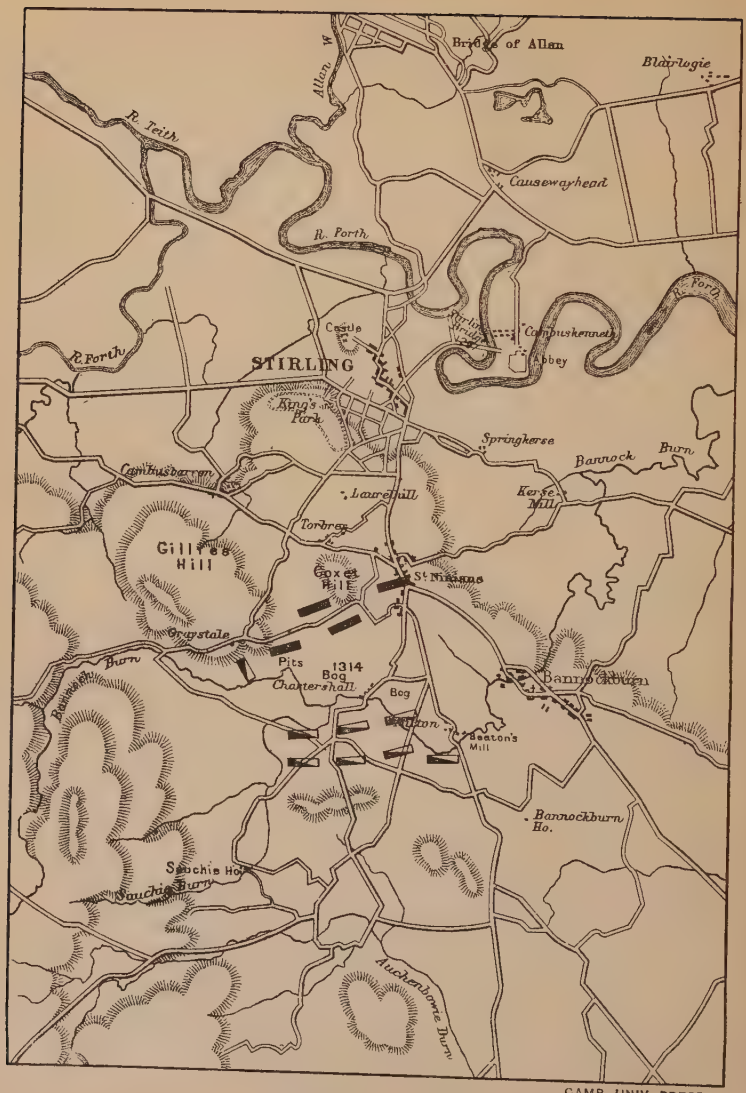
attempt to maintain, and the barons' attempt to destroy, the position of a worthless minion. Yet the task of Bruce—under the ban of the Church for Comyn's sacrilegious murder, with the Comyn kindred against him, and with very limited resources—was hard enough. One thing at least Edward I. had wrought, the undoing of which was a severe enough task. The south of Scotland was planted with castles, held by English garrisons, which were almost impregnable by assault. One by one, by daring feats of arms or ingenious stratagems, these fortresses were captured, and then in many cases not garrisoned—Bruce had no spare troops to lock up behind walls—but dismantled. At last in 1313 the castle rock of Edinburgh was scaled by night, and the garrison completely surprised; Roxburgh was captured; and Stirling remained the only English stronghold. Stirling itself was in such straits that the governor made a compact with Edward Bruce, the King's brother, to surrender if he were not relieved before Midsummer Day in 1314. Yet, while all this had been going on, Edward and Lancaster and Pembroke had been absorbed by the problem of Gaveston. No help had been sent to the diminishing garrisons, and only one campaign had been undertaken, in 1310–11, when the Scots had carefully avoided battle.

Edward enters Scotland.

So in 1314 an effort was made to save the last stronghold. Even now Lancaster would not help his cousin; still Edward raised an immense army and set out in June for the relief of Stirling. This time, the Scots resolved at last to stake the great event on a pitched battle. Bruce himself and his principal captains were tried and experienced leaders. Skilled though they were, they could not with inferior forces have pitted themselves with success against the old King; to face the second Edward was another matter. Bruce chose his ground, and arranged his force to cover the approach of the English host to Stirling, on the field of Bannockburn. This battle, which secured the independence of Scotland, may help us to understand the principles which decided the event of many mediaeval battles.

The tactics of Bannockburn.

There were three "arms" in the mediaeval army; heavy mail-clad horse, less heavily armed foot-soldiers, and light-armed archers. Roughly speaking, for two hundred years after the battle of Hastings, reliance was placed entirely on the shock of the charge of men-at-arms on horseback. Except with some great advantage of position, it was a matter of course for the cavalry to ride over the ordinary infantry. Then the Flemings against the French, and the Scots against the English, developed the formation—of which the "British square"



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BANNOCKBURN

Scots English

is the descendant—of massing spearmen or pikemen on foot to receive the cavalry charge. Thus the field of Falkirk had almost been saved, and thus Bannockburn was won. But there was no one in the English army to apply at Bannockburn the tactics which had turned the scale at Falkirk, and had overwhelmed the Welsh at Orewyn Bridge. There we saw that Edward I. discovered the decisive use that might be made of archery. The tactics he began to employ were an improvement upon the Scottish and Flemish method, which showed that cavalry could not override infantry properly handled; for in the first place he adopted the plan of strengthening his infantry with dismounted horse (a plan which, under some conditions, led to battles being decided by push of pike and nothing else); and in the second place, whether the English attack was to be made with horse or foot, it was preceded by a hail of the deadly English "cloth-yard shafts" which broke up the mass of the opposing ranks. As at Falkirk, so also in many a hard fight after Bannockburn, those tactics defeated the Scottish spearmen. They routed not less decisively the chivalry of France; for the archers could break up the attack of a cavalry charge as effectively as they could break up the defence of the phalanx of spearmen.

The Battle of Bannockburn, June 24, 1314.

But at Bannockburn, the tactics of Edward I. were not brought into play at all. The English attacked, with the time honoured reliance on the weight of charging horse. The Scots were secured from a flank attack by the nature of the ground chosen; on their front, much of the ground was too marshy for cavalry, and more had been made treacherous by concealed pits. The English charges were broken up by the carefully prepared ground, as well as by the disciplined firmness of the Scottish ranks. When an attempt was made to give the English bowmen on the left their chance, they were not covered, and the small body of Bruce's picked cavalry slipped round the flank, unsuspected, and cut them to pieces. The English charges only served to throw their troops into helpless confusion; and when the Scots King seized a moment of repulse to fling his whole line on the entangled masses of the enemy, the repulse became a headlong rout, the panic being increased by the appearance of Bruce's camp-followers on a hill. The independence of Scotland was established, and for many a year to come it was not the English who lorded it in Scotland, but the Scots who harried the northern borders of England. The great Edward's great conception of the triple island kingdom was only to take practical shape again after nearly three hundred years, when a king of Scots peacefully ascended the English throne

as the legitimate heir of the Tudors. A kingdom was established beyond the Tweed, which, remaining in standing alliance with France for two hundred and fifty years, was a permanent menace on England's northern frontier.

§ 3. *Misrule, Faction, and Fall*, 1314—1327.

Lancaster and Pembroke.

The slight reaction of 1313 in Edward's favour was dissipated by the disgrace of Bannockburn, whence the King had fled ignominiously with the rest. Lancaster, who had refused to take part in the Scots war, on the plea that the sanction of Parliament had not been obtained, was far the most powerful of the baronage; and he was now able practically to control the government. Little enough good resulted; for he, no more than his cousin, was capable of forming national designs or looking beyond merely personal interests. He and the King spent their time each in endeavouring to thwart the other; and the Earl of Pembroke, who had never forgiven Lancaster for his share in the Gaveston affair, presently made a third party; which first combined with the King to upset Lancaster's predominance, and then, in 1318, took the reins of power into its own hands. Still matters hardly improved. An attempt was made the next year to make a move against Bruce, in consequence of his having captured Berwick, the only remnant of Scottish soil in English hands; but the answer was a raid into Yorkshire led by Lord James Douglas and Randolph, Earl of Moray, which induced the English to make an immediate truce.

Rise of the Despensers.

Instead of making an alliance with either of the two baronial factions, Edward endeavoured to create a fresh Court party of his own by heaping favours on the family of Despenser. The younger, Hugh Despenser, had to some extent taken the place of Gaveston; the elder, his father, had been a useful minister of Edward I., and was himself the son of the man whom Simon de Montfort had made Chancellor. But they were unpopular with every section of the baronage, who presently made common cause against them, and in 1321, through Parliament, procured their banishment.

Fall of Lancaster.

An insult offered to Edward's queen by Lady Badlesmere, the wife of an adherent of Lancaster, roused the King and brought him fresh supporters. Faction and lack of organisation enabled Edward to make a successful attack on the turbulent barons of the Welsh Marches, who were of the Lancaster faction, and a victory at Boroughbridge (March, 1322) brought the

Earl himself into his hands. Lancaster was thereupon executed as a traitor. His curiously undeserved popularity produced an amazing belief that miracles were wrought at his tomb; but it was the turn of the Despensers to wield the controlling power.

The Despensers knew that they must stand or fall with the King; but they took the attitude of being champions of the Constitution against the usurpation of the barons. At a Parliament held at York in May, all the three estates were again fully represented, and the principle that the consent of the Commons as well as of the prelates and the baronage was necessary in affairs of State was re-affirmed; the Ordinances of 1311 being repealed, as not having received the necessary sanction, and as ignoring the principle.

Rule of the Despensers.

In spite of this declaration of constitutional principles, the Despensers showed no greater competence than their predecessors. Once more, they made a futile attempt to conquer Scotland: the Scots retreated before them, avoided battle, cut off their supplies, and once more showed their contempt for the disorganised southern kingdom by raiding the whole of the northern counties at their pleasure. At length (1323) terms of peace, to last for thirteen years, were arranged; England practically acknowledging the independence of her neighbour, though still refusing to recognise Bruce's royal title. Under the circumstances, since it was quite obvious that the English government was incapable of dealing with the Scots with a strong hand, the most sensible course was to accept the inevitable; yet to do so was in itself a confession of incapacity.

Nor was the general contempt and disgust mitigated by any symptoms of wisdom or statesmanship; for Edward and the Despensers combined to alienate possible supporters instead of conciliating opponents. Henry, Thomas of Lancaster's brother, was allowed to succeed to his earldom; but the King kept the estates. He enraged his wife by showing that he did not feel in her a confidence which she soon, for her part, showed that she did not deserve. The Despensers themselves embittered the jealousy of the baronage by absorbing great estates.

Isabella and Mortimer.

In the meantime, a new king, Charles IV., ascended the throne of France, and demanded homage from Edward for Gascony. There were still outstanding questions unsettled; the Despensers were afraid to let Edward leave the country. He was rash enough to send his queen, Isabella, to represent him; she, from France, persuaded him to send their son Edward after her. The boy was in her hands; and she was

intriguing with one of the Marcher barons, Roger Mortimer, who had been imprisoned at the time of Lancaster's execution, but succeeded in escaping to France. In September, 1326, Isabella landed in England, avowedly as leader of a rebellion. No one would stir to aid the King and the Despensers. Before the end of the year, Edward was a prisoner and both the Despensers were hanged. In January, Parliament met. The King was compelled to abdicate; his son was declared King in his room; Isabella and her paramour Mortimer ruled according to their own evil will. Once more a reaction in favour of the wretched Edward seemed probable, therefore in September the unhappy captive was murdered at Berkeley Castle.

Edward deposed and murdered, 1327.

CHAPTER X.

EDWARD III.: 1327—1377.

§ 1. *Mortimer—Scotland—The French quarrel developes*, 1327—1337.

The young Edward was not yet fifteen when he was proclaimed King of England in succession to his father. For nearly four years, the control of affairs lay in the hands of his mother and Mortimer, who were no improvement even on the Despensers. Within a few months, the Scots had broken truce and were again overrunning the north of England; a campaign against them had the now customary result; and in 1328 the definitive peace of Northampton was made, formally recognising Bruce's title and withdrawing entirely the English claim of sovereignty.

Peace of Northampton, 1328.

It was equally out of the question to oppose effective resistance to the encroachments of the French crown on Gascony. A treaty in 1327 left the King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine, little more than the strip of coast lying between the borders of Poitou on the north and Navarre on the south. In 1328, the death of Charles IV.—the third of Isabella's brothers who were successively Kings of France—leaving no son, raised the question of succession. It was admitted that a woman could not herself succeed, but it was held by some lawyers that the succession might nevertheless be transmitted through a woman. On this plea, Isabella claimed the crown for her son Edward III. of England. The French however maintained the doctrine of succession in the unbroken male line only—a doctrine which the jurists of a century later identified with the famous "Salic law"—and recognised Philip of Valois by the title of Philip VI. Probably the chief consideration which guided them was not an abstruse point of technical law, but the broad principle that the King of England was a foreigner, and so was barred from the succession: whereas Philip of Valois was pure French. Isabella failed in attempting to enlist the nobles of Gascony and the cities of Flanders on Edward's side; and in 1329 he was obliged to do homage to

France: the Valois succession, 1328.

Philip—though it was made clear on both sides that neither party meant to surrender any claim to title or territory permanently[1].

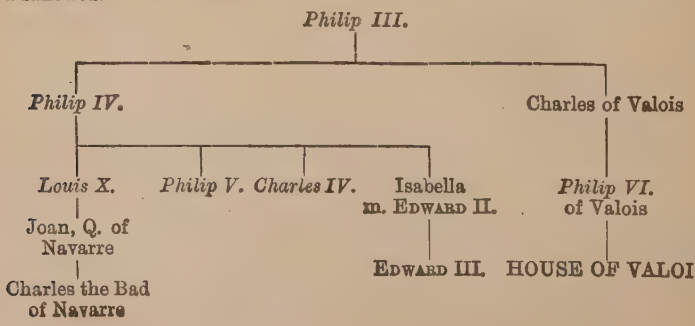
Fall of Mortimer, 1330.

The relations with Scotland and France both weighed against Mortimer. His domestic policy was directed mainly, like that of his predecessors, to the absorption of great estates. When the young King's uncle, Edmund of Kent, was inveigled into a rebellion—under the impression that the luckless Edward II. was really alive and a prisoner in Corfe Castle—and then executed as a traitor; and when Edward himself, who had been married to Philippa of Hainault, had a son born to him; he realised that it was time to assert himself. At the end of 1330, a successful conspiracy trapped Mortimer and Isabella. The former was executed, the latter placed in honourable retirement; and the real reign of Edward III. began.

Happily the personal ambitions and rivalries of the great barons had now subsided, and the administration generally settled down quietly enough. Scottish wars however revived; for Bruce died in 1329 leaving his five year old son David II. as King, and the capable and vigorous regent, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, did not long survive. This gave Edward Balliol, the son of old John Balliol, a chance of again asserting his claim to the crown; with the support of sundry lords whose antagonism to Bruce had caused them to be disinherited and banished. With the connivance of the English King, to whom Balliol promised a renewal of allegiance, the "disinherited" landed in

Scotland: Edward Balliol, 1332—9.

[1] The following table shows that in fact Charles of Navarre had a better title than Edward of England, if descent through females were admitted. As against Charles, Edward's claim was on the same footing as that of the original Robert Bruce for Scotland against John Balliol; which was disallowed.



Scotland in 1332; and the victory of Dupplin Moor placed Balliol on the throne, and drove the little David in flight to France. Next year, Balliol was again driven out, and again restored, this time by the direct assistance of Edward, who won an archers' victory at Halidon Hill. Balliol ceded territories and castles to his over-lord; but the Scots stubbornly refused to recognise his authority, and, when Edward marched into the country, fell back on the old strategy of avoiding any pitched battle. Philip of France kept young King David in safety, and perpetually hampered the action of the English King, while maintaining the old policy of securing bit by bit what was left of Gascony and Guienne. At last Edward made up his mind to devote his energies to the French dispute, which involved his dropping the Scottish question altogether in 1338. Next year Balliol was finally ejected; David—now seventeen—came back and took up the government; and the serious attempts to subjugate Scotland by force were finally brought to an end.

The French Quarrel.

In plain truth, quite apart from Edward's claim to the French throne, the time had arrived when, as Duke of Aquitaine, he must either make a definite stand, or must submit to the process by which for a century past the crown of France had been establishing its power at the expense of the great feudatories. The French King would not give up the systematic policy of the royal house; the Duke, being also King of England, would not submit to that policy. The first Edward's might had stayed the progress of the French crown, but had not forced it back; the second Edward's weakness had allowed it to advance much further. The third Edward's assertion of his own right to the succession, which had fallen to Philip of Valois, was not his real motive: it was but a politic pretext, which might be employed in obtaining alliances; a demand with a diplomatic value. It was used to secure the countenance, if not the active support, of the cities of Flanders (in opposition to their Count, who supported the Valois), of the German Emperor, and of the various Counts who ruled the States of the Low Countries and the Lower Rhine. Thus, at the outset, Edward's military base was in Flanders and Brabant.

The alliance with the Emperor and the Low German Counts was not worth very much. That with the cities of Flanders—a French fief—was worth more. Their leader was James Van Arteveldte, a rich burgher of Ghent. The Flemings were wealthy; but their wealth depended mainly on their manufactures, and for these they got their most important raw material—wool—from England. So that the maintenance of friendly relations and unfettered trade between Flanders and England was of the utmost importance to both.

§ 2. *The Beginning of the Hundred Years War, to the Treaty of Bretigny*, 1337—1360.

Irregular hostilities began before the end of 1337; they continued through 1338, and in 1339, Edward collected his forces in Hainault, and invaded France. This first campaign was merely futile; but it was followed by the cementing of a closer alliance with the Flemings. Then Edward had to return to England to raise money; for the expenses were heavy, and he was already deep in the debt of the Flemish burghers. Meantime, a great French fleet, mainly Norman, was collected, and lay in wait in what was then the great open harbour of Sluys. Edward himself had gathered a great naval force; and, enticing the enemy from their moorings into the open sea, fell upon them and won an overwhelming victory, which at once established his military reputation—for the victory was gained by the archers, and by grappling and boarding (June, 1340). This triumph however was followed by another vain campaign on land; and then in September a truce was patched up, the more readily owing to the pecuniary embarrassments of both combatants. To get back to England, Edward was obliged literally to flee, without warning, from his Flemish creditors, and take ship before his escape was discovered (November).

The war opens, 1339.

Battle of Sluys, 1340.

The war was suspended for a time, and Edward found full occupation at home. He thought his money troubles were due to the mismanagement of his ministers; and had an angry quarrel with Archbishop Stratford, whom he ordered to appear for trial before the court of Exchequer. The Archbishop replied that the only court which could try him was that of the Peers; and Parliament upheld him. The King was forced to admit the principle of "trial by peers," that is, by judges of the same rank as the accused person. Moreover he was unable to obtain money grants until a statute was passed requiring that ministers should be appointed by consultation between the King and the Estates, that Parliament should appoint auditors to examine accounts, and that ministers should be answerable to Parliament.

A Constitutional Defeat, 1341.

The King of France and the King of England were at peace: but a contest for the succession to the dukedom of Brittany gave them the opportunity of supporting different claimants. John de Montfort, of the same stock on his mother's side as Earl Simon, claimed to succeed his half-brother: Charles of Blois, Philip's nephew, claimed in right of his wife, the late duke's full niece. Philip and Edward each for political reasons supported in

Fighting in Brittany, 1342—3.

Brittany the theory of succession which, when the crown of France was in question, he himself had repudiated and his rival had supported. In 1342, English troops were fighting for the Montforts; and the Earl of Northampton, in command, at Morlaix won a battle by employing, for the first time outside of Britain, the tactics which had gained the day at Falkirk and Halidon Hill. The turn of the year brought another truce, which recognised Montfort as duke; while his party recognised Edward, not Philip, as King of France. But before long, the way in which Philip broke his engagements served as a sufficient ground for renewing open hostilities.

and in the South, 1345–6.

In 1345, another Henry of Lancaster, the son and successor of Henry the brother of Thomas, conducted an expedition from Gascony into Perigord, which did much to restore the English King's prestige in that province; and in the next year led an effective raid into Poitou.

In the same summer (1346) Edward, at the head of an armament which was also supposed to be destined for Gascony,

Campaign of 1346.

descended suddenly upon Normandy, swept through the Duchy, and marched up the left bank of the Seine to within a few miles of Paris; while a French army on the other bank dogged his movements without venturing an attack. The campaign however was, in intention, nothing more than a raid; and Edward, evading the French, crossed the Seine, and directed his march to the Flemish frontier. The French, following a parallel route, were first across the Somme, and nearly succeeded in securing the passages over the river: one, however, known as the Blanche Taque, was found, where Edward managed to lead his army across; and three days later the two hosts came in touch with each other at Crecy.

The great battle was won by the English against greatly superior numbers by the tactics of Falkirk, Halidon Hill, and

Crecy (Aug. 26).

Morlaix—that is by the combined use of archers and heavy infantry—against an enemy who relied on heavy mail-clad cavalry. The nature of the ground secured the English against a flank attack on the archers. The French opened the engagement by sending forward a band of Genoese cross-bow men; but they were no match for the long-bow of the English, and were soon in rout. Thereupon the masses of the French horse trampled them down in a headlong charge against the English line; but were in their turn thrown into hopeless confusion by the hail of arrows. With desperate valour, they hurled themselves again and again against the foe, to be again and again broken before they reached close quarters by the winged death. Nearly a hundred of the baronage, more than a

thousand knights, more than twenty thousand of the common folk, are said to have lost their lives in that slaughter; while the English loss, all told, was less than a thousand (August 26).

With no fear of further molestation, the victor continued his march, and presently, having resolved to secure for himself a permanent gate of entrance to France, sat down before Calais, and settled himself to reduce it by blockade. In the meantime, his lieutenants won him another decisive victory, this time on English soil. David of Scotland, the French King's ally, invaded the north; but was met by the northern levies at Neville's Cross (October), where his force was routed and he himself taken prisoner.

Neville's Cross (October).

Before the next autumn had fairly arrived, Northampton, the victor of Morlaix, had confirmed at Le Crotoy the mastery of the sea which had been won at Sluys, and Calais had surrendered—to be converted into an English town, the gate of the Continent both for commerce and for war, for two hundred years. But the financial strain was too severe; even the glories of 1346 and 1347 did not suffice to make England eager for further martial adventures, and in September a truce was signed between the contending nations: with the effect that there were no more hostilities on a grand scale till 1355.

Calais, 1347.

These years are marked by the first outbreak all over Europe of a terrible pestilence known as the Black Death—a form of the Plague—which invaded England in 1349, and reappeared at intervals during the next twenty years. The fearful ravages it committed were among the causes which turned the minds of men from warfare, since it carried off perhaps as much as one-third of the population. To its effects—one of which was the Statute of Labourers, passed two years later—it will be more convenient to return in the closing section of this chapter. The period of truce produced also legislation directed against the claims of the papacy. The Statute of Provisors (1351) forbade the acceptance of appointments by papal nominees (called Provisors) in contravention of the right of free election: and in 1353 the first Statute of Praemunire (so called from the first word in the warrants) forbade the carrying before any foreign court—which of course meant the papal court—of any matters which came within the jurisdiction of the king's courts. In another field, we may take note of the first Statute of Treasons (1352), which was passed in order to give strict definition to the offences which might be brought under this head. As a matter of fact, it left so much

The Black Death, 1349.

Legislation, 1351—3.

to be decided by the interpretation of the lawyers that, to a great extent, it failed of its purpose: but it distinctly established as treason the compassing of the death of the king, the queen, or the heir to the throne, killing the king's ministers in the execution of their functions, joining the king's enemies, and counterfeiting the Great Seal or the coinage.

Irregular fighting, 1348—54.

The truce allowed the development of a good deal of irregular warfare: chiefly in the neighbourhood of Calais, where the English territory was extended by the capture of Guisnes; in Brittany, where the contest between the factions of the Montforts and Charles of Blois continued to rage, and the great warrior Bertrand du Guesclin was rapidly achieving fame; in the borders of Gascony, where the French lost ground; and in the Channel, where English supremacy was increasingly established. In 1354 a great effort was made to arrive at a definitive peace, for which the English Parliament expressed an emphatic desire. Edward was ready to resign his pretensions to the crown of France, if the French would surrender the suzerainty of Aquitaine.

War renewed in Aquitaine, 1355.

The negotiation failed, and the war broke out again in 1355 as fiercely as ever. Now however it was in Aquitaine, where the King's eldest son Edward the Black Prince was in command, that the interest of the struggle centred. It must be remembered that in Gascony and Guienne, Edward was not a foreign ruler making war upon French dominions; he was the acknowledged Duke, defending his own dominions against the encroachments of the French King; just as the Duke of Normandy, when he was also King of England, had fought at the head of Norman battalions against the troops of France. In the campaigns of the Black Prince, Gascony was loyal to its Plantagenet lords, and the Black Prince's armies were as much Gascon as English.

The Black Prince.

The Prince had won his spurs at Crecy, nine years before, as a lad of sixteen. He was now to prove himself a warrior as brilliant as his father; though both were distinguished not as great generals who could design systematic campaigns, but as captains of high personal prowess who handled their troops in the field with consummate skill. They performed feats of arms which dazzled their contemporaries; but their soldiership was on a lower plane than that of Edward I. or of Henry V. They belong to the class not of genuine conquerors but of brilliant raiders.

In 1355 the Black Prince was despatched to Gascony. Making

Bordeaux his headquarters, he commenced military operations without delay, heading a great foray to the south-eastward into Languedoc, and devastating the country on which French invaders of Gascony would have to depend largely for their supplies. This occupied the latter part of the year. By the end of the next summer he had started on another raid on French territory, this time to the north-east. When he came to the river Loire, King John of France with a great army marched by him southward, intending to cut off his return. Edward's force was very much smaller, but Englishmen had learnt at Crecy that numbers count for less than skill, and the Prince was ready to do battle. Chroniclers say that there were forty thousand French, and only seven thousand Englishmen and Gascons. Near Poictiers the two armies came in touch (September). The Black Prince established himself in a position where he might perhaps have been surrounded and starved, but could only be attacked at a great disadvantage; hedges, ditches, and the slope of the ground giving effectual aid, though his archers were not many. The French did not attempt to repeat the blunder of Crecy; they sent their horses to the rear, and marched to the attack on foot. The first and the second line were repulsed by hard fighting, and, as they fell back in confusion, the Black Prince, commanding the English reserve, seized the moment to charge, while his lieutenant, the Captal de Buch, made a flank attack with the cavalry. The defeat became a rout and a slaughter, while King John and his younger son Philip were taken prisoners, fighting valiantly.

Poictiers, 1356 (Sept.).

With the French King a captive, a long course of negotiations followed. Even now, France was not prepared to concede all that was demanded; and it was not till King Edward had conducted another great raid into the heart of France that the Peace of Bretigny was signed, in May, 1360.

§ 3. *The Decadence of Edward III.*, 1360—1377.

In effect, by the Treaty of Bretigny, Edward resigned his claims on the French throne; but he received as independent dominions Aquitaine—including therein territories to which even Edward I. had not pressed his claim, some of them being definitely hostile to English rule—and Calais, with the neighbouring districts of Guisnes and Ponthieu. Also, a ransom of 3,000,000 crowns was to be paid for King John—about eight times as much as the ordinary revenue of England. This burden turned out to be so much more than France could bear,

The Treaty of Bretigny, 1360.

that ere long King John again surrendered himself a prisoner, of his own act, because his ransom was not being paid up.

The Black Prince was now established as lord of Aquitaine. For some years, such fighting as went on was much like that during the truce after the capture of Calais; thus for instance in Brittany, for some time, the English champion, Sir John Chandos, supported the Montfort faction while du Guesclin supported the other. Presently, however, the Black Prince was drawn into a more serious affair. Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, was driven from his kingdom, on account of his crimes, by his illegitimate brother, Henry of Trastamara. Henry was aided by a force from France led by du Guesclin. Pedro fled to the Black Prince at Bordeaux, and appealed to him for aid. From a very distorted idea of chivalry, Edward threw himself into the struggle, crossed the Pyrenees, and in April, 1367, won the great battle of Najara or Navarette, where du Guesclin was taken prisoner. But Pedro would not reimburse the great expenditure of Edward on his behalf, and the Black Prince returned disgusted to Aquitaine—with his health completely wrecked. Pedro's breach of faith compelled Edward to impose taxation; the disaffected nobles appealed to Charles V., who had now succeeded John on the French throne; Charles cited Edward to the French Court, on the ground that the King of England had never formally renounced his pretensions to the French throne, though bound to do so by the Bretigny treaty; the King responded by reasserting that claim, since Charles had chosen to reassert his own claim to the suzerainty of Aquitaine.

The Black Prince in Spain, 1367.

Renewal of War.

But the young King of France was a clever diplomatist; he had separated all England's continental allies from Edward, and his captains were men who had learnt how to fight the English. Edward III. was already old and feeble, though not yet sixty: his eldest son was broken with disease. Success attended the French arms on all sides; few of the barons of Aquitaine remained loyal to the Black Prince. Late in 1370, ill as he was, he took the field, and dealt terrible vengeance at Limoges, where he allowed a wholesale massacre of the inhabitants—an iniquity which is the gravest blot on his fame as the mirror of chivalry. But this was his last exploit. The next year he returned to England. Before Edward was in his grave, all that was left to England of the great territories won by the Treaty of Bretigny was the Calais pale, and a fragment of Guienne and Gascony. Even the command of the sea had been lost in 1372, in a disastrous naval engagement between an English fleet commanded by the Earl of

The tide turns, 1369—73.

Pembroke, and a Spanish armament in the service of Henry of Trastamara, who finally established his dynasty on the throne of Castile. In 1373 John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, marched through France from Calais to Guienne; but the French adopted the Scottish strategy of avoiding pitched battles and clearing the country of supplies before the advancing army. The march was a wretched fiasco, and it was but a starved remnant of Lancaster's force that at last reached Bordeaux.

Political unrest.

Revulsion against the long disorders of Edward II.'s reign held faction in check during the first period of his son's rule; his military triumphs from Sluys to the Treaty of Bretigny had a like effect during the second period. The King's dangerous practices of obtaining supplies by heavy loans from foreign bankers or English merchants like de la Pole, and of levying customs on wool, produced remonstrances to which he was obliged to give way; and the latter practice was ended by enactments of 1362 and 1371, requiring the assent of Parliament as well as of the merchants concerned. Still, for the sake of a popular war, the country was ready on the whole to tax itself heavily. But, when the tide of victory turned, the mismanagement made the war itself unpopular, and every administration in turn became the object of attack.

John of Gaunt.

The dissatisfaction first caused the ejection from office, in 1371, of William of Wykeham and other ecclesiastics, and the substitution, in all the higher offices, of laymen. The old King, lost now to all sense of his responsibilities, was entirely in the hands of a designing woman named Alice Perrers; his third son, John of Gaunt, became the real ruler of the country. The energies of the Black Prince were broken by disease: the second son, Lionel of Clarence, was dead, his daughter Philippa being married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Edward had pursued a policy of accumulating earldoms in the hands of his sons; John had further acquired the dukedom of Lancaster by marriage with Blanche of Lancaster, the heiress, and, since her death, had wedded Constance of Castile, the daughter of Pedro the Cruel; through whom he asserted a futile claim to the crown of Castile. He sought to make his rule popular by adopting a violently anti-clerical attitude, but that did not compensate for mal-administration. Edmund Mortimer's little son Roger stood next to the Black Prince's son Richard in the succession; while Lancaster wished the French rule of succession to be adopted, so that he himself and his own son Henry would be the heirs if the stock of the Black Prince failed. Lancaster's dangerous ambitions caused both the Black Prince and Mortimer

to set themselves in opposition to him, and to side with the clerical party.

The Good Parliament, 1376.

In 1376 the "Good" Parliament met. The knights of the shire promptly united themselves with the opposition to John of Gaunt; they attacked the favourites who surrounded the old King, and for the first time we now hear of an Impeachment, the Commons as a body charging Lord Latimer before the Peers. The death, at this juncture, of the Black Prince, led Lancaster to bring forward the definite proposal—for his own benefit—that the French law of succession should be adopted in England; but the Commons declined to discuss the question. Finally they presented a list of grievances, and insisted—after the precedents of the Provisions of Oxford and of the Ordainers—on the appointment in Parliament of a Committee of Peers to supervise the administration.

Lancaster and Wycliffe.

The Parliament had no sooner broken up than Lancaster set aside its proceedings. When he found it necessary, early in the next year, to call another Parliament, he managed to pack it so that it was filled with his own supporters. He raised again the anti-clerical cry, calling in to his support John Wycliffe, a learned man with strong views on clerical privileges. Courtenay, the Bishop of London, responded by citing Wycliffe to answer a charge of heresy. Lancaster came to the Cathedral to interfere with the proceedings; the threatening language he used to their bishop enraged the Londoners, who rose in a furious riot. But the moment was dangerous for a crisis; both parties wished to avoid that, and the quarrel was smoothed over. Peace between them had hardly been made when the neglected and doting old King died almost deserted in his palace of Sheen. Men said that Alice Perrers stole the very rings from his fingers before she took hasty flight from his side. It was a pitiful ending for one who, reigning for just fifty years, had not indeed been a truly great King, but was assuredly a very famous knight and warrior, and a better ruler on the whole than most.

Death of Edward, 1377.

§ 4. *Social Conditions.*

Commercial aim of Edward's Wars.

Almost to the middle of the fourteenth century and of Edward's reign, the commerce and industry of England flourished. We are apt to think and speak of his wars as wantonly undertaken out of a reckless thirst for empty glory, or a greedy desire to usurp a crown to which he had no right. But to whatever extent these may have been his motives,

it is clear that they did not stand first—he was urged into them by a reasonable statesmanship which aimed at the advantage of England as well as at personal gain. Gascony and Flanders were the two districts with which English commerce was most largely carried on. If his lordship in Aquitaine were securely established against the aggression of the French kings, the Gascon trade with England could be secured and regulated in a manner highly beneficial to both countries. Similarly, if the Flemish cities were in close alliance with England, without interference from their Count or the French crown, a great trade would be carried on to the mutual enrichment of England and Flanders. If Edward won the French crown, both objects would be secured, since the Flemish Count would be his vassal; but the crown itself was a secondary matter—he was always ready to let the claim drop if his real objects could be secured without it. This accounts for the general readiness of the Commons in England to support the war. Similarly, Edward's desire to be recognised as king of the "narrow seas" did not rest on purely military reasons, though they counted for much, but on the determination to protect English commerce—the more, as by this time English ships were finding their way to the Mediterranean and the great mercantile cities of Italy.

Beginnings of a Commercial Policy.

The great fact to his credit—that it was in his reign that the Government first began to regard the development of commerce as a serious object for its attention, though Edward I. had paved the way—is further illustrated by the direct encouragement given to Flemish weavers to establish their industry in England; and by efforts—of doubtful advantage—to shut out foreign competition in order to develope home manufactures. We find also the beginnings of commercial wars, in the sense not only of wars undertaken to promote commerce, but of the employment of commercial restrictions instead of armies as a means of pressure on foreign powers. Thus, when Flanders was under the control of its Count, the export of wool to Flanders was forbidden; whereby, if English trade suffered, Flemish trade was almost ruined for the time. Flanders was so much more dependent on the English trade than was England on the Flemish trade, that the process was efficacious; and the cities were quick to see that for them it would be fatal to be on bad terms with England. From this kind of commercial war, England suffered; but her antagonist suffered more. But again, whether the effect was bad or good, the operation emphasises the importance which commerce was now beginning to acquire as one of the matters which must occupy the minds of statesmen.

The general prosperity was checked by the terrible visitation of the Black Death. By sweeping away such a large proportion of the population, it upset every kind of industry. There were not enough labourers to do the work that had to be done; so that free men soon found they could demand high wages; the prevailing scarcity made the higher wages necessary because prices went up; the "villeins," who still owed service to their masters without wages, were rendered discontented, because they did not get the benefit of the rise in wages; and it became difficult to keep them on the estates to which they were bound. A practice was already fairly prevalent for the landholders—very much as the King had substituted the payment called scutage for the compulsory knight-service of his tenants—to release villeins from actual service and to take payment from them instead. The rise in wages made the villeins eager to extend this practice, while it made the landholders anxious to diminish it and to insist on the actual services being given. Thus an antagonism between the two classes was fostered. This was further increased by the Statute of Labourers (1351). The object of the statute was to compel employers to pay, and labourers to accept, the rate of wages current before the Black Death, by punishing employers who paid or labourers who demanded more. A second statute in 1360 imposed very severe penalties on labourers who broke their contracts and changed their place of residence. The statutes, of course, were all in the interest of the landlord class, which was natural enough seeing that the House of Commons consisted mainly of landlords. They were not meant to be unfair, for they were accompanied by similar orders against the increase of prices. Their intention was not to repress the labourers, but to prevent them from taking advantage of the scarcity of labour which the Black Death had caused. The law failed of its purpose, because prices could not be kept down, and the men could not, in practice, be compelled to work on the old terms; but the attempts to enforce such a law intensified the class-antagonism; which we shall find breaking out in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry VI. It was not that the peasantry were particularly miserable; their condition at the worst, as described in William Langland's allegory, the *Vision of Piers the Plowman*, was infinitely better than that of the peasantry in France which, at this period, brought about the murderous risings and murderous reprisals of the "Jacquerie"; but in England they were beginning to see that their position might be bettered, while the landlord class saw that the bettering would be at their expense.

The Black Death.

The Statute of Labourers.

Class feeling was further fostered by one aspect of the teaching of John Wycliffe, who is called the "Morning Star of the Reformation." He did not come forward as a preacher of new heretical doctrines; though at a later stage he challenged doctrines (such as that of Transubstantiation, or the changing of the Substance of Bread and Wine, in the Mass or Communion, into the Substance of the Saviour's Body and Blood) which had been universally accepted for centuries, arguing that they were not in accord with the teaching and practice of Christ and the Apostles. His great translation of a portion of the Scriptures into English marks an epoch in the language, and has formed the basis of every subsequent English Bible. But he became associated with John of Gaunt, simply because he taught that the claim of the Papacy to control secular affairs in the States of Christendom, and to demand money from the Church in England or elsewhere, was not part of the Christian law but was flatly opposed to it. The protest against papal authority was the more reasonable, because since the beginning of the century the Popes had resided not at Rome but at Avignon, and had devoted their ecclesiastical authority to furthering the interests of France; and matters became worse when, in the year after Edward's death, one Pope was established at Rome and another, a rival, at Avignon; half Europe accepting the one, and the other half the other, as the true Pope. The part, however, of Wycliffe's doctrine which was turned to account by the new movement of the poorer against the wealthier classes was that which declared that "Power is of Grace"; that is, that authority is bestowed by the Grace of God, and is forfeited by misuse. From which it would follow that those who use their power otherwise than for the general good may justly be deprived of it. When this was joined to insistence on the doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God, it might easily be distorted by fanaticism into a practical denial of all authority and all government. This last was not Wycliffe's teaching, but it was not impossible to make out that Wycliffe's teaching led to it; and hence the sect of the Lollards, as Wycliffe's followers began to be called, were presently credited with being not merely reformers in religious and social matters but dangerous revolutionaries.

Wycliffe.

The "Great Schism."

New Social Doctrines.

CHAPTER XI.

RICHARD II.: 1377—1399.

§ 1. *The Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, and the Lords Appellant*, 1377—1389.

RICHARD, the son of the Black Prince, was eleven years old when he succeeded his grandfather in 1377. His reign falls into three divisions. Till 1389, the young King failed to obtain any real authority. In 1389, he succeeded in freeing himself from tutelage, and the government was carried on fairly till 1398. In 1398, he grasped at absolute power, and the following year saw his downfall.

Accession of Richard II.

Whatever Lancaster's ambitions may have been, he made no attempt to supplant his nephew. In theory the monarchy was still elective, though the succession had now been carried on in the direct line since the time of John; and there would have been precisely the same justification for preferring John of Gaunt to his elder brother's son as for preferring King John to Arthur of Brittany. But Richard was the son of a popular English hero, whereas Arthur had been the son of a foreign Duke. Had Lancaster himself been popular, he might have made the attempt, but he was wise enough to realise that it would have too little chance of success. So the truce between the opposing factions, which had been arrived at when Edward was on his death-bed, was confirmed; Richard was crowned King, and a Council of twelve was appointed to look after the government.

Ascendency of Lancaster.

For some time, matters went on very much as they had done in the closing years of Edward III. Lancaster was far the most powerful subject in the kingdom; he was the King's eldest uncle; and practically the control was in his hands. His next brother, Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, later made Duke of York, was unambitious; and the third, Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, later made Duke of Gloucester, was biding his time.

It may be remarked in passing that the title of Duke had been first granted during the last reign, and was borne by no one but Lancaster himself at the time of Richard's accession. The French were still acquiring more of Guienne, and were raiding the channel. A Parliament voted money, but showed its distrust of Lancaster by requiring that William Walworth and John Philipot of London should control the expenditure. But Lancaster got the Council to hand over the money to him, and then failed to effect anything by sea or land. Philipot, on the other hand, fitted out a fleet at his own expense, and vanquished some Scottish rovers who had been causing trouble: which did not make Lancaster more popular.

Unrest of the Peasantry.

The continual need of money caused Parliament in 1379 to grant a poll tax—that is, to require every able-bodied man to pay a tax of a groat (fourpence) while the wealthier men had to pay more. The renewal of the poll-tax in a still harsher form next year was the spark which kindled a conflagration. For more than thirty years the discontent of the whole class of villeins and labourers had been growing. They were angry with the landed class; they were angry with the lawyers, who, by discovering flaws in the agreements, had often enabled the lords to bring back into forced service men who thought they had obtained a title to make a fixed payment instead; they were angry with the wealthy ecclesiastics and monasteries, partly for being landlords and partly because both the friars and the followers of Wycliffe had inveighed against the possession of wealth by the clergy. They were angry at the disasters of the war, and angry at being taxed. So they were ready for mischief; and when the tax-collectors behaved with violence, and one of them in Kent insulted the daughter of a certain Wat the Tyler, his head was broken by the indignant father; there was a riot; and the riot rapidly became a great insurrection which spread all over the Eastern counties.

The Peasant Revolt, 1381.

This Peasant Revolt of 1381 is generally associated with the names of the leaders, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw (which may possibly have been only a nickname for Wat Tyler), and John Ball, a priest who had adopted the doctrine of universal equality in its most fanatical form; taking for the text of his exhortations the popular rhyme,

> "When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?"

Very soon a vast host was marching on London, well organised and disciplined; they set fire to John of Gaunt's palace—he was their

special aversion—and broke open the prisons; but they allowed no robbery, and declared themselves loyal subjects of the young King.

But while Richard himself was meeting a great body of the insurgents at Mile End, and promising to remedy their grievances, which meant mainly the abolition of "bondage," another body broke into the Tower, and murdered the Chancellor and the Treasurer, and a good many more. Next day Richard ventured again to meet them. Wat Tyler, their spokesman, was so insolent that William Walworth, who was in attendance on the King, cut him down. An angry shout "our leader is slain" would have been followed by a rush of the armed multitude, but for the courage of the fourteen-year-old King. He rode straight into their midst, alone, calling out that he was their King and would be their leader; that he would grant them their just demands, and would pardon the violence of which they had been guilty.

Its end, and its result.

The situation was saved: the King's pledge was accepted, and the insurgents dispersed: but elsewhere they had to be scattered by force of arms, and it was considered that this was a sufficient excuse for ignoring Richard's promises, which he had no constitutional power to enforce. Parliament, when it met, refused to abolish villeinage. But as a practical result, the alarm had been so great that the landowners for their own safety to a great extent conceded the demands of the villeins, and villeinage did very soon almost disappear without any direct legislation against it.

Till 1385 the domination of John of Gaunt continued, though Richard was restive under it. In that year, the King and his uncle together headed an invasion of Scotland—on account of her alliance with France—but there was no pitched battle and no practical result beyond a good deal of devastation. Then for three years Lancaster disappeared from England, in order to prosecute—vainly—his claims to the throne of Castile. Richard endeavoured to rule through men of his own choice—his able and experienced Chancellor, Michael de la Pole, who was made Earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, whom he made first Marquis of Dublin and then Duke of Ireland. Suffolk was the son of a great merchant who had lent or given large sums of money to Edward III.; he was obnoxious to the nobility as an upstart. De Vere was of high enough family, but his power was due merely to his being a personal favourite of the King. The Duke of Gloucester found his opportunity in their unpopularity. There was a sudden alarm of a French invasion, which came to nothing, but

The King's favourites, 1386.

impressed men's minds with the persistent incompetence of a government which made it possible for a French invasion even to be thought of. Parliament requested the King to dismiss Suffolk, to which he replied that he would not dismiss a scullion at their bidding. Nevertheless he had to give way. Then Suffolk was impeached, like Lord Latimer in the last reign, on the ground that he had used his office for his own enrichment. He was disgraced, and the Commons went on to demand the appointment of a Council of Regency. Again the King had to give way, intimidated by significant references to the deposition of Edward II. The Council of Regency was appointed, with Gloucester at its head, much after the manner of the Lords Ordainers. This was in 1386.

The Declaration of Nottingham, 1387.

Richard was not disposed to submit tamely. During the next year, he took counsel with his friends, de Vere, Suffolk, and the unpopular but able Chief Justice, Tresilian. He summoned at Nottingham an irregular assembly of justices and sheriffs, and obtained from them a pronouncement—signed also by some members of the Council—that the proceedings in the late Parliament were contrary to the Royal Prerogative, that is, rights inherent in the crown, and that the pressure brought on him to procure his assent amounted to treason. Thereupon Gloucester and his partisans took up arms, marched to London, and "appealed" the King's advisers of treason. For this action, the five leaders, Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, and young Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, the son of John of Gaunt, who was the same age as Richard, were known as the Lords Appellant.

The Lords Appellant.

In the King's presence, each of them flung down his glove, in challenge to Richard's five principal friends, declaring themselves ready to prove the charge of treason on their bodies in mortal combat. Richard forbade this ordeal, but it became immediately clear that force and popularity were both on the side of the Appellants. De Vere in Cheshire mustered an army, but was crushed at Radcot Bridge (December), though he and Suffolk both escaped from the country. Gloucester's party was triumphant.

The Merciless Parliament, 1388.

Next month (Jan. 1388) a Parliament met, known as the "Wonderful" or "Merciless" Parliament, which was completely in the hands of the Appellants. After Gloucester had repudiated the suggestion, which no one had ventured to make though every one believed it true, that he had intended to depose the King, the Commons impeached Suffolk, de Vere, Tresilian, the Archbishop of York, and Sir Nicholas Brember.

The lawyers pronounced the whole impeachment illegal; but the peers declared that the law of Parliament was supreme. All but the Archbishop (as a cleric) were condemned to death, though sentence could only be carried out on Tresilian and Brember, who was not allowed to claim the ordeal by personal combat. Then all the judges were arrested, found guilty of treason, and banished—their offence being their declaration at Nottingham. The animosity of Gloucester caused four more knights to be impeached and condemned, in spite even of the protest of Bolingbroke, himself one of the Appellants. Before Parliament separated, all its members were sworn to maintain its acts for ever, and to resist as treason any attempt to repeal them.

Otterburn.

For twelve months, government remained in the hands of the Appellants. The year was signalised by the famous battle of Otterburn between the great border lords, whereat

> "The valiant Douglas there was slain,
> The Percie was led away."

The victorious Scots lost their leader, though they found compensation in taking Percy prisoner. The Appellants made truce with both France and Scotland; otherwise the only fact to their credit is that, after the "Merciless" Parliament, they were not guilty of further violence. In this year however Richard reached the age of twenty-one; and in May, 1389, he startled the Council by announcing that as he was now of age, there was no further reason why he should not himself manage the affairs of his kingdom. He in fact effected a sudden and complete revolution by dismissing Gloucester, appointing a new Council in which his uncle of York and his cousin Henry of Bolingbroke were retained, and recalling to his service Bishop William of Wykeham.

Gloucester dismissed, 1389.

§ 2. *Calm before storm*, 1389—1398.

The dismissal of Gloucester caused no trouble, which is curious. But Richard had evidently ingratiated himself with some of the Appellants, and there was no sign of his intending to act vindictively. There was general acquiescence in the altered state of affairs. The return of the Duke of Lancaster to England probably put a curb on his brother of Gloucester. During the next few years the Parliament amended the statutes of Mortmain, Provisors, and Praemunire, so as to make them more effective, and in the last case expressly prohibited the carrying of

Legislation, 1389–93.

appeals from the King's courts to those of the Pope or the procuring briefs or bulls from him. Though Wycliffe had been dead for some years, the progress of Lollardry was shown by resolutions in Parliament against current ecclesiastical abuses which he had condemned.

Ireland.

In 1394 Richard paid a visit to Ireland. In the century following Strong-bow's conquest, the power of the Norman or English baronage settled there had been considerably extended. But in the reign of Edward II., Edward Bruce, the brother of the Scots King, had made an attempt to establish himself as King there; and the wars of that time had broken up the progress of the English dominion. When Edward III. was at the height of his success, he had sent over his second son Lionel of Clarence as Governor. The chief result of this was the Statute of Kilkenny (1366), which established what was called the English Pale. Within the district bearing this name, of which Dublin was the centre, English law was enforced—outside it, the great chiefs were left very much to their own devices, whether they were of English or Irish race. The statute forbade the English to intermarry with the Irish or to adopt the Irish customs or language; but outside the Pale, it was practically a dead letter. Perpetual disorder prevailed; and it was to quiet this and to receive the submission of some of the turbulent chiefs that Richard went over. His cousin Roger Mortimer, who stood next in succession to the throne as being the grandson of Lionel of Clarence, was made Governor.

By this time, nothing was left of the English possessions in France except Bordeaux and Bayonne in Aquitaine, and the Calais Pale in the north. Richard had lost all interest in the struggle, and resolved to make friends with France. In 1397 he married the French King's very young daughter Isabella, and a truce was signed for twenty-five years.

The tables turned, 1397.

It was now nine years since the Merciless Parliament. Through all these years Richard had behaved with moderation. General content had been restored, and the King had made himself on the whole popular. He felt now that he was firmly seated on the throne, and the hour of his vengeance had arrived. Of the Lords Appellant, two—Bolingbroke and Nottingham—had always exercised a restraining influence on the other three, who had continued to show a factious disposition. Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel were suddenly arrested on a charge of conspiracy. Rutland (son of the Duke of York), who was afterwards made Duke of Albemarle, and Nottingham, "appealed" Gloucester of treason, just as the Lords Appellant had done in their

day; but the challenge was set aside, just as it had been set aside then. The Duke was sent to Calais under the wardship of Nottingham, who was Earl Marshal, and there died after signing a confession of past but not of recent treasons. There is very little doubt that he was really murdered. Warwick was imprisoned, Arundel was executed, and Arundel's brother, Archbishop Arundel, was deprived of his see, as the Archbishop of York had been nine years before. The proceedings altogether were a very precise turning of the tables upon Gloucester's party. Parliament revoked pardons, and repealed the acts of the assemblies which had carried out the behests of the Appellants; and in the beginning of 1398, assembling at Shrewsbury, it went on to enact an oath against the repeal of its measures, just as the Wonderful Parliament had done.

§ 3. *Absolutism and Overthrow*, 1398—1399.

Richard becomes absolute, 1398.

The Shrewsbury Parliament, however, was not content with reversing all that Gloucester and his associates had won for personal ends. It was simply an instrument in the King's hands, and went on to give him more than all that Gloucester had implied that he and his favourites had been aiming at—it established him as an absolute monarch. The pronouncements of the Nottingham Council of 1397 were re-affirmed; the Council of Regency was declared to have been illegal; and the Parliament itself practically resigned all the powers of Parliament to a committee of twelve peers and six commoners approved by Richard; after having granted him the Customs dues for life.

Bolingbroke and Norfolk.

In the meantime, the two of the Lords Appellant with whom the King had made friends—the old Duke of Lancaster's son Henry, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, whom he had very recently made Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk—quarrelled. Henry accused Norfolk of having made treasonable proposals to him. In spite of his display of confidence in them, Richard had never forgiven them their share in the former revolution; now he saw his chance of striking at them both.

On Henry's charge of treason, he and Norfolk gave each other the lie, but there was no evidence except the word of the accuser and of the accused; so the wager by battle was sanctioned. The two were to meet in the lists at Coventry and prove their truth or falsehood in mortal combat. But when all was ready and the word was about to be given to set on, Richard stopped the proceedings, and after an interval announced that Norfolk should be banished

for life, and Hereford for ten years, without prejudice to their rights of inheritance. Since they could not both have been guilty, the decision was manifestly unjust to one or other; since Henry was popular, and Norfolk—believed to be guilty of the murder of Gloucester—was not, the popular verdict pronounced Henry to be the victim of his cousin's spite. By that sentence, Richard wrought his own downfall.

Death of Lancaster, 1399.

In this year, Roger Mortimer, heir presumptive to the throne, was killed in a skirmish with Irish rebels; leaving only a very young son, Edmund, and a brother, Edward, to represent the line of Lionel of Clarence, and to stand between the banished Henry and the succession to the throne, after old John of Gaunt should be dead. John of Gaunt died in the following February (1399), and thus Henry should have succeeded to the Dukedom of Lancaster. Thereupon Richard committed a grave breach of faith and a gross blunder, by declaring, in spite of his promise, that Henry, being in banishment, could not succeed, and seizing the Lancaster inheritance. Nor was this the only instance of arbitrary action; for he seems to have thought that what he had done had made him strong enough to take his own way and do as he pleased. His expenditure became very extravagant, and he maintained a standing guard of 10,000 archers. To obtain supplies, he raised forced loans, which was both unpopular and unconstitutional.

Henry's return.

These proceedings merely made it certain that there would be another violent reaction against Richard's government; but to this he was quite blind. So unconscious was he of danger that in the summer (1399) he went to Ireland, to restore the English government and avenge the death of Roger Mortimer: leaving England under the guardianship of his well-meaning but incapable uncle, the Duke of York. The natural result followed. His cousin Henry of Lancaster took the opportunity of his absence to return from exile; landing at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, to claim his Lancaster inheritance which Richard had seized. He had been popular when he was banished; now men believed that it was his influence which, during recent years, had kept the King within bounds, and to this was added the universal feeling that he was only claiming the just rights of which he had been shamefully robbed.

His demands.

Henry's declarations, that he had returned only to claim those rights, were most emphatic and solemn. He was joined at once by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. Adherents flocked to his standard. Edmund of York was persuaded without much difficulty that his nephew was quite justified in

claiming his own; though Henry now added that this involved the removal of Richard's evil counsellors. No real resistance was offered to him as he marched towards Bristol, where three of the King's most unpopular supporters—Scrope (Earl of Wiltshire), Bushy, and Green—were taken and executed.

Richard unsupported.

When this alarming news reached Richard in Ireland, he sent the Earl of Salisbury over to England to raise forces, following himself a little later. Salisbury collected an army in Cheshire; but news of Richard's movements was delayed, and before his arrival Salisbury's army was already dispersing itself. By the time Richard met the Earl at Conway, it was perfectly clear that there was no hope of their offering effective resistance to Henry. An attempt was made to negotiate. John Holland, Duke of Exeter, Richard's half-brother—the Black Prince had married a widow with two sons—who was also Henry's brother-in-law, was sent from Conway to Henry; but Henry detained him, and sent the Earl of Northumberland to Richard. On his part, Northumberland demanded that the King's chief supporters should be tried by Parliament, and that Henry himself should be made "grand justiciar." If Richard consented, Henry would come and ask pardon. But the negotiation was a mere ruse, to enable Northumberland to kidnap Richard, who was conveyed to Chester and thence to the Tower of London.

Capture and abdication.

There he was compelled, like Edward II. before him, to sign an act of abdication. Parliament had already been summoned. The next day it met. The abdication was accepted, and an Act was passed detailing the reasons which justified Richard's deposition. Then Henry claimed the succession for himself.

Henry claims the throne.

The heir was not Henry, but young Edmund Mortimer, son of Roger and great grandson of Lionel of Clarence, John of Gaunt's elder brother. Henry's claim would have held good, if England had recognised the French rule of succession in direct male line only; but England had never done so. The Plantagenets had inherited through the Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I.; Edward III. had claimed the French succession on the same principle; and when John of Gaunt had proposed the adoption of the other rule before his father's death, Parliament had rejected the proposal. On the other hand, down to the accession of Henry III., no hard and fast rule of succession had been recognised at all; the Great Council had elected the King, choosing between candidates. There was precedent enough to warrant Parliament in setting aside the boy Mortimer in favour of Henry, as John had been

chosen in preference to Arthur of Brittany. Still, that was now just two hundred years ago, and for two hundred years the ordinary English rule of succession had been acted on. That is perhaps the reason why a very fantastic title was now asserted by Henry; who claimed in the first place not as the grandson of Edward III. but as the heir, through his mother (Blanche of Lancaster), of Edmund "Crouchback," Earl of Lancaster, younger brother of Edward I.; affirming that Edmund had really been the elder brother, but had been deprived of his rights because he was deformed—which was pure fiction.

Parliament, however, was not much troubled by the question of the abstract right by inheritance. Henry was able, popular, and of the blood-royal; it was proved by experience that a King who was a minor was a very unsatisfactory figure-head for the State; no one urged Edmund Mortimer's claim; and Henry was declared King.

A common English tongue.

Before entering on the fifteenth century we must note that the closing years of Edward III. and the reign of Richard II. witness the final disappearance of the separation between the English language of the commonalty and the Norman-French of the upper class—the establishment of that blend between the two which reached perfection two centuries later in Shakspeare's works and the Authorised Version of the Bible. Langland's *Vision of Piers the Plowman*, which appeared first a few years before Edward's death, shows us the vernacular at last laying claim to be a literary language. The prose of Wycliffe's version of the Scriptures, and the poetry of Chaucer, which belong to the reign of Richard, express the definite triumph of the English language of the future; though neither the contemporaries nor the successors of Chaucer produced literature in the least comparable with his great poems, whether in the richness, the grace, and the fascination of his literary style, or in the creative genius of the author. The works of Chaucer and Wycliffe, the Canterbury Tales and the English version of the Scriptures, form a landmark in the history of English literature and the English tongue.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LANCASTRIAN REVOLUTION: 1399—1422.

§ 1. *The unquiet reign of Henry IV.*, 1399—1413.

Characteristics.

The deposed Richard was imprisoned at Pontefract. The new King was fully conscious that his own title to the throne might be challenged, that his best security lay in cultivating the popular favour which had helped him so much on his return to England, and that a conciliatory policy would pay him better than a vindictive one. Henry was a calculating politician, of a type different from that of any of his predecessors on the throne, unless perhaps Henry I. Without having the great qualities of statesmanship which distinguished Henry II. and Edward I., or the brilliancy of Richard I. and Edward III., he was incapable of the shortsighted obstinacy which had overthrown three others of the Plantagenet kings and all but ruined the fourth. But the immediate business before him was not the development of the Constitution or the extension of dominion; it was the establishment of his dynasty on the throne. That was to be effected not by arbitrary but by popular methods of government, and his reign is marked by an exceptional deference to the will of Parliament.

First measures.

The Parliament which made him King had been summoned under the authority of the now deposed King, and its own authority terminated. The first task for the new assembly which was immediately summoned was necessarily the reversal of the proceedings of the Shrewsbury Parliament, and the confirmation of those of the "Merciless" Parliament. The lords who had acted against Gloucester were called on to answer for their conduct; which all declared to have been due to compulsion by Richard. There was a regular scene; numbers of gloves, gages of combat, were flung on the floor, after the fashion which the Lords Appellant had set. But this method of arbitrament was

peremptorily stopped. A treason law was passed, forbidding the "appealing of treason" and enacting that all charges of treason should be tried in legal form, and that nothing should be accounted treason except as laid down by the statutes. The titles conferred on Gloucester's antagonists after his fall were taken away; the Duke of Albemarle, old Edmund of York's son, became Earl of Rutland again, and the Hollands (the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, Richard's half-brothers) Earls of Huntingdon and Kent. Less than that it would hardly have been possible to do.

Murder of Richard.

The extraordinary ease with which revolutions and counter-revolutions in the government had been effected throughout the recent reign made discontented noblemen ready to believe that the practice could be continued. At the close of the year, Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Salisbury, and some others, conspired to seize Henry and reinstate Richard; but they were betrayed by Rutland, who had a habit of deserting his associates. The other leaders were captured and executed without trial. Within a month, it was announced that Richard was dead; and his corpse was displayed in London. Henry had been urged to put him to death and had refused; but there is no doubt that he was murdered, though the circumstances were never known. Yet, as in the case of Edward II., there were many people who continued to believe that he was really alive, and that the corpse shown was that of his chaplain, who was curiously like him. An impostor, who pretended that he was Richard escaped from prison, was even received for a time at the Scottish court—as happened again nearly a century later in the case of Perkin Warbeck.

This insurrection was but a warning of uneasy times in store.

Owen Glendower.

Richard had married the French King's young daughter, and France was naturally hostile to the usurper. If France was hostile, Scotland was certain to be so too: and it is not surprising to find that Wales, though quiet for a hundred years past, took the opportunity to become troublesome. Owen-ap-Griffith, of Glendower, a descendant of Llewelyn, revolted, and remained more or less actively in arms against the English government throughout the reign, every attempt to suppress him proving unsuccessful. His first incursion into the Welsh Marches resulted in his capturing Edward Mortimer, brother of Roger and uncle of the boy who was the legitimate heir of the English throne.

In spite of the treaty made just before the death of Robert Bruce and just after that of Edward II., Edward III. had invaded Scotland several times, in support of Edward Balliol or on some other pretext,

and had reasserted the English sovereignty; the last incursion of the kind had been that of Richard in 1385; but no real attempt at a reconquest had ever been made. Practically the attitude adopted by each country to the other was that of encouraging and supporting disaffection, and seizing any available opportunity to embarrass the government in power, while the border lords raided each others territories. Now, in 1400, the Scottish Earl of March found support in the north of England which enabled him to make war on the Douglases, and the Scottish government threatened to retaliate on England. So Henry marched through Scotland to Edinburgh and back again, as Richard had done before, the Scots as usual declining any pitched battle. The Scots replied in 1402 by a counter-invasion; when they were completely defeated at Homildon Hill by the Percies, who took prisoner Murdoch of Albany, the Scottish King's nephew, and also the earls of Douglas, Orkney, and Moray.

Homildon Hill, 1402.

The Percies reckoned on receiving great ransoms for their prisoners; but to their great indignation, the King claimed the ransoms for himself. Northumberland considered that Henry owed the throne to his support, which was true. Henry probably reckoned that the Earl was a dangerous person who must be curbed rather than conciliated; but the effect of his action was a serious rebellion. Edward Mortimer in Wales, whom Henry refused to have ransomed, had made friends with his captor, Owen Glendower, and married his daughter; Harry "Hotspur," the son of Northumberland, had married Mortimer's sister. The Percies remembered that young Edmund Mortimer had a better title than Henry, who held him in custody. They made a league with Mortimer and Glendower; Hotspur released Douglas unransomed, and was joined by him also with a body of Scots; in July, 1403, they broke into open revolt, Worcester (another Percy) and others joining them. Hotspur marched at the head of his army to form a junction with Glendower on the Welsh border. But Henry, a good soldier, was too quick for them, and caught Percy at Shrewsbury before Glendower could effect the junction. There was a fierce battle, in which Percy was slain, young Henry, the Prince of Wales, a boy of fifteen, saw his first pitched battle, and the royal arms were completely triumphant. The rebellion was crushed, and Northumberland, who had himself stayed in the north, was let off with a heavy fine.

The Percy revolt, 1403.

Shrewsbury.

The old Earl however was by no means done with. Eighteen months later, he had concocted a fresh conspiracy, in which his

principal associates were Scrope, the highly esteemed Archbishop of York, brother of that Earl of Wiltshire whom Henry had executed just before King Richard fell into his hands, and Mowbray the Earl Marshal, son of Henry's old antagonist the Duke of Norfolk. Neville, the Earl of Westmorland, a staunch supporter of Henry, was sent against the insurgents. He trapped Mowbray and the Archbishop into a conference by fair words, and then arrested and executed them. The insurrection collapsed (1405): but the crafty Northumberland made his escape to Scotland, and yet once more in 1408 raised the standard of revolt. This time, however, his turbulent career was ended by his death at the battle of Bramham Moor; after which there were no more rebellions.

Later revolts.

During these nine years Henry had kept to the principle of never attempting to make the illegal or questionable exactions which had brought each of his predecessors into occasional or perpetual collisions with Parliament. The Commons had instead been allowed consistently to increase their control over the finances; and their disposition was far from liberal—pecuniary difficulties were indeed among the reasons which brought about the quarrel between Henry and the Percies. Thus, a land-tax was granted in 1404, but with the express provision that it was to be regarded as an altogether exceptional act of grace; and another Parliament in the same year—known as the Lack-learning Parliament, because lawyers had been precluded from serving in it—proposed to relieve themselves from taxation by a general confiscation of ecclesiastical property, though the proposal did not take effect.

Henry and Parliament.

It is clear that the Lollard doctrines had done much to create or spread antagonism to ecclesiastical wealth, if not to the teaching of the Church. Henry himself was guided merely by policy in his relations with the churchmen. He wanted their support; so in the second year of his reign he consented to an Act, passed at the instance of Archbishop Arundel, for the suppression of the religious heresies of the Lollards, which the Church had officially condemned. This act, *De Heretico comburendo*, "For the burning of heretics," for the first time ordered heretics in England to be burned; and it seems to have shocked no one. But in 1405 he executed for treason Archbishop Scrope, who as an ecclesiastic was legally exempt from the death penalty. This act excited popular odium; which, coupled with the general acceptance of the statute against heretics, shows that there was nothing like a widespread revolt against the Church. Jealousy of her wealth and of papal interference in politics was an old story; and the sense of

Henry and the Church.

reverence for her and her authority was undoubtedly much lessened by the "Great Schism," which had begun in 1378 when Wycliffe was at the height of his influence, and was not ended till 1418. But Wycliffe's "heretical" doctrines took a much firmer hold in Bohemia than they seem to have done in England, where Lollardry, though never destroyed, was driven below the surface; still, the influence of his general attitude may be seen in the anti-clerical demands of Henry's Parliaments. The proposal for the confiscation of Church property was repeated, and a second time rejected, in 1410: as also were proposals for curtailing "benefit of Clergy."

Scotland and France.

In 1407—before Northumberland's last insurrection—Parliament insisted on the appointment of a Council to advise the King, with the young Prince of Wales as its nominal head. Henry, however, although he was already worn out by anxiety and disease, always controlled the government. But the only other points of interest to be noted in the reign are in connexion with foreign affairs. In 1405, Henry captured at sea young James Stewart, heir of the Scottish throne, on his way to be educated in France, and kept him in his own hands; and a year earlier, a quarrel broke out between the two great French houses of the blood royal, Orleans and Burgundy, which was to bear fruit in the time of Henry's successor. Henry himself was carried off by the mortal disease from which he had long been suffering, in March, 1413.

§ 2. *Accession of Henry V.; revival of the French Claim*, 1413—1415.

Shakspeare's Prince Hal.

Shakspeare was not a writer of histories but of plays. But when he wrote plays based on histories which other people had written, he made it for ever impossible to believe that the principal characters who moved and acted on the great stage of the world were in any way really different from those who moved and acted on the stage of his theatre. If we want to understand the reign of Richard II. or of Henry IV. or of Henry V., the explanation of each is to be found in the character of the Kings. Shakspeare has presented the character of each of them quite convincingly, and, as far as it is possible to tell, with absolute truthfulness.

Still, the "Prince Hal" of Shakspeare's *Henry IV.* is probably not very like the real Prince Henry—though a good deal more like him than some modern historians choose to believe. From the time when he was thirteen or fourteen, young Prince Harry was constantly

engaged in the real serious business of State. There is no doubt at all that his abilities were frequently recognised, that he gave promise of being a capable ruler, that he was trusted with really responsible work and did it well. But that after all is not sufficient reason for discarding the uniform tradition that he indulged in youthful frolics which were sometimes of a disreputable kind. Even Shakspeare's Prince Hal always rose to the occasion when there was any serious work on hand. The fact appears to be, not that he was occasionally serious in the intervals of dissipation and frivolity, but that he was occasionally frivolous in the intervals of serious work.

King Henry V.

We think of Crecy and Agincourt, the treaty of Bretigny and the treaty of Troyes, and are apt in consequence to class Henry V. along with Edward III. merely as a brilliant military adventurer, and as a soldier of very much the same type. But Henry's genius was of a far higher order, as also was his character. Like Edward I. he was a man with a firm grip of great political ideas. He was a master of the art of War, whereas Edward III. was nothing better than a skilful leader on the field of battle; Edward won victories, but Henry conquered territories. The moral conceptions of Edward III. were limited to the fantastic code of chivalric honour; Henry was as rigidly conscientious as Edward I. But, like other extremely conscientious men, Henry, before he ascended the throne, had succeeded in persuading himself that to achieve great ends he was justified in adopting the only means by which those ends could be secured. Assuming that he was rightful King of England, he argued that he must also be rightful King of France. As King of England and France, he would stand out as the true head of Christendom; and in all probability he dreamed of leading a united Christendom to the utter overthrow of the Moslem. It is likely enough, however, that if, like Henry II. and Edward I., he had reigned for five and thirty years, he would still have found work enough in the organisation of the Western empire, which he had almost brought under his sway in the nine years which were all that he was allowed.

Henry was five and twenty when his father died; the Parliament which was then sitting took the unusual step of doing homage to him before dissolving. There were no signs of want of confidence in the new King. The new Parliament, which was summoned immediately on his accession, voted the wool tax, and the regular customs duties, which were now known by the term "tonnage and poundage," for a period of four years. There was little displacement of his father's counsellors, except that Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester—

a name soon to become important—became Chancellor instead of Archbishop Arundel. The good impression thus produced was strengthened soon after by the release of Edmund Mortimer, whom Henry IV. had kept in durance throughout his reign, and by the restoration of young Percy to the earldom of Northumberland.

The Lollards.

The Lollards, however, were much troubled; for Henry was very pious, very orthodox, and very zealous to wage war upon heresy. His own friend Lord Cobham, better known as Sir John Oldcastle, did not escape. Being summoned to clear himself of the charge of heresy, Oldcastle made such an unequivocal attack on the whole ecclesiastical body that he was promptly condemned to be burned. He himself escaped from prison and remained in hiding. But the Lollards threatened insurrection, which at once brought the whole movement under the charge of being treasonable as well as heretical. A great meeting was organised, but Henry got wind of it, and dispersed it by a night march at the head of troops secretly collected. Many of the Lollards were killed on the spot, and many more were executed. No further danger to the government arose from that quarter. Four years afterwards, Oldcastle was captured and sent to the stake.

A French war popular.

From this time—the beginning of 1414—to the end of the reign, domestic affairs lose almost all interest. When once the idea of restoring the glories of Edward III. and the Black Prince had taken hold of men's minds, the country gave unanimous and enthusiastic support to the King's policy. The Churchmen, who were alarmed by the anti-clerical spirit, urged on the war as the best possible antidote to Lollardry. When it was proposed—as in the time of Henry IV.—to make the Church contribute heavily, the English clergy gave a ready assent to the King's seizure of the revenues of the "alien priories"; that is, of certain monastic establishments in England which might be called colonies sent out by great monastic houses on the continent. Faction disappeared; after Henry sailed for France, there was not a single conspiracy—a striking contrast to the last two reigns. There were no fights between King, barons, and Parliament, or with the labouring class. All interest was absorbed in the war, or in matters immediately connected with it.

We saw that the French war of Edward III. was not a piece of pure aggression, but was really a necessity if the English King was to keep any hold on the territories which legitimately belonged to him. The war of Henry V., on the other hand, was a piece of pure aggression; everything to which he was in any way entitled would have

been ceded without any war at all. Yet it would be wrong to regard it as a mere piece of wantonness. It is worth while to try to understand how Henry could justify it to himself, as a statesman, and as a ruler with a really active conscience.

State of France.

France at this time was atrociously governed, and torn by the rival factions of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. The King was almost an imbecile. The strife arose between his brother Louis of Orleans and his cousin John of Burgundy, as to which of the two should control the State. In 1407, John murdered Louis, and the Orleanist party was headed by the Count of Armagnac, a province on the border of Aquitaine. In the reign of Henry IV., both parties had appealed for aid to the King of England, and he had given it—first to one and then to the other. There was no apparent prospect of any decent government in France; the King was crazy, the queen was vicious, and the leading nobles were vicious, violent, and unstable. On the other hand, there were whole districts of France which would probably be as willing to accept the suzerainty of the Plantagenet as of the Valois—Brittany, as well as Guienne and Gascony. To these it might be possible to add Burgundy; and Burgundy now meant also Flanders and Artois, which had been joined by marriage to the Duke's possessions. Henry's attitude towards France was therefore very much like that of Edward I. towards Scotland. He had a sort of

Henry's apology.

title to the crown: a poor one, but good enough to salve his conscience; especially when the bishops, headed by the primate, assured him that he need have no qualms on that score. He would give France orderly and just government in place of endless civil strife. The prosperity of France and England severally, and the power of the two united, would be immensely advanced. His action would find a further warrant in the readiness of some of the French nobility to accept his sovereignty. In all this the argument of Edward I. and that of Henry V. were identical; and the peculiar religious cast of Henry's mind gave him the additional conviction that he was the instrument chosen by Heaven to punish the sins of the rulers of France. But, again like Edward in Scotland, he did not calculate on the indomitable spirit which would make a proud nation, even when it seemed utterly subdued, yet wrest itself free from the grip of an alien rule forced upon it at the sword's point.

Negotiations.

The French King's sons were identified with the Orleanist or Armagnac faction. Henry was hardly on the throne before both parties opened negotiations with him, and

rival proposals were made for his marrying either a daughter of the King or a daughter of Burgundy; but in 1414 he put forward his claim to the French crown. Although the French offered to make very large concessions, and his own ambassadors modified their original demands, it soon became clear that nothing short of the practical sovereignty of France would be accepted by the English King. By the summer of 1415, a great expedition was ready to invade France, when the one conspiracy of the reign came to a head. Henry's cousin, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, younger brother of the Duke of York (whom we have seen as Earl of Rutland in the two last reigns), had married Anne Mortimer, the sister of the young Earl of March whom Henry had recently set at liberty. His fellow conspirators were Lord Scrope of Masham, a personal friend of Henry, and Sir Thomas Grey; their object was to set the Earl of March on the throne, probably in the expectation that he might die without children and be succeeded by those of his sister. Information of the plot was given to the King, and the conspirators were promptly tried and executed. Then Henry who, having King James of Scotland still in his hands, reckoned that there was little to fear from the Northern kingdom, set sail for France.

A plot detected.

§ 3. *The Conquest of France*, 1415—1422.

Henry sailed straight for the coast of Normandy, landed at the mouth of the Seine, and laid immediate siege to Harfleur. In the face of Henry's sweeping demands, neither party in France had ventured to espouse his side, and the contending factions came to a superficial accord. But they were not able to advance to the relief of Harfleur, which capitulated after five weeks. Sickness however had made havoc of Henry's troops, and when he had sent his sick back to England and provided a garrison, he found himself with only 7,000 men to take the field instead of the 30,000 who had sailed. A large French army was gathering by this time. To attempt a serious invasion was out of the question. Still Henry chose to parade his confidence by marching from Harfleur to Calais through a hostile country, with the great French army in pursuit. Just as Edward III. was all but stopped at the Somme, before Crecy, because the French had succeeded in crossing the river first, so Henry was now checked at the Somme again; the enemy holding the Blanche Taque, by which Edward had found his way over. The English had to march up the Somme for about a week before they found an unguarded ford. On Oct. 24th they reached Agincourt, on their way to Calais, and

Harfleur: September.

Agincourt, Oct. 25.

found their advance blocked by an army of at least five times their number. On the 25th the great battle was fought. The English were posted so that the ground secured them against any flanking movement. The archers, who formed five-sixths of the force, were posted in front. Between the armies lay fields of soaked heavy soil. A feint of attacking on the part of the English caused the heavily armed French to press forward against them. As at Crecy, the storm of arrows rolled them over; they could neither advance nor fly through the mud. The lightly armed Englishmen had not the same difficulty in moving, fell upon them, and cut them down; then with supreme audacity charged the second line and routed it utterly. The third line, thoroughly demoralised, never joined battle. A small body of horse made a daring attempt to turn the fortunes of the day by charging at the King himself, but they too were cut down. Agincourt was a more startling triumph than even Crecy or Poictiers. The French slain numbered more than the whole of Henry's army, and among the 1500 prisoners were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. It was unfortunate that a false alarm of a fresh attack caused Henry to order the mass of his prisoners to be slain.

Effect of Agincourt.

For the purposes of an immediate campaign, Agincourt was quite useless; for the purposes of the war it was invaluable, because it completely demoralised the French and raised the confidence of the English to the highest point. Also it served to break up the French politically, and to arouse enthusiastic unanimity in England. Henry left this spirit of demoralisation to work in France; it was nearly two years before he invaded the country again. In the interval, the Constable of France, Armagnac, besieged Harfleur; which was relieved by an English fleet under John, Duke of Bedford, Henry's second brother. Also, the Dauphin Louis of Guienne died, and his brother John became Dauphin; then John also died; and so the third brother Charles was Dauphin at the time of Henry's second invasion. By this time John of Burgundy, after some overtures to the English, was in alliance with the Queen of France and the Paris mob; the Dauphin Charles was in alliance with the Armagnacs; and the two parties were still on terms of bitter hostility.

Reduction of Normandy, 1417—19.

When Henry landed in Normandy in August, 1417, it was not with the intention of repeating the apparently unprofitable if brilliant performance of his first campaign. He came to conquer; and set deliberately about the business of reducing Normandy and establishing a just if strict government in each piece of territory as he acquired it. In twelve

months he was in possession of the whole duchy except Rouen; in six months more he had starved out Rouen (Jan. 1419). While he was still organising the government of Normandy, John of Burgundy was treacherously murdered by the Dauphin at a conference (July). Reconciliation between the two French parties now became hopeless; the Burgundians, headed by the young Duke Philip, in alliance with the Queen, who was at daggers drawn with the Dauphin, and having in their hands the crazy King, entered immediately on negotiations with Henry. The result was the Treaty of Troyes (May, 1420). Charles VI. was to remain King while he lived; Henry was to marry his daughter Katharine; the Dauphin was to be disinherited; Henry was to succeed to the throne on the old King's death, and to be regent during his life. Ten days later Henry married his bride, and proceeded at once to the reduction of the rest of the Isle of France. Roughly speaking, the northern third part of France—Normandy on the north-west, Burgundy on the south-east, and all that lay between and to the north-east—acknowledged the Treaty of Troyes.

Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

After Christmas the King returned to England with his wife, but only for a few months. He had left his next brother, Thomas of Clarence, as his lieutenant in France; and Clarence was completely defeated, losing his own life, at the battle of Beaugé (1421) in Anjou. The victorious army was largely composed of Scots—who naturally refused to be bound by orders from their King while he was in captivity with the monarch of England. So Henry was back in France in the summer (1422); and for the rest of the year, and into the summer of next year, the war of sieges, the steady advance of the borders of the conquered territory, continued. But the conqueror's career was over. He was attacked by dysentery; when all hope of recovery was lost he nominated his brother John of Bedford to represent him in France, and his other brother Gloucester as regent in England. His own baby son Henry, born in the previous December, was to be in the charge of his Beaufort uncles (sons of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swynford, not born in wedlock but legitimatised by statute), Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas, Duke of Exeter. On August, 22, 1422, the "star of England," as Shakspeare calls him, set.

Campaigns of 1421—2.

CHAPTER XIII.

HENRY VI.: 1422—1461.

§ 1. *The Loss of France*, 1422—1435.

The mad king, Charles VI. of France, died two months after Henry, and under the Treaty of Troyes the infant Henry VI. of England became king of France as well. Wisely enough, the Scots king, James I., who as a boy had fallen into the hands of Henry IV., was liberated almost at once, and peace was established between the two countries. Henry V., with the completion of the English dominion in France in view, had named the abler of his two brothers for the French regency and the second for the regency in England. The English Parliament recognised the infant Henry VI. as King without any question, but refused to make Humphrey of Gloucester regent. The wishes of the late King were entitled to all respect but had no constitutional force. Parliament was willing to give Gloucester the title of Protector, but with little more power than other members of the Council of Regency which it appointed. Throughout the King's long minority, Bishop Beaufort, of Winchester, and the Duke of Gloucester, were leaders of two opposing parties. There was no present renewal of the old violent rivalries; but England lost the inestimable advantage of being ruled by a single clear brain in which the entire nation trusted.

The Regency in England.

Bedford in France proved that as a statesman and a soldier he was not unworthy to be Henry's brother; but he had neither the constitutional authority nor the magnetic genius, without which there was no possibility of carrying Henry's policy to a successful issue. For England to conquer France and hold her in subjection was never possible; the experience with Scotland proved that beyond a doubt. Henry had believed that in course of time France would acquiesce in English rule; but he had

Bedford in France.

reckoned on the Burgundian alliance, as essential to ultimate success. It is not probable that even his supreme genius could have carried the thing through; Bedford, able though he was, never had a chance. For it is clear that, from the moment the Burgundian alliance began to cool, the prospect of ultimate success for England vanished. She had not the resources required to garrison the country, and at the same time to keep armies in the field for extending her acquisitions, when every inch of fresh territory had to be won by resolute fighting.

But the Burgundian alliance began to cool from the outset. Bedford married Duke Philip's sister; but Humphrey of Gloucester chose to go through a form of marriage with Jacqueline of Hainault, who was already the wife of the Duke of Brabant, who was an ally of Philip. Bedford, and the English Council, repudiated Gloucester's proceedings, but it was enough to make the Duke of Burgundy something less than lukewarm.

Coolness with Burgundy.

So Bedford, with forces of which Englishmen formed only a small proportion, progressed slowly; gaining a little ground, and winning the battles of Crévant and Verneuil in 1423 and 1424; until at last the one place of importance north of the Loire held by the supporters of the Valois king Charles VII. was Orleans; and in the autumn of 1428, an army commanded by Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, sat down to besiege it.

Siege of Orleans, 1428—9.

The siege of Orleans proved the turning point of the war. Salisbury's army was not large enough to maintain a perfect blockade, and the place held out stubbornly; yet it seemed likely that it would fall in the end. An incident of the siege was the Battle of the Herrings; in which a small English force which was convoying provisions—chiefly salt fish—to the besiegers, completely routed a very much larger French force which had been dispatched to intercept it. But just about this time—early in 1429—one of the most amazing and inexplicable events in history occurred. At the village of Domrémy, in the Duchy of Bar, there lived a peasant maiden named Jeanne—who will be remembered through all time as Joan of Arc or Jeanne d'Arc, though it appears that Darc is the correct form. To this girl there came visions and voices, bidding her arise and save France. She believed that her "voices" were messengers from the Almighty; her enemies held that she trafficked with the Powers of darkness. Whether or no the voices were of Heaven, of Hell they assuredly were not. She

Joan of Arc.

obeyed them; she arose and saved France. She went to the court of Charles, at Chinon, made her way to his presence, told him that she had a divine commission to lead his armies against the English. Ribald jibes gave place to puzzled silence—to awed admiration—to passionate devotion. She was allowed to ride, clad in complete armour, at the head of a troop of soldiers, to the relief of Orleans. They passed the English blockade and entered the city. "The Maid" took command. She led sallies: she swept the English before her: she captured one after another of their outposts. She filled them with a superstitious terror—how could they fight against magic? In a few days they struck their camp and retired. Orleans was saved (May, 1429).

Orleans relieved, 1429.

Some weeks later, Joan inflicted a sharp defeat on the English at Pataye, and then led Charles and his followers, through a country held by the Burgundian party, to Rheims, where the King was crowned. Then she marched on Paris; but there Bedford was too strong and she had to retire. After the coronation of Charles, she considered her mission accomplished; but the French Royalists could not dispense with her services, and she continued to lead them to victory; till, in May, 1430, she fell into the hands of the Burgundians, who were besieging Compiègne. She was charged with heresy and witchcraft before a tribunal of French clergy: who to their eternal shame condemned her, and handed her over "to the secular arm," which meant the English, to be punished; and the English—crazed, it would seem, with superstitious terror—burned her (May, 1431). After that crime, success deserted their arms for good and all. In all the world's roll of heroes and saints, not one hero was more stainless, not one saint more dauntless, than the Maid who died at Rouen.

Fate of Joan, 1430—1.

She had not driven the invader from France, though she had won back a province. The King for whom she fought was all unworthy of such a champion; some years were still to pass before his success was assured. Little Henry was crowned at Westminster, as a sort of answer to the coronation of Charles at Rheims, in 1429; at the end of 1431, he was brought over to Paris and there crowned King of France. But though the English still held on obstinately to the struggle, the old enthusiasm had quite died out, and the Bishop of Winchester's party were inclined to work for some settlement which would put an end to the war. The Burgundians were playing their part without energy; and Gloucester, who headed the more determined war-party in England, had lost some influence, since he ceased to be Protector after the young King's coronation.

At last, in 1435, a conference was arranged at Arras, at which the French royalists offered to give up Normandy and Guienne to the English if they would resign the pretensions to the throne of France. Yet English obstinacy prevailed, and the terms were rejected. Just at this time, Bedford, worn out, died. Philip of Burgundy threw up the alliance. He would not be bound to England after her refusal to accept reasonable terms—and he got a substantial territorial reward. So from that time, the English were fighting against a united France. The great Henry's conquest of France was doomed to go the way of the great Edward's conquest of Scotland. The fight still dragged on for some years to its foregone conclusion; but its real interest was at an end.

Death of Bedford, 1435.

§ 2. *Gloucester, the Beauforts, and Suffolk,* 1435—1450.

The period on which we are now entering—the fifty years from the death of Bedford to the accession of Henry VII.—is exceedingly confusing. Twenty years passed before the actual commencement of civil war, but they were years of perpetual dissension, apparently leading to nothing. We shall best see our way through the course of events by getting a definite idea of the principal persons concerned, and of their relations to each other.

For twelve years the two foremost persons in the realm, besides the well-intentioned but feeble-minded young King, were his uncle, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. Gloucester, who stood next in succession to his nephew, was ambitious, turbulent, popular, and a constant advocate of the French war; but his lack of statesmanship had been proved by the affair of Jacqueline of Hainault. Henry Beaufort was of the earlier generation, a son of John of Gaunt. He was an orthodox ecclesiastic, and had been made a Cardinal; but his politics reckoned the interests of England above those of the Papacy, and he sufficiently satisfied the Council that there was nothing to be feared from the quality of his Churchmanship. He was thoroughly convinced however of the impolicy of continuing the French war on the old lines, and desired peace on reasonable terms.

Gloucester.

The Beauforts.

Henry was one of three Beaufort brothers, sons of John of Gaunt and Katharine Swynford, whom the Duke married at the end of his life, after the birth of the children. They had then been legitimatised by Parliament, and the legitimation had been confirmed under Henry IV. with a proviso excluding them from succession

to the English throne. Of the other two brothers, one, Thomas, was Duke of Exeter in the reign of Henry V. and died very soon after that King. The third brother, John Earl of Somerset, died during that reign, leaving two sons; one of whom was John, now Duke of Somerset. We have to notice him, mainly because his daughter became the mother of Henry VII., whose only title to the crown was derived from her. The Somerset who presently appears as a prominent political figure was not this John, but his brother Edmund, who succeeded him in the Dukedom in 1444.

The Beauforts were all of the same political party: in which the other most prominent member was William de la Pole,

Suffolk.

Earl (afterwards Duke) of Suffolk, grandson of the minister of Richard II. He was a soldier of some distinction. It should be remembered that his great-grandfather had been a merchant, so that the de la Poles were regarded as bourgeois by the great baronial houses of long descent.

The next figure is Richard, Duke of York and Earl of March,

Richard of York.

who in 1435 was nineteen years old. His mother was Anne Mortimer, daughter of Roger. Since the death of Anne's brother Edmund, in 1424, young Richard as Earl of March represented the line of Lionel of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt. His father was that Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who conspired against Henry V. in 1415; young Richard became Duke of York in succession to his uncle, the second Edmund of York (the Rutland of an earlier day) who was killed at Agincourt. Thus Richard was not only in fact the legitimate successor of Edward III. in the female line; he was also a Plantagenet, with unbroken descent in the male line from Edmund of York, the younger son of Edward III. For twenty years, however, he does not appear as challenging the reigning Lancastrian dynasty; but only as first Prince of the blood royal, claiming such political influence as was legitimately due to that position.

Marriages and family connexions counted for much in political

The Nevilles.

alliances. Richard of York's wife was Cicely Neville; and the Nevilles, among them, were soon to be lords, of several great earldoms. Cicely's father was old Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, who had helped Henry IV. to the Crown. One of his younger sons, Richard, married the Montacute heiress of Salisbury, and became Earl of Salisbury. Later, Richard of Salisbury's son Richard married Anne Beauchamp, daughter of the Earl of Warwick; with the result that he became in course of time Earl of Warwick himself, and has gone down to fame by the title

of Warwick the King-maker. But in 1435, the future King-maker was a boy of seven.

Before Bedford had been dead a year, the English had lost Paris. Clearly an active and vigorous person was required to look after affairs in France, and Richard of York was sent there as regent. Young as he was, he at once displayed abilities of a high order, yet after twelve months he was withdrawn. After two years, he was restored; but by that time, it was impossible for the English to do more than stand on the defensive. The Government of England was in fact feeble and half-hearted. Between 1435 and 1444 nothing really requires to be noted except the beginning of the practice of the King instead of Parliament nominating the Council: which from being a Council of Regency gradually changed into the Privy Council; not a body controlling the King and answerable to Parliament, but a body with undefined powers at the service of the King. Gloucester and the war-party lost credit, partly through the folly of his duchess, who practised what passed for witch-craft (sticking pins into a wax doll) against the life of King Henry, with the idea that her husband would become king.

1435—1444.

In 1444 the peace-party became decisively predominant. The result of this ascendency was that William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was sent to negotiate with Orleans (who, to the disgust of Gloucester, had been allowed to return to France some four years before—having been held a prisoner ever since Agincourt). A truce—the truce of Tours—was arranged for two years. England was to keep Normandy, but to give up Maine and Anjou: and Henry was to marry Margaret of Anjou—without any dower, in consideration of the poverty of her father René, who was titular king of Jerusalem and actual lord of very nearly nothing. In 1445, Suffolk brought the princess over to be married to the King of England.

Henry's Queen.

Cardinal Beaufort was old; Suffolk's conduct of the French negotiations, unpopular though the truce of Tours was, at once gave him the first place in the friendship of the King and his young Queen, a woman who had all the vigour and some of the wits which Henry lacked. Keen hostility now arose between Suffolk and Gloucester. At the beginning of 1447, Gloucester, at the instance of Suffolk, was arrested on a charge of treason. Almost immediately after the arrest, he died; popular sentiment, which had always favoured the "good Duke Humphrey," attributed his death to Suffolk—a not unnatural

Suffolk's ascendency, 1445—9.

suspicion. Cardinal Beaufort's death a month later left the Duke—as Suffolk very soon became—the real ruler of the country and the most unpopular man in it. Richard of York, the ablest advocate of the war-policy, was removed to Ireland as Lieutenant to keep him out of the way; while Edmund Beaufort, now Duke of Somerset, the ally of Suffolk, was sent to mismanage affairs in Normandy.

Loss of Normandy, 1449—50.

They were so thoroughly mismanaged that in 1449 the French invaded the duchy, and the towns surrendered one after the other, the Normandy folk turning against the English rule. In a very short time, Caen, Cherbourg, and Harfleur were all that remained. England was ablaze with indignation, and an expedition was dispatched to join Somerset at Caen and recover the lost territory; but the whole force was intercepted, caught between two superior armies, and cut to pieces at the battle of Formigny (April, 1450). Somerset had to withdraw ignominiously to England, and all Normandy was lost.

Fall of Suffolk, 1450.

Before that final disaster, the indignation and disgust aroused by Suffolk's government had come to a head. The Bishop of Chichester, who was regarded as his agent and accomplice, was murdered at Portsmouth by mutineers on the Fleet, in January: in February Suffolk himself was impeached, as having in effect sold Normandy to the French. He denied the charges, but offered to submit himself to the King's pleasure. Henry, who still trusted him entirely, ordered him to leave the kingdom—hoping to save him from the present storm of wrath, and to restore him soon. But Suffolk had no sooner set sail than he was overtaken by a ship sent after him by the London men, and was slain after a mock trial.

Cade's Rebellion.

Yet the King did not dismiss Suffolk's partisans, and in another month there was a popular rising in Kent; headed by a soldier of fortune, who was known as Jack Cade and pretended to be a Mortimer. The account of the insurrection in Shakspeare mixes it up with the Peasant insurrection of Wat Tyler, seventy years before. Social troubles had little to do with it; it was an outbreak of popular wrath against the ministry which, somewhat unjustly, was held accountable for the miserable sequel to the military glories of the last reign. Popular sentiment was at first so entirely on the side of the insurgents that the King's troops could not or would not stand against them. But Cade, who had begun by preserving sharp discipline, changed his tone; his men became riotous, and popular feeling turned against them. The offer of a general pardon turned the scale; most of the insurgents laid down

their arms; and though Cade tried to keep the affair going, he failed, and was presently caught, receiving a mortal wound while defending himself.

§ 8. *Richard of York; first stage of the War of the Roses*, 1450—1461.

Richard of York intervenes, 1450.

Disaster abroad and insurrection at home decided Richard of York in Ireland that it was time to intervene. Gloucester was dead, the King had no son; as indisputably the heir-presumptive to the throne, he was obviously the right person to take the responsibility of insisting on the restoration of orderly and capable government; which also obviously involved the dismissal of Henry's present advisers, especially Somerset, who in spite of his fiasco in Normandy had taken the place of the murdered Suffolk in the royal counsels. The course Richard took was in accordance with all the precedents when government had got so hopelessly out of hand as was now the case. He hurried over from Ireland, mustered a force in his western earldom of March, marched to London, and presented himself before the King: first to repudiate imputations of disloyalty which had been made against him, secondly to demand a reconstruction of the government. He was moderate enough to be contented with the appointment of a fresh Council, of which he should be a member, to set about the reconstruction.

Loss of Gascony, 1451—3.

Yet he failed to procure the dismissal of Somerset; while he was determined himself to do nothing to warrant the charge of disloyal intent to which his birth rendered him peculiarly liable. So the course of disaster continued. In 1451 the French, having now all Normandy in their hands, turned to Guienne which quickly followed the example of Normandy. Again York, who had retired to the North in dudgeon, marched in arms to London, demanding that Somerset should be arrested and tried. Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his son Richard Neville, now Earl of Warwick, supported the demand. But, in spite of promises, Henry still evaded the arrest of his favourite: and there was a momentary gleam of improvement in French affairs. The Gascons found the French rule more oppressive than that of the English; a force sent to recover the province, under the veteran Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, seemed likely to sweep the French out of the country again. But in an over-rash attack on a superior force, the stout old leader was slain; his fall was the ruin of the English cause; in Oct. 1453, the only English foothold in France was the Calais Pale.

About this time, the weak brain of Henry VI. gave way and for a time he became insane. Also, a son was born to him. York, no longer heir-presumptive, felt less hampered. Somerset was at last arrested, and kept a prisoner, without trial, for more than a year. Parliament, meeting in February (1454), made York head of the Council and Protector of the kingdom, with much the same powers as Gloucester thirty years before.

York Protector, 1454.

For a while there was firm government. But before the end of the year the King had recovered from his mental malady. He was managed by his queen, Margaret of Anjou, who hated York. Somerset was released. Again Richard, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, having retired to the North, marched towards London in arms. Somerset and Henry himself met them at St Albans, and there (May, 1455) was fought the first battle of the War of the Roses. York was completely victorious. Somerset was slain. The victors presented themselves before the vanquished King, and once again declared their loyalty to him personally. The death of Somerset had removed the most serious obstacle to a peaceful solution.

First Battle of St Albans, 1455.

So it seemed; but Margaret of Anjou was more dangerous than Somerset, for vindictiveness was her ruling passion. The battle of St Albans had sown the seeds of fierce blood-feuds; Margaret made it her business to water them. For four years, York sometimes held sway, sometimes the queen's partisans. In one year—1458—there was a great ceremony of formal reconciliation. The next year, the queen re-kindled the war. She attempted to arrest Salisbury; he was forewarned, and overthrew the forces sent against him at Bloreheath near Shrewsbury (Sept. 1459). The mask was dropped. Salisbury, Warwick, and York, began to muster forces in the west. A royalist army advanced against them; as they lay at Ludlow, a mass of their troops suddenly deserted and joined the King's standard. Deeming resistance useless, York retired to Ireland and the Nevilles to Calais, of which Warwick was captain.

The Queen and the Duke, 1455—59.

Parliament met at Coventry, in November, and attainted York and his partisans: but York was out of reach, and Calais was impregnable. Warwick went to Ireland, to concert plans with York. In June (1460) the Nevilles crossed the Channel and were welcomed by the districts which had always been on York's side. They marched north, met the King at Northampton, defeated him, and took him prisoner.

Northampton, 1460 (July).

York himself now came over from Ireland. Parliament met at Westminster; and there much perturbation was caused when York for the first time laid claim to the crown, before the peers. The peers could not dispute the legitimacy of the claim, but they were not prepared to dispossess a dynasty which had been on the throne for sixty years. The judges and the law officers all declined to help them. Finally the example of Charles VI. and Henry V. aided them. It was proposed that Henry VI. should remain on the throne, but that York should be declared his successor, setting aside Henry's young son. In this arrangement both Henry and York acquiesced, and an Act of Parliament was passed accordingly.

Richard's succession recognised.

Queen Margaret however was not the woman to acquiesce in the disinheriting of her son. Most of the north was royalist. She had escaped thither after Northampton, and was now raising the country. York proceeded to suppress her, but met with a total defeat at the battle of Wakefield (December). York was slain: his second son, Rutland, was taken and cut down in cold blood after the battle. Salisbury also was captured and beheaded.

Wakefield (Dec.).

Richard's eldest son Edward, hitherto known as Earl of March, now became Duke of York and the heir of Richard's claims. When Wakefield was fought he was at Gloucester. He at once moved on Shrewsbury, gathering forces, the country being favourable to the March interest. Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, the King's half-brother—Henry V.'s queen, Katharine of France, had married Sir Owen Tudor after Henry's death—started in pursuit. Edward turned, and routed him at Mortimer's Cross (February). Then Edward from the west and Margaret from the north both marched towards London, while Warwick advanced from London to meet the queen. At the second battle of St Albans, she defeated Warwick, and Henry was able to join her. But Warwick and Edward joined forces, and by hard marching reached London, which was thoroughly Yorkist, before the queen could enter. Before a council of Peers, of whom, however, there were only eight available, Edward declared that Henry had broken the compact with Richard of York, and that he now ought to be deposed and the Yorkist title to be recognised without waiting for his death. The Peers accepted that view, so did the Londoners: Edward IV. was proclaimed King; and the commencement of his reign is reckoned from this point.

Mortimer's Cross (Feb.), 1461.

St Albans.

Edward made King.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE YORKIST KINGS: 1461—1485.

§ 1. *Edward IV.: the King and the King-maker: second stage of the War of the Roses*, 1461—1471.

Queen Margaret's army consisted almost entirely of men from the north of England, who on their march to London stirred up popular feeling against them by their pillaging and violence. She had committed a grave blunder in allowing Edward and Warwick to enter the capital; having done so, she withdrew again to the north, taking Henry with her. Edward and Warwick were soon in pursuit. Five weeks after the battle of St Albans, the Yorkists forced the passage of the Aire at Ferrybridge; two days later was fought the great fight of Towton (March 29, 1461), one of the fiercest and bloodiest on record. It is said that there were 60,000 Lancastrians and 35,000 Yorkists in the armies which faced each other. If it was so, the Lancastrians must have been crowded into a space where there was hardly room for them. A column under the Duke of Norfolk was due to join the Yorkists; but Edward and Warwick—each of whom had lost his father at the battle of Wakefield—would not wait. Before dawn on the morning of Palm Sunday, they advanced to the attack. Fortune favoured them. A heavy snowstorm began, and a fierce wind drove the blinding snow in the faces of the Lancastrians. Opening with an archery attack, the Yorkist bowmen poured in volleys of arrows: the Lancastrian volleys, discharged against the wind, fell short, while the archers, not seeing (through the snowstorm) what was happening, wasted most of their ammunition. A renewal of the archery attack drove the Lancastrians to desperation, and the line advanced to the charge, descending one slope and ascending another; thus giving the advantage of position to the Yorkists, who held their ground hour after hour. At midday, Norfolk's fresh column arrived, took the

Towton, March 29.

Lancastrians in flank, and made their situation desperate; gradually they were driven down to the river Cock, which was in flood. Little quarter was given. Before the slaughter was ended, more than twenty thousand of them were slain, and the Yorkists lost eight thousand men. Margaret and Henry however escaped into Scotland.

The Yorkist Victory.

The victory definitely established Edward on the throne. The vindictive character of the war was illustrated by the large number of captured nobles and knights who were executed, in accordance with the practice on both sides. A Parliament was called, to establish Edward's title, and attaint of treason all the leading Lancastrians, including Henry and Margaret; a sweeping process, of which Margaret had set the example before. For the next three years, Warwick and his brother Lord Montague had much to do in suppressing resistance in Wales, and in the north, which was finally brought into subjection in the spring and summer of 1464 by the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, and by the capture of Bamborough, which had twice changed hands.

Edward and Warwick.

The House of York owed its triumph chiefly to Warwick, who was now the greatest man in the kingdom. But Edward had no intention of being permanently overshadowed by his cousin. The policy which Warwick had before him was a close alliance with the then King of France, Louis XI., who had recently succeeded Charles VII., whereas Edward was contemplating an alliance with Louis's great cousin and vassal the Duke of Burgundy. Philip, by various means, had by this time made himself lord, not only of Burgundy and Flanders, but of nearly all the Low Countries; while his son, Charles the Bold, was contemplating the conversion of the great dominion into an independent monarchy. It should be remarked that the Burgundian alliance, since it meant the alliance of the Low Countries, would be of immense commercial value to England.

Warwick then was contemplating a French alliance, to be sealed by Edward's marriage with a French princess; when his plans were checked by the young King's announcement that, while his cousin had been fighting in the north, he himself had privately married Dame Elizabeth Grey, or Woodville; an announcement which was speedily followed up by the showering of lands, offices, and profitable brides or husbands, on all the lady's kinsfolk. In fact the Nevilles were systematically displaced by Woodvilles and Greys; and the Warwick policy was overthrown by the marriage in 1468 of the King's sister Margaret to Charles the Bold, who had just succeeded Philip as Duke of Burgundy. This

The Woodville marriage.

matter was the more irritating to Warwick, because the marriage was negotiated without his knowledge, while he was employed on an embassy to Louis of France which was thereby rendered nugatory. Before this time, the unlucky Henry VI., who had been wandering from one hiding place to another, had been caught and shut up in the Tower of London; his wife, Margaret of Anjou, with their young son Edward, was in her father's duchy of Bar on the borders of Lorraine, watching and waiting.

Defection of Warwick.

Hitherto, Warwick's conduct had been perfectly loyal and constitutional, so far as it was possible to behave constitutionally. The only way in which a government, however bad and however unpopular, could be removed—if the King chose to support it—was by the threat of appealing to arms. In supporting Richard of York, the Nevilles had not played an unpatriotic part; Warwick himself had been largely responsible for persuading the Duke not to press the demand for Henry's deposition; he had only encouraged Edward in that extreme step when Wakefield had left no alternative. But now, when he realised that the King was steadily and persistently undermining the foundations of his power, Warwick proposed to pit himself against Edward. Since his cousin chose to play him false, he was no longer bound to him.

Warwick and Clarence, 1469.

The first effect was a conspiracy with the King's next brother, George Duke of Clarence. At Calais, of which he was still "Captain," Warwick married his daughter Isabel to the Duke, though Edward had positively forbidden the union. Meantime, some of his friends in the north, headed by one calling himself "Robin of Redesdale," raised a serious insurrection, demanding, in accordance with the precedents, the removal of the King's evil counsellors—that is, the Woodvilles. At Edgecote the royal forces were defeated. Warwick and Clarence, summoned back to England, declared against the king—who had not realised the situation—seized him, kept him in custody, and executed Lord Rivers, who was the queen's father, and one of her brothers.

Presently, under the impression that they had secured the upper hand, they set the King free. But at the beginning of the next year (1470) there was a Lancastrian rising: Edward marched to suppress it; and having done so—at what was called the battle of Lose-coat field, because, in their haste to flee, the Lancastrians flung away their coats—produced a confession from its leader that Warwick and Clarence had instigated it. When Edward did bestir himself, his movements were astonishingly swift; he gave his brother and the Earl no time; they had to fly for their lives, and barely succeeded in

escaping to France. Thereupon ensued an amazing revolution. The extraordinary craft of Louis XI.—well pleased at the chance of injuring the English King, who had preferred the Burgundian to the French alliance—devised a reconciliation between Margaret of Anjou and Warwick, each of whom had for fifteen years past been doing everything possible to injure the other. Warwick joined the Lancastrian cause, and, having already married one daughter to Clarence, went on to betroth another, Anne, to Edward, the young son of Henry VI. and Margaret.

Alliance of Warwick and Margaret, 1470.

Edward IV. was just as capable of reckless carelessness as of startling energy. He paid no regard to the warnings of Charles of Burgundy, between whom and Warwick there was hot enmity. Six months after Lose-coat field, Warwick and Clarence landed; while the King, cheerfully convinced that there was no danger, was in the north, with Warwick's friends all round him. So completely was he surprised that he and his immediate following had to ride for Lynn and embark for Holland on the first ship they could find, carrying with them nothing but the clothes on their backs.

Flight of Edward.

Warwick at once took Henry out of the Tower, proclaimed him King again, and was made joint Protector of the realm with Clarence, till young Edward should come of age. If that prince died without issue Clarence was to succeed to the throne, and in the meantime was to receive the Dukedom of York. These arrangements were confirmed by a Parliament.

Yet in six months more, the wheel came round, full circle. Edward, with characteristic audacity, perceiving that the coasts of those parts of the country which were favourable to him were carefully guarded, followed the example of Henry IV., and landed unexpectedly at Ravenspur in Yorkshire; announcing that he was come to claim not the Crown but only his York inheritance. As he advanced south, adherents flocked to his standard; Clarence, already tired of subjection to Warwick, joined him at Coventry; he entered London unchecked, again took possession of the person of Henry VI., and then marched out to decide whether he or Warwick should rule England.

Edward returns, 1471.

Warwick had been raising forces in the midlands, but had not been strong enough to face Edward on the southward march. On Easter day the battle was fought at Barnet, in a mist which beguiled two portions of Warwick's army into attacking each other. Victory lay with the Yorkists; Warwick

Barnet, April 14.

himself held his ground but fell fighting. On the same day, Margaret of Anjou landed at Weymouth, and hastened westwards to raise a new army. Edward swooped after her, caught her army at Tewkesbury, and annihilated it. No Plantagenet met with more unfailing success in battle than he. Her son Edward was cut down; she herself was captured. The King was no sooner back in London than the hapless Henry VI. died. No one has ever felt much doubt that he was murdered, with Edward's assent if not by his order.

Tewkesbury, May 4.

§ 2. *Edward IV.; autocracy by consent*, 1471—1483.

There was no one now to challenge Edward's title. There was no descendant of Henry IV. at all. According to the recognised rule of succession through females, Edward IV. was the heir of Edward III. through Richard of York's mother and the Mortimers; adopting the rule of unbroken male descent, he and his brothers were the only representatives of Edward III., through Richard of York's father. None of the descendants of John of Gaunt's daughters ventured to set up a counterclaim. The Lancastrians made up their minds that the House of Beaufort was the only alternative to the House of York, and their head was the boy Henry Tudor; whose friends perceived that his position was dangerous and smuggled him off to Brittany. Each side had carried out the system of executing for treason every important person on the other side who was caught—apart from the general rule adopted in the battles of only giving quarter to the common folk. The devastation of the Lancastrian ranks at Towton was completed by Barnet and Tewkesbury. There were no more rebellions against Edward.

Completeness of Edward's triumph.

The eleven years which had passed since Edward made himself King at the age of nineteen had been eventful enough. The remaining twelve of his reign were of a different character. The alliance with Burgundy, which an ambitious monarch might have turned to account, remained in force; and Edward joined in the league of Charles with the Duke of Brittany, which was to give the two Dukes independence and Edward the title of King of France. The idea of a French war was popular, and Edward got money for the purpose from Parliament and by Benevolences. Benevolences were a new form of money-raising, the King inviting his loyal subjects to make him free gifts out of their goodwill—with a manifest suggestion that if they refused they

Edward, France, and Burgundy.

would no longer be looked upon as loyal. Having got the money, he took an army over to France. But Charles of Burgundy did not move to join him at once, and he very readily came to convenient terms with Louis; who bought him off with a substantial pension and the title of King of France, under the treaty of Pecquigni (1475). Charles of Burgundy was angry; but that mattered the less as he was killed at Nancy in 1477.

Treaty of Pecquigni, 1475.

Edward had forgiven one of the men who had turned against him—his brother George of Clarence—in consideration of his having returned to his allegiance at a conveniently critical moment. But Clarence had not learnt wisdom, showed signs of asserting himself, and began intriguing with Scotland. The Duke was suddenly charged with treason before the peers by Edward himself, sent to the Tower, and there put to death privately; as tradition says, drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. The younger brother, however, Richard of Gloucester, always retained Edward's confidence, serving him loyally and with great ability in the government of the restive northern counties. The principal incident of the last years of Edward's life was Richard's recovery from the Scots of Berwick, which at an earlier period had been handed over to them by Margaret of Anjou.

The King's brothers.

In 1483, Edward died, leaving as his successor a twelve year old son, Edward V., another son, Richard Duke of York, and several daughters; of whom the eldest, Elizabeth, was to become the bride of Henry VII. He had appointed a Council, of which the principal members were Gloucester, Hastings, and the queen's brother Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers.

Edward's abilities, when he chose to use them, were brilliant; in the field he never met with defeat. But he cared nothing for military glory. He chose to be undisputed King, so he exerted himself to secure that position, or when exertion was necessary to retain it. Otherwise he wished to enjoy himself—mainly by the indulgence of licentious pleasures, but with that flavour of the artistic and the intellectual which in his time and for long after was much more characteristic of Italy than of England. He was perfectly aware of the possible advantages of an active Burgundian alliance, to which the one serious drawback was the character of Duke Charles; but his personal aims were more easily satisfied by collecting money to make war and then taking more money to retire from the war. The sequestration of Lancastrian estates provided his treasury with considerable supplies; the pension from Louis made up any deficiences; if he wanted more, he asked

Edward's character and methods.

for Benevolences, and there was no one powerful enough to protest vigorously. With all these sources of supply, he very rarely had any need to call upon Parliament for aid. The country was exhausted; his government was easy, as far as the mass of the people was concerned; and therefore its novel autocratic character was easily condoned by its general popularity, and the personal popularity gained by a handsome presence and an affable manner.

§ 8. *Edward V. and Richard III.*, 1483—1485.

Fall of the Woodvilles.

At the moment of Edward's death, his heir was at Ludlow, in the company of his northern kinsfolk. Outside their own family, the Woodvilles and Greys were disliked: the prospect of the whole government falling into their hands was distasteful. Richard of Gloucester had probably made up his own mind to seize the throne; but the first step was to get rid of the Woodville influence.

Rivers, with his brother and his Grey nephews (Elizabeth Woodville was the widow of a knight named Grey when Edward married her), hastened towards London, taking the young King with them. Gloucester came from the north, with every pretence of friendliness. The two parties met at Stony Stratford. Without warning, Gloucester arrested Rivers and Sir Richard Grey for treason, sent them prisoners to the north, and then proceeded to London. The queen, in alarm, took sanctuary at Westminster, with her second son Richard, the little Duke of York: Parliament was summoned and at once named Richard of Gloucester Protector.

Gloucester Protector.

Gloucester was supported by Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was descended from Edward III., both through the Staffords, one of whom had married the daughter of Thomas of Woodstock (the Gloucester of Richard II.), and through his Beaufort mother. Another supporter was John Howard, who was now to be made Duke of Norfolk, his wife being the heir of the Mowbrays; and another was Lord Hastings, a great personal friend of the late king. But Hastings stood in the way of Gloucester's desire for the Crown. Suddenly at the Council, Richard struck. He arrested Hastings for treason, and beheaded him without trial. Then he cajoled or frightened the queen-dowager, in sanctuary at Westminster, to give up her son the young Duke of York, who was promptly lodged in the Tower along with the King. Bishop Morton of Ely was also arrested. Then the mask was dropped. It was announced that when Edward married Elizabeth Woodville he was

already contracted—*i.e.* not married, but betrothed—to another lady, which, by the ecclesiastical law, made the Woodville marriage invalid; that all the children were consequently illegitimate: and that Richard of Gloucester was therefore the true king; since the young son and daughter of Clarence, Gloucester's elder brother, could not inherit owing to their father's attainder. Buckingham before Parliament moved that he should be made King, and Parliament was too much astonished or too much cowed to oppose—for Richard had quietly filled London with troops in his service. In a little more than three months from the death of Edward IV., his brother "accepted" the Crown (June 26th, 1483).

Richard seizes the crown.

Richard celebrated his accession by executing Rivers and Sir Richard Grey. Six weeks later, while he was on a progress through the country proclaiming the benevolence of his intentions, and here and there having Benevolences offered him which he magnanimously declined, the two young princes in the Tower disappeared. There was no trace of them, alive or dead. The world was convinced that they had been made away with by Richard, though persistent rumours were spread for years to come that the younger had been saved. It was not till twenty years later that a detailed story of the murder was produced; but the story itself was in all probability true, and was corroborated by the discovery, nearly two hundred years afterwards, of the remains of two young boys in the spot where the princes were said to have been buried.

Murder of the Princes.

England had been ready enough to hail Gloucester as Protector, and to acquiesce in the fall of the Woodvilles. When he seized the throne, although the thing was done in a perfectly constitutional way, men who had approved before became uneasy. When the disappearance of the princes became known, they suddenly realised that the sceptre of England was grasped by a perfectly unscrupulous usurper. Richard had struck down at once those of his opponents or possible opponents whom he thought dangerous; others, with a display of magnanimity intended to win popularity, he had spared. All the effects of that magnanimity were more than wiped out by the murder of the princes; and Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the man who had done most to help Richard to the throne, turned completely against him. A scheme was already on foot for marrying Henry Tudor of Richmond (now in Brittany), the recognised representative of John of Gaunt, to Elizabeth, the heiress of York. Morton, the imprisoned bishop of Ely, was

Buckingham.

the prime mover; he had been placed in Buckingham's charge, and he won Buckingham over.

The Staffords had always been Lancastrian, and Buckingham was half a Beaufort to boot. What if Richard—sudden, secret, unsparing, who had shown that he could wear the mask of friendship up to the moment of striking—should select him for his next victim? It is not strange that Buckingham resolved to put himself on the safe side and strike first.

Morton was allowed to escape to Brittany. Two months after the murder of the princes, there were simultaneous insurrections in half-a-dozen of the southern counties—Richard's strength lay in the north, where he had been governor in his brother's reign; and Buckingham, who was in Wales, marched to join the western insurgents. But his march was stopped by the Severn, which was in flood. Richard's movements were swift and decisive. Buckingham was cut off, captured and executed; Richmond (Henry Tudor's title), sailing from Brittany, had his fleet scattered by a storm. The rebellion was stamped out before it had well begun.

Parliament met in January (1484) and Richard's measures were again an attempt to combine tyrannical rigour with appeals to popular sentiment. A huge Act of Attainder enabled him to bestow the confiscated territories in the south on his adherents from the north; while another Act declared Benevolences to be illegal. He so cajoled the queen-dowager, that she bade her son, the Marquis of Dorset, who had escaped to Brittany, to give up the cause of Richmond. He made interest at the Breton court, so that Henry had to fly from that asylum to France, where Louis XI. was just dead. He proposed to marry his own son Edward to his niece Elizabeth, but that scheme was frustrated by the young man's death. Yet he courted disfavour by ruling through upstart favourites, Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Lovel; of whom a popular rhymer, whose jest cost him his life, wrote:—

Richard's Rule, 1484.

> "The Cat the Rat and Lovel the Dog
> Rule all England under the Hog"—

the boar being Richard's cognisance. And having declared Benevolences illegal, he found himself still obliged to resort to them.

Richard was a man of great abilities; had he succeeded to the throne by perfectly legitimate means, and without rival claimants, it is not unlikely that he would have been numbered among the kings whom posterity holds in grateful memory. But he won his position by violence and fraud of the most atrocious

Richard's peril.

kind; by terror and terror only could he hold it. Every man felt that the hand-clasp of to-day might become the dagger-thrust to-morrow. Since no man trusted him, there was none in whom he could trust; and if perforce he did place trust in any one, he was certain to be himself betrayed. So the event proved. Every one now who had any sort of Lancastrian connexion, every one of the Woodville connexion, every one of the Buckingham connexion, had his eyes turned towards France and Henry of Richmond. In no other direction was it possible to look. The children of Edward IV. were all girls; the children of Clarence were a young boy and a young girl; Richard, now that his son was dead, had named as his heir John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, the son of his sister Elizabeth, who had been married to the Duke of Suffolk—the son of the Suffolk of Henry VI. His other sister, Margaret of Burgundy, was childless. The representative of the Beauforts was the only possible deliverer; by wedding Elizabeth of York, he would reconcile the houses whose antagonistic claims had devastated England. And Henry, cold, alert, and wary, was weaving his plans. Richard knew himself girt about with traitors: but he could not tell who the traitors were.

It was not till August, 1485, that Henry came. He landed at Milford Haven, and advanced through Wales to the midlands, gathering forces. Richard mustered an army, but how many would desert him in the hour of battle he could not tell. The opposing forces met on Bosworth field. When the fight began, Northumberland, commanding the King's right wing, drew off. The battle raged fiercely; weakened though he was, the King's furious valour might still have won the day; when another column, commanded by Sir William Stanley, declared for Richmond and fell upon Richard's flank. Fighting with no thought but to sell his life as dearly as he might, the tyrant fell. On the field of victory, Henry Tudor was acclaimed King of England.

Bosworth, 1485, Aug. 22.

CHAPTER XV.

HENRY VII. AND THE TRANSITION: 1485—1509.

§ 1. *Establishment of the Tudor Dynasty*, 1485—1492.

Henry's title.

HENRY of Richmond had overthrown the usurper Richard, for the plain reason that there was no one else to do it. He might have proclaimed Elizabeth, the obviously legitimate heir, and have claimed her hand as his reward, but then if she had died, that would have left him no title to the throne. Unless he was content to stand aside—to play Warwick the King-maker's part, and take the risks of the position—he had no choice but to claim the throne as his own by right. This was the course he adopted. Parliament was called; and declared that Henry was the lawful king, whose crown Richard had usurped; on which ground it attainted of treason those who had supported Richard against him. Thus Henry avoided claiming the throne by right of conquest. Like Henry IV., he was king, practically by conquest, formally by a title derived from Parliament; while Parliament was content to affirm that the title was good by inheritance—without going into details.

Its weakness.

Nevertheless, it was clear that the title by inheritance was ridiculously weak. We have seen that any and every descendant of Richard of York had a better title to the throne, so far as descent counted, than any descendant of John of Gaunt; though it had been reasonable to hold that descendants of Henry IV. were entitled by long possession. Now however there were no descendants of Henry IV., and it could not plausibly be maintained that such rights as his dynasty possessed passed to the offspring of his illegitimate half-brother, even though that brother had been legitimatised by Act of Parliament. Yet this was the best plea that Henry Tudor could put forward. His grandmother had indeed been the widow of Henry V., but that of course gave no claim at all.

Now it was quite certain that no Lancastrian would dispute his title, though the royal house of Portugal was descended from John

of Gaunt's second daughter, that of Castile from the third, and Ralph Neville, the present Earl of Westmorland, from the eldest, through his mother. The Lancastrians had chosen to adopt Henry as their representative. But it was equally certain that any discontent among the Yorkists would lead to some Yorkist candidate being put up as a rival. To that, the most effective check would be the marriage of Henry to Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. Yet even that would not be conclusive, since there were those who held, somewhat oddly, that a woman might not herself inherit the throne—a son might claim through his mother, but the mother could not claim herself. On that theory, all the five daughters of Edward IV. were barred, but young Edward, Earl of Warwick, the son of George of Clarence and of the King-maker's daughter Isabel, stood next; and after him the four de la Poles, sons of Edward IV.'s sister Elizabeth. And if all these should be shut out, as they would be if Elizabeth bore a son to Henry, there was the possibility that one of the princes, believed to have been murdered in the Tower, might be produced alive after all—and he would of course have a better title than his sister or her son.

Henry secured himself as far as possible by immediately confining Warwick safely in the Tower, and marrying Elizabeth at the beginning of 1486. The attainders of hostile nobles he used systematically throughout his reign, not to destroy their lives but to confiscate their possessions and disable them by heavy fines. This peculiar form of leniency did not excite the fierce animosity of more violent measures; but it did not prevent restlessness. During the year there was an abortive insurrection headed by Lord Lovel, easily crushed: and then in 1487—soon after the birth of an heir to the King, who was christened Arthur—a more serious rebellion.

Henry marries Elizabeth 1485.

Margaret, the sister of Edward IV., was dowager duchess of Burgundy; its duke was a boy, Philip—not her own grandson but her husband's, whose daughter Mary, his child by a previous marriage, had married Maximilian, "King of the Romans," the heir of Frederick of Habsburg, the Austrian Archduke and Emperor. Margaret's court was a constant rendezvous for all Yorkist intriguers against the Tudors. Also in Ireland nearly all the leaders favoured the House of York, since Richard of York, when Lieutenant or Deputy, had succeeded in becoming generally popular. Burgundy and Ireland therefore were the two bases of operations for attacking Henry. The Yorkists now produced in Ireland a youth named Lambert Simnel whom they

Lambert Simnel, 1487.

declared to be the young Earl of Warwick (who, as a matter of fact, was a prisoner in the Tower). The Irish accepted Simnel as King; he was joined by John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, and a band of German mercenaries led by Martin Schwartz. In June the rebels landed in Lancashire, their army being mainly Irish: but a fortnight later they were crushed at the battle of Stoke. Lincoln was killed, the German mercenaries were cut to pieces, and a number of chiefs with Simnel himself were taken prisoners. Henry declined to punish the impostor, whom he judiciously treated as having been a mere puppet, giving him a post, suited to his humble birth, in the royal kitchens. Fines and imprisonment were sufficient penalty for the other offenders. The great Geraldine chief, the Earl of Kildare, who was Irish "Deputy" at the time, was even allowed to retain his office though there was no doubt of his complicity in the rising.

For some time after this, there were no more open attempts to overthrow Henry, who now allowed the coronation of his wife; which he had deferred, not wishing it to appear that he regarded the ceremony as making any difference to his own position.

Foreign relations.

The interest turns on Henry's foreign policy, the diplomatic craft by which he gradually recovered for England a voice in the counsels of the European Powers; which had been entirely lost, partly from the exhaustion of the country by long civil strife, partly from the very uncertain tenure by which every King had held sway for thirty years. During those years,

France.

Louis XI. had consolidated France after her long sufferings in the Hundred Years' War with England. He had absorbed the French territories of the Duke of Burgundy, with the exception of Flanders, and Brittany was now the only part of France which was not under the control of the Crown. In doing so, he had so broken the power of Burgundy that there was no longer any danger of a mid-European kingdom being established between France and the crowd of nearly independent States which owned the Emperor as their nominal head. But beyond the Pyrenees, the

Spain.

Spanish kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were already united by the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand; who were now engaged in bringing the whole Peninsula, except Portugal, under their sway, by crushing the Moorish dominion of the south. In this new Spain, Henry recognised the Power whose alliance would be of the highest value to him. On the other hand, it was always dangerous for England that France should become too strong, and that the alliance between France and Scotland should become aggressive.

France was now engaged in the endeavour to obtain control over Brittany; a thing objectionable to England, as giving France the Breton sea-ports. England's sympathy was with Brittany, but the King himself did not wish to be forced into fighting on either side. Before the end of 1488 however he was preparing to make a show of armed intervention, partly to please his subjects, partly to secure the alliance of Spain and the promise of a Spanish princess for his son's bride, partly to put money into his treasury. Like Edward IV., at the time of the treaty of Pecquigni, his plan was to obtain supplies for war, spend and fight as little as possible, and then get more money from the adversary as the price of peace. In 1489, having got his money, his Spanish treaty, and the promise of Katharine of Aragon for the baby Prince Arthur, he sent over troops to help the Bretons—by garrisoning strong posts. A year later he was able to improve upon the Spanish treaty (which is known as that of Medina del Campo); though Spain still had, at least in appearance, very much the best of the bargain, and she still evaded any share in the fighting. In the course of the next year (1491) the Breton question was settled by the King of France, young Charles VIII., marrying the Duchess of Brittany. Thereupon it became Henry's turn to demand compensation before evacuating his fortresses, making much parade of preparation for a grand campaign. Charles, having now secured the incorporation of Brittany, was anxious about schemes of his own in Italy; and the war was closed in Dec. 1492 by the Peace of Estaples, which placed a very handsome sum in Henry's purse.

Brittany.

The diplomatic game, 1488—92.

§ 2. *Perkin Warbeck, the Spanish and Scottish marriages, and the close of the reign*, 1493—1509.

One of the advantages which Henry reaped from the Peace of Estaples was that Charles withdrew his countenance from a new Pretender to the throne, who had made his first appearance in Ireland shortly before. This was Perkin Warbeck, the son of a boatman of Tournai, who claimed to be Richard, Duke of York, younger brother of Edward V. who had disappeared in 1483. Henry's enemies believed, or professed to believe, his story—it would be time enough to enquire into it after the Tudor was overthrown. Until the Peace, Charles received him in France; after it, Warbeck went off to Margaret of Burgundy; and there is no doubt that after some residence at that Court he was able to carry off his assumed character with plausibility. Maximilian,

Perkin Warbeck.

King of the Romans, who had been in the alliance against France, was very angry with Henry over the Peace, and gave the Pretender all the support he conveniently could. As he exercised some influence over his son, Philip of Burgundy, this led to strained relations between England and the Low Countries; and another commercial war began—like that in the reign of Edward III.—which deprived the English wool-merchants of their best market, and the Flemings of the wool for their cloth. There was no appearance of a party favourable to Perkin in England; but Henry was quietly watching the conspirators. Suddenly in 1495 he struck; amongst a few others, Sir William Stanley—whose action had decided the battle of Bosworth in Henry's favour—was sent to the block.

Flemish Commercial War.

In the meantime, the French King had invaded Italy to make good his claim to the Crown of Naples and Sicily, with complete success. The result was that Ferdinand of Spain wanted to form another league against France; so did Maximilian; Henry hinted that, so long as Maximilian insisted on countenancing Warbeck, he was rather more likely to give his own support to Charles. Also the English King was taking his measures to make Ireland well disposed. Kildare was brought over to England, and an able Deputy, Sir Edward Poynings, replaced him for a time. Under his rule, the Irish Parliament in 1494 passed Poynings' Law; which settled that no measures might be introduced into the Irish Parliament until they had received the sanction of the King and his Council in England. This remained the Law for nearly three centuries. Kildare himself however—very much the most influential person in Ireland—was being treated in the most friendly manner; and in 1496 returned as Deputy, discharging his office loyally for the remainder of the reign. Towards others of the great chiefs also, outside the English Pale, Henry followed a conciliatory policy, granting them pensions and honours on the understanding that they would exert themselves in support of his Government.

Ireland.

Thus when Warbeck opened his attack, in the summer of 1495, he was doomed to failure. An attempt was made to land at Deal; but the local forces sufficed to rout it completely, and the prisoners taken were severely dealt with. Perkin sailed for Ireland, but found that country no longer ready to welcome him; so proceeded to the Court of James IV. of Scotland, who was as willing to receive him as Charles of France had been at an earlier stage of his career. By July of the next year, Perkin's ill-success, coupled with the persuasions of Ferdinand, induced Maximilian to

Warbeck active, 1495—6.

drop him, and the new league was formed against France. One of its immediate fruits was a commercial treaty with Burgundy known as the *Intercursus Magnus*, which restored and improved the commercial relations between England and Flanders. In September, however, the Scots raided the north of England in support of Perkin. The raid rather helped Henry, who used it as an excuse for abstaining from active operations against France—each of the allies in the League meant the others to do the work while he looked on—and for obtaining a substantial money-grant.

The Cornish rising, 1497.

The south-west of England, however, objected to being taxed for the defence of the northern counties against an enemy from whom Cornwall felt no danger. The men of Cornwall and Devon rose in revolt—none of the gentry were with them—and marched through the southern counties as near London as Blackheath, with a time-honoured demand for the dismissal of "the King's evil counsellors." There they were surrounded, and a considerable number of them killed; three of the leaders were hanged, and the rest were pardoned. This was in June, 1497. Unluckily, the Cornishmen did not understand Henry's leniency, which they attributed to fear; and they sent to Perkin, who was now once more in Ireland, trying to raise that country. He came to Cornwall, was joined by a band of insurgents, and marched upon Exeter which refused to admit him—then to Taunton—then threw up the whole affair, and fled to sanctuary at Beaulieu, where he finally surrendered (Sept. 1497).

Capture of Warbeck.

As usual, Henry put very few of the rebels to death, but inflicted plentiful fines. Warbeck himself was compelled to make public confession—whether truth or fiction—of his imposture, and was then confined, not at all rigidly. But, when he attempted to escape, he was shut up in the Tower, along with the Earl of Warwick. Henry's nerve, however, seems to have been severely shaken by still another imposture early in 1499—a youth named Ralph Wilford pretending to be Warwick—and before the end of the year he determined to have done with these troubles. It was discovered that Warbeck and Warwick were engaged in a conspiracy, and both were put to death. The only innocent blood that Henry can be charged with having shed was that of the unlucky Warwick, whose sole fault was that other people insisted on making him a figurehead for their designs. The result of this execution was that the only male representatives of the House of York now left (besides the small sons of the Queen Elizabeth or her sisters) were the de la Poles—Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, William, and

Execution of Warbeck and Warwick, 1499.

Richard, the brothers of John, Earl of Lincoln, who had been killed at Stoke. Warwick's sister Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was married to a knight named Pole—not de la Pole, but of a quite different family.

Though the imposture of Ralph Wilford did not take place till 1499, and Warwick was not finally disposed of till that year, the capture of Perkin Warbeck in the autumn of 1497 really secured Henry from the risk of any strong combination being formed to dethrone him. The French in Italy had been so completely checked that there was at least no present danger of French aggrandisement. James of Scotland was willing to be friendly. So we now find Henry engaged in negotiations, first for the marriage of his daughter Margaret to the Scots King, and secondly for that of his son Arthur to Katharine of Aragon, the younger daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. (Their elder daughter, Joanna, was now married to Philip of Burgundy, who was also the heir of Maximilian, so that the offspring of these two would inherit all the dominions of Austria, Burgundy, and Spain.)

The Spanish Marriage, 1501.

Not having the fear of France before him, Henry could bargain with Spain on even terms; the threat of his allying himself with France was now a real menace to the Spaniards. Both sides were in fact equally anxious to secure the union and to pretend reluctance. Hence it was not till the end of 1501 that the marriage actually took place. Six months later, Arthur died; and then there was a long business of haggling about the return of so much of Katharine's dower as had been paid, about the payment of the unpaid portion, and over the proposal that the young widow should now marry Prince Henry who had become heir to the throne by his brother's death. Marriage with a deceased husband's brother being contrary to ecclesiastical law, a dispensation had to be obtained from the Pope, which was duly granted by Julius II. in 1504. Henry and Katharine were betrothed, but not married till after the death of Henry VII.

In the meantime, the marriage between Margaret and James IV. of Scotland had also been accomplished (1503). Both this marriage and that of Henry VIII. to Katharine were to prove of great political importance: for the latter led to the breach between the King of England and the Pope during the next reign; while, by the Scottish marriage, the royal House of Scotland was brought next in succession to the throne of England after the offspring of Henry VIII. This brought about the great rivalry between Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, and,

The Scottish Marriage, 1503.

just 100 years after Margaret Tudor married James IV., placed the Stuart James VI. on the English throne as James I.

Henry's degeneration, 1500—9.

Henry's closing years present a singularly unattractive record, which, somewhat unjustly, colours all our impressions of his reign. The real statesmanship which had established England once more as a leading factor in the politics of Europe, and had mercifully ended a half century of civil discords, degenerates into mere crafty intriguing. The resemblance between Henry's character and that of Ferdinand of Aragon becomes the more marked after 1504, when Isabella of Castile died and her nobler influence disappeared from Spanish policy. The rigid economy, which seized every colourable opportunity for extracting money from victims who yet could not be said to have suffered unjustly, becomes a griping extortion by means of unjust laws unjustly administered. Year by year after his wife's death the King designs new matrimonial projects, sometimes of a nauseous character—such as that of marrying the notoriously crazy Joanna of Castile after the death of her husband, Philip of Burgundy, in 1506. If nothing is lost, nothing is achieved. Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, appears on the scene, a very unsubstantial pretender to Henry's throne, intriguing in futile fashion with foreign courts, and finally surrendered by Philip, to disappear in the Tower and suffer death early in the next reign. Almost the only noteworthy incident is when Philip, on his way to Spain (when the crown of Isabella of Castile passed to her daughter Joanna, Philip's wife, and subsequently to their son Charles—not to her own husband Ferdinand) was driven by weather to land in England; and, being thus in Henry's grip, was obliged to consent to a new commercial treaty for Flanders, so impossibly hard on the Flemings that it was called the *Intercursus Malus* (1506); soon after which he died. Finally we see Henry ignored, while Ferdinand and Louis of France combine with Maximilian and the Pope in the iniquitous League of Cambrai for parting Venice piece-meal. Infinite labour, endless anxiety, the death of the wife and the son whom he sincerely loved, seem to have worn Henry out prematurely. It would have been better for his fame if he had died before his son Arthur. He lived long enough to achieve what he would otherwise have escaped, a reputation for meanness unique among English monarchs; passing away unmourned in the early months of 1509.

1506—9.

§ 3. *The administration and commercial policy of Henry VII.*, 1485—1509.

The establishment of a dynasty, and the recovery for England of her prestige in Europe, have so far occupied our account of the reign of the first Tudor. We must now turn our attention to the domestic policy which laid the foundations of that Tudor rule which, with all its faults, was strong, and finally raised England to the highest place among the nations.

Repression of the Nobles.

Henry realised that a firm hand and a steady will must control the State; and that this must be effected by concentrating real power in the hands of the King, and freeing him from dependence on the uncertain loyalty of would-be king-makers. The sweeping destruction which, during the War of the Roses, had overtaken one after another of the great families which had added earldom to earldom, rendered the task of repressing what was left of the old baronage comparatively easy. The great confiscations and redistribution of estates and the absorption of some of them into the Royal demesnes left none of the nobility with the power to play Warwick's part; and no opportunity was given for any such power to grow up again. Instead of princes of royal blood, or great lords of scarcely less than princely rank, the king's political counsellors and ministers were mainly Churchmen—Morton and Fox and Warham. Liveries and maintenance—the practices by which the barons had kept armies of retainers ready to their call—were severely repressed by the simple but effective process of imposing crushing fines on all who transgressed the laws forbidding them.

The Star Chamber, 1487.

To this end the King found an invaluable instrument in the Court of Star Chamber, which was constituted by statute in 1487. The Council had always retained a sort of irregular jurisdiction which was now given a definite shape; the judges of whom the Court was composed were Officers of State who could not be over-awed as the ordinary courts might be; and as at first used under Henry VII., the main business of the Court of Star Chamber (probably deriving its name from a room in which the "starres" or bonds of the Jews had been kept) was to enforce the statutes against Maintenance, and to counteract the tendency of other Courts to give false verdicts under pressure or from other improper considerations.

By imposing the penalty of fines, Henry served a double purpose; he impoverished those whose wealth might be used for dangerous

ends, and he enriched his own exchequer. This process he carried much further by reviving ancient claims for feudal dues which had fallen into abeyance without being formally abolished. A statute of 1495 enabled judges themselves to take action so as to get charges (true or false) of breaches of these laws laid before them, and then to proceed against the offenders, who were often ready enough to pay large sums to avoid a trial. It was by this means that the notorious instruments of Henry's later years, Empson and Dudley, practised their infamous extortions, to the benefit of their own pockets as well as of the King's.

Empson and Dudley.

The accumulation of large hoards of money in his own treasury was not mere avarice on Henry's part; it was deliberate policy. It was by their possession of the purse-strings—their power of refusing money to the crown in its need—that Parliaments had been able to hamper and control the monarch. It was as necessary for Henry to be free from the control of Parliament as from that of the baronage. When he came to the throne, he had to reassure the people at large, to satisfy them that they need fear no such tyrannical or high-handed treatment as had been dealt out recently, and he also had to obtain supplies. Therefore he called constant Parliaments, paraded his anxiety for their cooperation, and at the same time made them share responsibility for his measures; while he gradually gathered such wealth as would enable him afterwards to carry on his government without appealing to them for money. In the last half of his reign, Parliaments were as rare as in the first half they were frequent.

Henry and Parliament.

The reign of Henry VII. is also especially noteworthy, because he, more than any of his predecessors, realised the importance to the country of commercial prosperity, and constantly kept that before him as an object of State policy. He desired at once to find extended markets for English goods and to foster home industries. With the former object in view he made several commercial treaties to secure the admission of the staple English products in foreign markets on the best terms (e.g. with Denmark in 1489); while, oddly enough, to secure the second object, he was laying heavy export duties on the principal product—wool—for the benefit of English clothworkers. That is, he wanted all the wool that could be used by Englishmen to be kept in England, and to sell abroad all the additional wool that could be produced; so he encouraged the English wool-workers at the expense of the English wool-producers. The commercial war with Flanders—instituted not for commercial but for political reasons, as a means of

Commercial policy.

bringing pressure to bear on Philip of Burgundy, and ended by the *Intercursus Magnus*—showed that the policy could be carried too far; for although the Flemish cloth-workers were almost ruined, the English wool-merchants suffered more than the English cloth-workers gained. But both the treaties known as the *Intercursus Magnus* (1496) and the *Intercursus Malus* (1506) prove how keenly alive Henry was to the need of making commercial prosperity an object of policy. In a similar fashion to his export duties, he encouraged English shipping by Navigation Acts, which required foreign goods to be imported only on English ships; but he thereby checked the introduction of goods, such as wines, which were not competing with English products. It may be, however, that the impulse given to English shipping went far to prevent any serious diminution of imports, while it probably increased the number of English ships, and stimulated the enterprise of English sailors, thereby advancing the development of English sea-power. Of less doubtful advantage, but of questionable honesty, was the curtailment of privileges granted by his predecessors to foreign trading corporations; concessions made before the great English companies of the Merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers, now powerful and prosperous, had grown strong enough to create a foreign trade on their own account. The great point to be grasped, however, is, not that Henry's measures were the best or the most scientific that might have been devised, but that the subject absorbed his closest attention as a serious branch of state-craft. It was characteristic of him, too, that he began with an inclination to secure for England a share in the great geographical discoveries which were being made during his reign by Columbus and others; but ceased to interest himself therein when it appeared that Spain and Portugal had established their claim to so much of the new world as seemed likely to yield substantial profit.

Navigation Acts.

Exploration.

Finally, it is in Henry's reign that we realise that new domestic problems were arising from industrial and agricultural changes. A process, by which the large landowners were converting their estates into sheep-farms for wool-growing instead of arable land employing and feeding husbandmen as in the past, was in full swing. The Black Death, in 1349, had hastened and almost completed the conversion of the old time "villein" into the labourer working for wages; the change from agriculture to sheep-farming reduced the demand for labour; and the great problem of the "unemployed" came into being, and remains with us to this day.

Rural Depression.

§ 4. *The Old Order and the New.*

The reign of Henry VII. is correctly taken as marking the period of transition from the medieval to the modern.

Politically, in Europe the medieval order meant that the land was split up into kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms and counties, in loosely connected and often changing groups. In the fifty years preceding the death of Henry, France was consolidated into a compact nation by Louis XI.—the way being prepared by the expulsion of the English—and the process there was completed by the final absorption of Brittany. In Spain, the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, followed by the overthrow of the Moorish dominion of Granada, left the whole peninsula divided between Spain and Portugal much as Britain was divided between England and Scotland. In the next generation, Spain, Burgundy, and the Empire, were to own a single head in the person of Charles V. The governing idea of international politics became the preservation of the Balance of Power among the great States which had thus grown up.

Consolidation of States.

The second feature which distinguishes the medieval from the modern is the change at once in the political and the religious position of the Papacy. The authority of the Holy See had suffered seriously from the long sojourn of the Popes at Avignon under the control of France in the fourteenth century, culminating in the Great Schism; and the character of the Popes, since the schism had been brought to a close by the Council of Constance, had not restored respect. The need of Reformation to which Wycliffe and his Bohemian follower Huss had begun to give voice was finding different expression at the end of the fifteenth century in the exhortations of the great Florentine Savonarola—while the Papal Throne was occupied by Alexander VI., a man who indulged in every conceivable vice and perpetrated every possible crime. Thus was the way being prepared for the Reformation, which divided western Christendom under the misleading party titles of Protestant and Catholic. Its cause was in part the old nationalist objection to the claim of any foreign potentate to exercise jurisdiction; in part a moral revolt against the particular authority of a priesthood claiming a Divine Commission while its members followed a standard of morals no higher than that of the laity; in part a religious revolt against interposing any authority between the individual man and his Maker; while in part it was a phase of the general intellectual

The Papacy.

The coming Reformation.

revolt against any and every authority which sought to override with fixed and unalterable rules the free exercise of human reason.

The Revival of Learning.

As a religious revolt, this movement was to break into sudden activity; but not till a few years after Henry's death, though there were signs that the nobler spirits were dissatisfied with the existing order. In Literature and in Art, it had already reached an advanced stage in Italy, and was spreading over Europe, although in England it did not achieve complete expression till near the end of the sixteenth century. The invention in Germany, about 1440, of the art of printing, introduced into England by Caxton in the reign of Edward IV., multiplied books and brought the possibility of a wider education within reach of whole classes which had hitherto been cut off from it. The flight of Greek scholars into the West, as the Turks advanced to the final overthrow of Constantinople in 1453, really revealed to the western world the literary treasures of Grecian antiquity. With the study of Plato, criticism soon made havoc among the formal philosophies of the medieval doctors or schoolmen, and this in turn released scientific enquiry from the fetters by which it had been bound for centuries. Learning became fashionable, and the princes and princesses of the House of Tudor were among the most accomplished men and women of their day.

The New Worlds.

The Ecclesiastical Reformation, the consolidation of the European kingdoms, the Revival of Letters, were three of the great changes which make the medieval and the modern world so unlike each other. A fourth, not less remarkable, was the discovery of a hitherto unknown world across the Atlantic, and of a hitherto unknown way of reaching the almost unknown world of the Far East. In 1492, Christopher Columbus reached the West Indies, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama found his way round the Cape of Good Hope to India. These discoveries presently gave South and Central America to Spain, and planted a Portuguese Empire in the Eastern seas. Later, England and Holland and France were to enter the competition for these new worlds, which has given to Britain that vast Empire on which the sun never sets, and has made the Ocean her great battle field and highway; whereas the medieval peoples knew little more than Western Europe and the lands lying on the Mediterranean shores.

War and gunpowder.

One more change we will note. The middle ages were the days of steel-clad warriors, of archers with long-bow and cross-bow, of great walled castles which could bid defiance to any known artillery. Very gradually, the whole face of

war was being altered by the discovery of gunpowder. For long, cannon were of no use in the stricken field, except, as at Crecy (so it is said) to frighten the horses by their noise. But their use for battering down walls increased; and hand guns came into use. Henry employed cannon against the Cornish insurgents at Blackheath. In the course of the century which followed his death, the bow almost disappeared, the mail-clad knight vanished, and the old donjon-keep gave place to fortifications constructed to resist, not the battering-ram and the arblast, but the hammering of great guns: it was to the superiority of her artillery practice as much as to anything else that England owed her mighty victory over the Spanish Armada.

BOOK III.

REFORMATION TO REVOLUTION.

1509—1688.

CHAPTER XVI.

HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY: 1509—1529.

§ 1. *Henry VIII., Wolsey's rise and supremacy*, 1509—1521.

Import-ance of the reign.

THE period covered by the reign of Henry VIII. is one of immense importance in the history not only of England in particular but of all Europe. It was the period during which the Reformers of Religion, led by Martin Luther, for the first time bade successful defiance to the power and authority of the Pope; and in England itself Henry VIII. was the first king who succeeded in making the jurisdiction of the Church subordinate to that of the Crown, and in getting rid of papal control. He thus prepared the way for the establishment of a Reformed Church, and for England to take her place as the leading Protestant Power when Western Christendom was split into the two religious divisions which custom has inaccurately labelled Catholic and Protestant.

Father and son.

When Henry VIII. became King of England, he was just under eighteen years of age. His father had found the country distracted and exhausted after years of constant dissension and civil war: he had succeeded in establishing a firm government at home, securing his dynasty so that there was no real risk of his son's title being challenged, controlling what was left of the old baronage so that it ought never again to be possible for anyone to play such a part as that of Warwick the King-maker, recovering credit in Europe so far at least that foreign countries were unwilling to see England in alliance with an enemy, and finally

laying up such a store of wealth in the royal treasury that his successor could afford to spend lavishly if occasion demanded. So the young King ascended the throne under very favourable conditions. But besides this, Henry VIII. had the good fortune to be born with unusual talents and a splendid physique, both of which had been cultivated to the highest degree; so that he was at once a first rate sportsman, an extremely accomplished gentleman, and a man who could hold his own in the company of men of learning. All this every one could see. Time was to show that he also was quick to learn how to apply his brains to practical questions, and that the apparently frank and generous young man was perfectly selfish and perfectly unscrupulous.

Popular measures, 1509.

Henry had been betrothed to Katharine of Aragon, the younger daughter of old King Ferdinand, very soon after his brother Arthur had died leaving her a widow a few months after marriage. Henry began his reign by marrying her, thus drawing closer the connexion between England and Spain. Next he made himself very popular—a thing for which he was always anxious—by sending to the block his father's instruments of extortion, Empson and Dudley; although, since the crimes they had actually committed did not legally warrant their execution, they were condemned on a trumped up charge of treason.

But Henry was ambitious; he meant to be a famous King; and he was very soon to have his first lesson in king-craft. At the end of the last reign, the veteran rulers Ferdinand of Spain, Louis XII. of France, Maximilian the Emperor, and Pope Julius II., had formed a league for the destruction of Venice; but Louis had succeeded in reaping most of the benefit for himself. So Ferdinand intrigued to turn the alliance against Louis, and resolved to use the young ruler of England, with his thirst for military laurels, as a catspaw: meaning to make him do the fighting, and to leave him in the lurch as soon as he had got what he wanted for himself. The bait he offered was the recovery of Guienne. There was a large party in England which was always eager for a French war, and Henry was easily drawn into the design. In 1512, the allies declared war on Louis: an English army was sent to enter France from Spain. But the troops were sent to Navarre, not to Guienne; the wine was not to their taste; they mutinied, and insisted on coming home again; Henry discovered that war is a serious business requiring organisation. A very able cleric, Thomas Wolsey, had recently been introduced into the Council; to him the work of organisation was now entrusted. In

The French War, 1512—4.

1513, after a sharp naval engagement off Brest in which the English showed that they had lost none of their traditional valour, Henry had no difficulty in transporting an army of invasion to Calais, and opening a war which he conducted in person. The fruits of this campaign were the capture of Terouenne and Tournay: one of its incidents was the Battle of the Spurs, so called because the French were seized with an unaccountable panic and fled from the field helter-skelter; while another, a little earlier, was the daring relief of Terouenne by a small party of French horse who made a dash through the lines of the besiegers.

In the meantime, however, James IV. of Scotland, who, though he was married to Henry's sister Margaret, was in alliance with the French, invaded England, advancing into Northumberland. This had been expected, and the arrangements for repelling the invasion were entrusted in the King's absence to the Queen and to Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. It was towards the end of August that the Scots king with a great army crossed the border, and having secured Norham Castle took up a strong position on a hill called Flodden Edge, on the west bank of the river Till, a tributary of the Tweed, flowing in a north-westerly direction. Surrey with a rather smaller force advanced to meet him, and tried to persuade him to leave his encampment and fight in the plain. Failing in this, Surrey crossed the Till and began to march due north towards Berwick, some 15 miles away, his movements being concealed by the high ground lying between his route and the river. About half way to Berwick, his army wheeled to the left, recrossed the Till in rear of James's army, cutting him off from Scotland, and moved south again towards Flodden. Then James committed the great blunder of coming down from his strong position; the armies joined battle. It was not till both wings of the Scottish force had been broken and the English were able to bring all their forces to bear on the centre, that the fortunes of the day were decided. A desperate stand was made; the flower of the Scottish chivalry fell, fighting to the last; the King himself was slain. The military power of Scotland was broken for many a year to come, and the country was left, with a baby for its king, to the factions of rival nobles and the intrigues of the queen-mother, Margaret Tudor. Surrey was rewarded by being made Duke of Norfolk.

Flodden, 1513 (Sept.).

Thus 1513 was a year of victories for King Henry. But in the beginning of 1514 he found himself deserted by his allies. From that moment he recognised that mere fighting men are apt to

FLODDEN

Showing the Scottish position on Flodden Edge, and Surrey's march

become the tools of diplomatic statesmen, and he put himself completely under the guidance of perhaps the ablest diplomatist England has ever produced, Thomas Wolsey.

Wolsey. Wolsey, the son of a butcher or grazier, had been sent to Oxford when very young. Having distinguished himself at the University, he remained there till he ingratiated himself with the Marquis of Dorset. After that, his advancement was rapid; he became chaplain to Henry VII., and was employed by that monarch on more than one important diplomatic mission. When once he had been introduced into the new King's Council, he soon secured his favour, both by his real abilities and by his address. In 1513, he was only a rising administrator. In 1514 he had become the King's most intimate companion, and the director of his policy.

Wolsey's first step along the new path was secretly to negotiate a French alliance; and Ferdinand, a few months after deserting Henry, was startled by finding that Louis was to marry Mary Tudor, Henry's younger sister. The marriage was duly celebrated in the autumn; but the bridegroom died on New Year's day, and was succeeded on the French throne by Francis I. This change upset the plan of a French alliance; and during the years immediately following, Wolsey was chiefly engaged in encouraging ill-feeling between the European monarchs, promising and occasionally rendering assistance to one or another, and keeping England from actually plunging into a war. But the old Kings died; Louis was followed to the grave in 1516 by Ferdinand, whose grandson Charles thus became King of all Spain as well as lord of the Burgundian inheritance, which meant principally the Low Countries —the modern Holland and Belgium—and Franche Comté. Then early in 1519 Maximilian died, and Charles became Emperor by the title of Charles V., after an Imperial Election in which Francis I. was the rival candidate. For twenty-seven years to come, three princes dominated Western Christendom; Henry VIII., who was now eight and twenty, Charles V., who was in his twentieth year, and Francis I., who came between them. Wolsey's central idea was to hold the balance between Charles and Francis, preventing either from becoming too powerful, and keeping each perpetually anxious for the support of England.

Francis I., 1515.

Charles V., 1519.

So long as each of them felt that Henry might actively throw in his lot with the rival, the policy succeeded. Both kings paid court to Wolsey as the real ruler of England, making him substantial presents and less substantial promises of using all their influence

to secure his election as Pope, if the present Pope Leo X. should die before him. In 1520, a magnificent meeting was arranged between Henry and Francis, known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, when they entered on a treaty of amity: but Francis gained nothing, for just before and also just after, Henry met the young Emperor—though less ostentatiously—and made a treaty of very much the same kind with him. The rivalry however between Charles and Francis was so keen that, in the course of the next year, it became impossible to keep the peace between them. If Wolsey had held consistently to his own policy, he would have refused to take sides, and have waited to strike in if either should gain too marked a predominance over the other. But there were many influences at work in favour of Charles. Henry was personally jealous of the French king's reputation as a *preux chevalier*; his wife was an ardent advocate for Charles, who was her sister's son; the alliance of England and Burgundy was traditional and commercially profitable; war with France was traditional and usually popular; and it is commonly held that Wolsey was personally influenced by the Emperor's promises to support him when he should become a candidate for the Papacy. So in 1522, the balancing policy was dropped, and England declared herself the ally of Charles in a war with France: although before it began, the Emperor had already played the Cardinal false—with many excuses—by securing the Popedom to his old tutor, on the sudden and unexpected death of Leo X.

Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.

War declared with France, 1522.

Wolsey had been made a Cardinal in 1516, and had shortly afterwards been appointed papal Legate in England—both by the express desire of King Henry and with much reluctance on the part of Leo X. His personal power and wealth were enormous. As Lord Chancellor, he was the highest civil judge; as Legate, highest ecclesiastical judge. He conducted England's foreign policy; he controlled everything at home; he was in the King's most intimate confidence. His ostentation and arrogance, especially towards the nobility, made him generally hated and feared. When the unfortunate Duke of Buckingham, the greatest of the peers and nearest in the line of succession to the throne, was suddenly struck down on a very inadequate charge of treason (1521), the Cardinal was generally believed to be responsible. Which things were to bear their fruit in due season.

Wolsey's power.

§ 2. *The birth of the Reformation: to* 1529.

Now however we must turn aside from the doings of Kings and the ministers of Kings to study that great intellectual and religious movement which was to produce the Reformation; whose beginnings are found in the teaching of Wycliffe and the story of the Lollards in England, and of Huss and the Hussites abroad: "heretical" sects, which had been ruthlessly repressed, but still covertly survived: the expression of the dissatisfaction felt by earnest minds at some of the doctrines of the Church and the practices of the clergy.

Wycliffe and Huss.

This dissatisfaction, however, was also felt by men who had no idea of breaking up the existing order, or of teaching doctrines which the Church condemned. For a long time past, Popes had been chosen without any regard to their moral fitness; and some of them had been notoriously among the worst men of their generation; such as Alexander VI., who was Pope during a part of the reign of Henry VII. The higher clergy were often much more occupied with political affairs and personal intrigues than with the care of souls: the standard of conduct in their lower ranks had sunk in a corresponding manner. Ceremonial observances counted for more than virtuous living, and the laity were taught that they could condone their misdeeds by gifts to the Church and by buying masses and pardons. Sham relics of the saints were multiplied, and sham miracles were worked at many shrines. These things were recognised and affirmed by men who lived saintly lives and died without a suspicion of heresy in the eyes of the most orthodox. Moreover, the revived study of the Greek philosophers was teaching men to think for themselves, instead of accepting as a matter of course anything and everything which was put forward as having the authority of the Church. There were some who thought that the cure for the prevalent evils would follow, if only the clergy would model their own lives more after the example of the apostles; there were others who felt that there must be something, not only in the characters of the clergy but in the authoritative teaching of the Church herself, which made those evils possible and even inevitable.

Deterioration in the Church.

The consciousness that a reformation was needed, and the hope that it could be effected without a revolution, by setting a better education and purer ideals before the clergy, had been prevalent for some time. In England, men like Cardinal Morton, Archbishop Warham, Bishop Fox, Bishop Fisher,

The Orthodox Reformers.

and Cardinal Wolsey himself, were all keenly interested, especially in the subject of improved education; a part of which was to be a careful study of the Scriptures themselves, instead of an exclusive attention to the writings of the schoolmen, as the doctors who flourished in the Middle Ages were called. Another famous preacher and teacher of this type was Dean Colet, the founder of St Paul's School. The greatest of the English group was Sir Thomas More, who wrote a book called *Utopia*, in which he described the institutions of a country named Utopia (which means, Nowhere), supposed to have been discovered by some of the explorers who in those days were following in the wake of Christopher Columbus. By presenting this picture of what he imagined as an ideal State, More was able to drive home to the minds of his readers the defects common to the European systems, and especially, of course, those to be found in England—whether properly political, or social, or religious. The effect of the efforts of all these men was that a marked improvement was setting in, in the training provided both in ordinary schools and at the Universities.

Anti-clerical feeling.

But the Reformation was not destined to remain in the hands of these educational reformers. There was also an anti-clerical spirit abroad—a feeling that the clergy had too many privileges, too much wealth, too much influence exercised in the interests not of morality and religion but of increasing the power and wealth of their Order. And there were already those who were beginning to realise that the evils existing could never be cured or rooted out so long as Christendom was dominated by the Papal system; and that meant that, if there was to be a real lasting reformation, it could only come through a revolution. The Pope was living over a mine; but as yet he had no suspicion that an explosion was at hand.

Martin Luther, 1517.

In 1517 the train was fired by Professor Martin Luther, of the University of Wittenberg in Saxony. The Pope, Leo X., wanted money; and he proposed to get it by sending out commissioners to sell what were called Indulgences to all who chose to buy. He claimed, as his predecessors had often done, the power of granting remissions of the punishments which—according to the teaching of the Church in those days—the souls of men suffer in Purgatory for the sins they have committed in this life; these indulgences were remissions of this kind and could be bought cheap. But Martin Luther, from his studies of the Bible and of the works of St Augustine, had become utterly convinced that for those who do not believe and repent there is no remission of sins, and that

for those who do, the remission was purchased once for all by the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. Therefore when the Papal Commissioner Tetzel was approaching, he posted up in a public place ninety-five "theses" against Indulgences; in consequence of which the sale was prohibited throughout Saxony.

This was in 1517. Leo was surprised at the commotion created; when the commotion increased, he became angry. In 1520 he issued a Bull condemning Luther. Luther replied by burning the Bull, on Dec. 20th. A Diet or Council of the Empire was about to be held at Worms by the recently elected Emperor Charles V. Luther was summoned before it. He refused to recant his opinions, and boldly laid down the vital principle of the Reformation that neither Popes nor General Councils are infallible, and that the one absolute authority for Christian doctrine is the Bible. That was an open challenge to the whole Papal system; and in that hour, Protestantism was born.

The Diet of Worms, 1521.

Although Luther was put to the bann of the Empire,—*i.e.* outlawed—and an edict was issued for the suppression of his doctrines, he was removed to a place of safety, and continued to advocate them energetically. Side by side with him, the Swiss reformers, headed by Zwingli, were preaching views akin to his. These teachings took a strong hold in many parts of Germany and elsewhere, so that by degrees the German princes who supported Luther banded themselves together to insist on their right to practice in their own dominions the religion they thought best. Hence Protestantism, as the new doctrines came to be called, from the "Protest of Spires" in which these rights were asserted in 1529, became an important factor in European politics, as well as a religious movement. But for the time being its teachings made little progress in England.

The Swiss Reformers.

The Protest of Spires.

§ 3. *The Cardinal's Decline and Fall*, 1522—1529.

In 1522, Henry VIII. declared war against France in conjunction with Charles V. The English invasions however were of a desultory character, and there was no concerted action with the Emperor. But the war was expensive, and Wolsey, who had been carrying on the policy of the latter years of Henry VII., and seeking to accustom the people to be governed without Parliament, was obliged to call one in 1523—after an interval of eight years—to obtain a grant. The money was given, but in a way which showed Wolsey that he could not count

The War, the Cardinal, and the Taxes, 1523—6.

upon having all his demands conceded. The war dragged on; more money was wanted; the Cardinal knew it would be useless to appeal to Parliament, and tried to obtain it by demanding what was called an "Amicable Loan," but was practically a compulsory tax. This raised a storm of indignation; whereupon Henry gracefully withdrew the demand, the blame for which he carefully permitted to be laid entirely on his minister. This happened just after the battle of Pavia (1525) had delivered Francis a prisoner into the Emperor's hands. Charles was now so powerful that he was disposed to make no concessions to his English ally; and in 1526 Wolsey was allowed to revert to his old balancing policy, and to negotiate a new alliance with France. Charles had already in 1523 disappointed his hopes of the Papacy a second time, by exerting his influence for the election of Clement VII.

Henry seeks a Divorce, 1527.

Hitherto, with the Cardinal at the helm, the great political object in view had usually been to establish England in the position of arbiter between the two great rivals Charles and Francis. Now, in 1527, there comes a change. Suddenly we find everything subordinated, in the King's mind, to a determination to get what is always—though incorrectly—called a divorce[1] from his wife Katharine of Aragon, and to marry a young lady of the court named Anne Boleyn: whose mother was a sister of the Duke of Norfolk, son of the Earl of Surrey who had won the battle of Flodden. According to recognised practice, no one but the Pope, or a court appointed by the Pope, could declare void the marriage which had been expressly permitted under a dispensation from Julius II. All other political considerations were allowed to drift, while Wolsey was compelled by his master to devote all his ingenuity to efforts to induce the new Pope Clement VII. to pronounce the marriage invalid. When the Cardinal failed—as he did, because Clement found himself in the power of the Emperor, who was Katharine's nephew, and whom he dared not offend—Henry flung his old servant aside; making up his mind that if he could get the divorce in no other way, he would renounce the papal obedience—that is, declare that the Pope was only Bishop of Rome and had no authority whatever in England. Thus the balancing policy became impossible; for it could only be worked while England was free to offer a prospect

[1] Henry wanted to marry again; the Law of the Church forbade *either* party to marry again after divorce. Henry required what is properly called a "declaration of nullity"; pronouncing that no *legal* marriage had ever taken place, and that he was therefore free.

of alliance now to Charles and now to Francis according to circumstances; whereas the affair of the divorce made alliance with Charles out of the question.

Henry's reasons.

Henry had two avowed reasons for desiring the divorce: one, political—if he left no male heir, the succession to the throne would be in danger; all Katharine's children but one, the princess Mary, had died, and there was no chance that she would have any more: the other conscientious—Katharine had been married first to his brother Arthur, and the Church forbids marriage with a brother's widow. Julius II. had granted a dispensation; but then the question arose whether marriage with a brother's widow was like marriage with a cousin, which was also forbidden by the Church, but was certainly permissible if a dispensation were granted, or like marriage with a sister, which no dispensation would make permissible. Henry had now quite made up his own mind that the dispensation granted by Julius was invalid, and the marriage void. Besides these two publicly professed reasons, there was the third, a private one, that he was determined to marry Anne Boleyn.

Wolsey's failure and fall, 1529.

Wolsey did not wish his master to marry Anne Boleyn, and was anxious that he should not quarrel with the Pope: but he knew quite well that if he did not obtain what Henry wanted, his own ruin was certain. So he struggled to discover pretext after pretext, and device after device, by which the Pope might be induced to declare the marriage void, or at least to appoint a commission with power to do so in his name. At last an Italian cardinal, Campeggio, was sent as legate, to form, in conjunction with Wolsey, a court to try the case. The court began to sit in 1529; but Clement was too much afraid of the Emperor to do what was wanted, and in a very short time he suspended the commission and revoked the case to Rome. Wolsey's effort had failed. In October, the Cardinal was suddenly deprived of all his offices, and charged with having broken the statutes of Praemunire by acting as legate, although he had done so by the King's own desire. He had no friends; his ruin was complete. After a time, he was so far pardoned that he was allowed to retire to his diocese of York, of which he was Archbishop. There he appeared in the new and unexpected character of a model bishop; but his enemies were at work; a charge of treason was trumped up against him; and he was being conveyed a prisoner from the north, when sickness overtook him on the way, and he died (Nov. 1530) at Leicester Abbey.

His death, 1530.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SUPREMACY OF THE CROWN: 1529—1547.

§ 1. *The Rejection of the Papal Authority*, 1529—1533.

The King and the Pope.

HENRY, who looked on himself as a learned theologian, was proud of his own orthodoxy, and had written a treatise against Luther in defence of the Papal authority; for which Leo X. had bestowed on him the title of Defender of the Faith. Consequently, he did not wish now to repudiate the Papal authority if he could get what he wanted without doing so. He did not take that step until it had become perfectly clear that his persistent efforts to frighten the Pope into pronouncing the divorce were doomed to disappointment; which was not until more than three years had passed. But the revocation of the case to Rome in 1529 convinced him that the only chance lay in terrorising Clement into submission. Popes in the past had triumphed over emperors and kings who tried to defy them, and he knew now that he could only win by having the open support of the nation, including the Church —that is, the ecclesiastical body—in England.

A new policy.

Therefore he adopted a new method. He flung Wolsey aside, and at the same time summoned a Parliament which was to share the responsibility for his measures; and he resolved to make the clergy feel that it would be exceedingly dangerous for them to oppose him.

So far we can be sure that the new policy on which Henry now entered was his own; a policy which accepted the risk, even the probability, of culminating in a flat defiance of Rome, but rather aimed at the chance of a reconciliation on satisfactory terms. Wolsey's fall, however, brought into his way a new counsellor, bold, crafty, perfectly unscrupulous, whose designs went very much further: being directed not, like the King's, merely to gaining a personal object and preparing for the attendant risks, but to the

establishment of the monarchy in a position of pure untrammelled absolutism.

Thomas Cromwell.

This new counsellor was Thomas Cromwell, a man of humble origin, much of whose youth had been passed in a roving life abroad. After returning to England he had been engaged both as a trader and as a lawyer. In the latter capacity, his abilities had attracted the attention of Wolsey, to whom he made himself very useful as a confidential man-of-business and finally as secretary. On the Cardinal's fall, he managed to find a seat in the Parliament just summoned (1529), and attracted attention by his bold advocacy of Wolsey's cause. An opportunity soon occurred for ingratiating himself with the King, who thought none the worse of him for his display of loyalty to his old master; and by degrees he became Henry's principal agent in carrying out a policy of which it is probable that he was also the real designer.

Thomas Cranmer.

Almost at the same moment, the King lighted upon another useful instrument for his purposes—a learned scholar of Cambridge, Thomas Cranmer; who had suggested that after all the English law-courts might pronounce judgment on the divorce question, especially if they were fortified by the formally expressed opinion of the Doctors of the European Universities. Henry wanted, what was not very easy to find, a churchman of repute who believed that the Sovereign had authority over the Church in his realms; and Cranmer was precisely the man for him—at any rate if matters did finally come to a breach with the Pope.

Parliament, 1529—36.

Lastly, the Parliament which assembled at this time, and is known as the "Reformation" or "Seven Years'" Parliament, was conveniently imbued with a strong anti-clerical spirit, and could be counted upon, under skilful guidance, to endorse anti-clerical measures.

For the moment it was no use to try and coerce Clement, who was too fast in the Emperor's grip; though an embassy was sent to him, and Cranmer's plan of consulting the Universities was set to work. The real business at present was to bring the clergy in England to a proper state of submissiveness. The campaign was started at once in the new Parliament with enactments curtailing clerical privileges and interfering with some clerical practices which were generally admitted, even by the clergy themselves, to demand reform. Then at the end of 1530 the King struck a severe blow by informing Convocation, which might be called the Parliament of the Church, that the ecclesiastical body had subjected itself to the penalties

of the Statute of Praemunire by admitting the legatine authority of Wolsey; which was perfectly true technically. Their consciousness of their own helplessness was apparent, when they offered to purchase pardon by the payment of a huge fine, equivalent to something like a couple of million pounds at the present day. Whereupon Convocation was ordered to include in the Resolution confirming this proposal a clause affirming that the King was "the Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church and the Clergy in England"—which they were allowed to modify by adding the phrase "so far as the law of Christ permits." This was in the spring of 1531—and it must have left little doubt in the mind of the King or of his adviser that, though the clergy might remonstrate and protest, they would in the end, as a body, yield to any demand Henry might make.

The "Supreme Head," 1531.

The next move was made by the Parliament, which presented in 1532 what was called "A Supplication against the Ordinaries," that is, against the methods of the ecclesiastical courts of justice and the legislative powers of Convocation. This led to what was known as the "Submission" of the Clergy, who after a dignified protest, found they had no choice but to surrender; promising to issue no further ordinances without the royal assent, and submitting practically to the suspension at any rate of all existing ordinances which might be challenged as contravening the Civil Law, until they should be examined by a commission—which was never appointed.

"Submission of the Clergy," 1532.

Hitherto, there had been no express move against the Pope, for the words about the "Supreme Head" in the Resolution of Convocation were not (as yet) taken as denying his claim to be the Supreme Head of the entire Catholic Church. Now, however, besides further curtailments of clerical privileges by the Mortmain and Benefit of Clergy Acts, a threat was directed against him by the Annates Act, abolishing the fees which Rome claimed—the first year's income—from every bishop on appointment to a See. This Act was not to be enforced till the King chose; so that it might be cancelled, as the price of Clement's giving way about the divorce.

Anti-papal measures, 1532.

Now, however, old Archbishop Warham died. Henry had already selected as his successor a man whom he knew he could count upon as an uncompromising supporter, Thomas Cranmer; and he resolved that Clement must make up his mind without further delay. In the winter, he took the decisive step of marrying Anne Boleyn privately, but before he

The breach with Rome, 1533.

allowed this to be known he obtained the Pope's ratification—which was still considered necessary—for Cranmer's appointment. In March, Cranmer was instituted Archbishop of Canterbury; and his first step was to hold a court to pronounce on the validity of the marriage with Katharine. The Queen refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction, and the court pronounced that the marriage was void from the beginning. This followed immediately after a decisive Parliamentary measure, the Act in Restraint of Appeals, which affirmed that it was against the laws of the English realm to carry any appeal from the English courts to Rome, since the English courts recognised no superior jurisdiction. Both this and the Annates Act were confirmed by the King, as soon as the Pope had responded to Cranmer's action by declaring his judgment invalid.

§ 2. *Thomas Cromwell*, 1533—1540.

After this a reconciliation with Rome was really out of the question. The next few years of the reign were chiefly devoted to carrying into effect what has been called Thomas Cromwell's policy of making the royal power absolute. The quarrel with the Pope had once for all repudiated the outstanding claim of a spiritual potentate outside the realm to a controlling or even to a subordinate voice in any affairs of the country. The Annates were presently appropriated by the Crown, and the last Roman claims for money were repudiated by the Act against "Peter Pence" (1534); while the "congé d'élire" in effect gave the Crown the nomination to all bishoprics—under the form of "permitting" the Chapter "to elect" the Crown's nominee. It remained to ensure that no organisation, no individual, and no group of individuals, should be able to offer effective opposition to anything the King might choose to dictate.

Henry had done a very unpopular thing in divorcing Katharine, and he was determined to suppress the dissemination of views reflecting on that action or traversing the right of any children by Anne Boleyn to the succession. This required the acknowledgement of his position as Supreme Head of the Church in a new sense; since, if the supremacy was in any way shared by the Pope, the divorce was invalid. That there was a real danger of active disaffection and disturbance was shown by the case of the so-called Nun of Kent, Elizabeth Barton; who, professing to prophesy, in trances, by Divine inspiration, declared that the wrath of the Almighty was aroused against Henry, and pronounced his approaching doom. The Nun was convicted of fraud, and was put to death: but the excitement she had

succeeded in creating was ominous. Therefore in the spring of 1534 an Act of Succession was passed, securing the succession to Anne's offspring—a girl had been born in September who afterwards became Queen Elizabeth—and conferring the power of administering an oath of obedience. The oath was then drawn up in a form which affirmed the Royal Supremacy and the validity of the marriage with Anne. The reason was this. Several influential churchmen, and one layman who was indisputably the noblest Englishman living, Sir Thomas More, were quite ready to promise to maintain the succession as laid down, but still believed that the Pope's authority was of Divine origin. If they could be terrorised into taking the prescribed oath, all opposition to its doctrine would be silenced. If they refused, they would meet a fate which would terrorise nearly all opposition from other quarters into silence. They did refuse, and were thrown into prison. Then another Act was passed, making it treason to deny the Royal Supremacy; the prisoners remained firm when challenged again, and were condemned and executed in the summer of 1535. Besides More, the principal victim of this huge iniquity was John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, the one saintly figure among the bishops of the day; whom the new Pope, Paul—Clement VII. died in 1534—raised to the Cardinalate just before his execution.

Acts of Succession and Supremacy, 1534—5.

Execution of More and Fisher, 1535.

While More and Fisher were in prison another step was taken which greatly increased the Royal power. This was a Treasons Act. Hitherto no one had been held guilty of treason unless he had done something with the object of injuring the King or of subverting the throne. By this new Act, words as well as deeds were brought under the head of treason, and even the refusal to answer questions was treated as equivalent to the use of treasonable language. So that practically, merely to hold opinions adverse to the King was enough to bring a man to the block, if the King or his minister desired his destruction.

Treasons Act.

Henry and Cromwell, however, were not yet satisfied with the state of subjection into which the Church had been brought. The country was covered with monasteries which were the landlords of very extensive territories and possessed vast wealth. As establishments for the practice of religion they had greatly degenerated. Cromwell was resolved to put an end to the monastic system, and, with the spoils, to make Henry "the richest King that had ever been in England." Henry made him Vicar-General, that is, empowered him to exercise all the authority of the "Supreme Head." And soon after More's death,

The Monasteries.

Cromwell sent out a commission to "visit," *i.e.* inspect, the Monasteries, and report on their condition. The Commissioners knew very well that they were intended to report evil; which they did, representing in the most lurid colours the corruption they found. There is no doubt that the impression conveyed was a monstrous exaggeration of the facts; on the other hand there is hardly more doubt that the great majority of the houses were serving no useful purpose, and that several really deserved the strongest condemnation. Still, as landlords, the large monasteries were generally popular. So for the time Cromwell contented himself with bringing a Bill into Parliament (1536) for the abolition of all the smaller establishments; at the same time issuing to the rest "Injunctions" and regulations, which he knew they would find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to obey.

The Lesser Houses abolished, 1536.

The north and the west of England, lying remote from the influences of the Court and the Capital, and having an ingrained enthusiasm for traditions, were much less disposed than the south and east to welcome innovations. The north was now aroused to fury; and an insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire, followed almost at once by a very serious rising in Yorkshire, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace; of which a lawyer, named Robert Aske, became the leader. Large forces collected, made themselves masters of several strongholds, and began a march south, to demand the restoration of the monasteries and the removal of the King's evil counsellors—meaning chiefly Cromwell and Cranmer. But the insurgents were met and held in parley with fair words; promises were held out, which, they thought, would ensure their demands being granted; they dispersed, as they believed, pardoned. But the royal forces gathered; there was no sign of the promises being fulfilled; a few hotheads again broke out in arms. This was a sufficient excuse. The King's troops marched through the disaffected districts; the leaders, or reputed leaders, including several gentlemen of position and half a dozen abbots and priors, were seized and put to death, and numbers of the common folk were hanged by way of example. Thus, early in 1537, the Pilgrimage of Grace was ruthlessly suppressed. In view of the complicity of some of the monasteries, the opportunity was taken for a further "visitation"; several houses, seeing the hopelessness of any struggle, dissolved themselves voluntarily; and in 1539 another Act was passed, abolishing the monasteries altogether. Their lands were given away or sold at a low price, and the King pocketed the profits. The best use he made of these was to devote a part of them to strengthening the

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536–7.

The Greater Houses abolished, 1539.

coast-defences. Only a fraction was applied to educational or other ecclesiastical or public purposes.

The wealth, by which the Church as an organised body might have recovered some of its political weight, was now gone. In the meantime, Cromwell had also struck the last blow at the old nobility, by bringing to the block, on a charge of treason, the Lords Montague and Exeter, heads respectively of the two houses of Pole and Courtenay, which stood nearest, in the Yorkist line, to the succession to the throne—Montague's mother being the old Countess of Salisbury, niece of Edward IV., while Exeter's mother was one of that King's daughters, and sister to Elizabeth of York, the wife of Henry VII. Their "conspiracy" was discovered and punished towards the close of 1538. Complicity in this affair was utilised against the western monasteries, as the Pilgrimage of Grace had been used in the north.

The Pole Conspiracy, 1538.

The Pope was powerless; the clergy and the nobility were helpless; in the Treasons Act, Henry had a weapon with which he could strike down whom he would. One thing only was needed to complete the edifice of absolutism. In 1539, Parliament passed an Act which authorised the King by his Will to settle the course of succession to the throne, and formally gave the force of law to proclamations issued by the King. Cromwell's work was rounded off and finished.

Royal Proclamations Act, 1539.

We have been tracing the development of Cromwell's great scheme; but, during this period of his domination, other events had been taking place which did not fall within its compass. The Reformation had been progressing abroad; but in England there was no sign of any deviations from traditional orthodoxy being admitted. Cromwell cared nothing for religion itself, though he was disposed to favour the encouragement of doctrines which were likely either to weaken the hold of the clergy on the popular mind or to bring about foreign alliances for offering more effective resistance to papal claims. Archbishop Cranmer, again, though he had not as yet adopted any unorthodox views except that the marriage of the clergy ought to be permitted, had fallen under the influence of Lutheran friends on the continent. The thing, however, on which his heart was most set was the authorisation of a translation of the Bible into English. The King himself, though favourably disposed to Cranmer's translation scheme, was vehemently opposed to any innovations in the matter of doctrine. Yet it was obvious that men's minds were in a state of ferment and uncertainty; that people were wanting to be told what they might or might not believe. The net result was that a series of attempts

Henry's orthodoxy.

was made to define lawful doctrines; but the only move which was destined to tell in favour of Protestantism was the publication of an English Bible by royal authority in 1536, and of other slightly different versions, known as Matthew's Bible and the Great Bible, in the two years following. The defining statements or formularies of faith issued were the *Ten Articles* (1536), and the *Institution of a Christian Man*, otherwise known as the *Bishops' Book* (1537). Both these were strictly orthodox in what they did lay down, but left some questions open. As time went on, however, Henry stiffened against new doctrine, and in 1539 he practically ordered Parliament to pass the Six Articles Act, or "Whip with Six Strings"; which affirmed the doctrines of Transubstantiation[1], Communion in one kind only for the laity, clerical celibacy, auricular confession, prayers for the dead, and the binding character of vows of celibacy: and enforced them with savage penalties.

An English Bible.

Formularies.

The Six Articles, 1539.

The sequel of the marriage with Anne Boleyn was disastrous. Katharine died at the beginning of 1536—making a reconciliation with the Emperor possible. Henry was by this time tired of his second wife, who, like the first, did not bear him a son. He fell in love with Jane Seymour, a lady of the Court, and it was thereupon promptly "discovered" that Anne had been guilty of misconduct, which, in a Queen, was treason; also that something had happened before her marriage which made the marriage itself void in law. How much truth there was in these charges is uncertain; but she was condemned and executed, and Elizabeth, like Mary, was pronounced illegitimate. Next day, Henry married Jane Seymour. A year later, a son—afterwards Edward VI.—was born; but the mother died, and then the question arose of finding a fourth wife for the King. Cromwell fluctuated between a desire for an anti-papal alliance with Charles V. and one with the League of German Protestant Princes. When the former had become out of the question, and it even seemed possible that, after long years of rivalry, Charles and Francis I. would be reconciled and might turn on England, he thought the Protestant alliance had become imperatively necessary; and, in order to secure it, persuaded his master to take to wife Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves.

Henry's wives.

[1] Transubstantiation means that at Communion the substance of the bread and wine is changed into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ. Communion in one kind is the practice of the Roman Catholic Church; the Cup is not administered to the Laity.

§ 3. *Closing Years*, 1540—1547.

Fall of Cromwell, 1540.

The Cleves marriage proved Cromwell's ruin. After the Royal Proclamations Act, he was no longer necessary to the King; who, on the arrival in England (Jan. 1540) of the bride his minister had selected, took a violent dislike to her, and gave way to angry resentment with his servant—the more, because the political reasons for the marriage disappeared, as Charles and Francis again quarrelled violently. Cromwell, after the fashion which he had himself practised so ruthlessly, was suddenly charged at the Council Board with treason, sent to the Tower, and condemned to death, unheard, by an Act of Attainder. In June the merciless minister's head was mercilessly struck from his shoulders.

Henry was not satisfied with destroying Cromwell; he was bent on getting free of his new wife. Anne of Cleves accepted the situation cheerfully; but her brother did not, and the affair caused a breach instead of an alliance with the German Protestants. Still, a divorce was arranged, and the King at once took for his fifth wife Katharine Howard, a niece of the Duke of Norfolk. To finish the tale of Henry's marriages: eighteen months later the unhappy Queen was executed, like Anne Boleyn, for misconduct, which in a Queen was treason; and, after an interval, the King succeeded in finding a sixth wife, Katharine Parr, who had wit and tact enough to retain his affections to the end of his life, and herself to outlive him.

The two last wives.

No more religious changes took place during Henry's reign, except the authorisation of the use of a Litany in English, instead of in Latin, which had hitherto been exclusively used in the services of the Church. Another Formulary of Faith was also issued in 1543 called the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, and known generally as the *King's Book*; practically, however, it only confirmed the doctrines of the Bishops' Book and of the Six Articles.

Scotland.

But in these later years, Henry once more found himself drawn into foreign wars. Scotland, after the battle of Flodden, had been left with a baby, James V., for King. Henry and Wolsey were satisfied to leave the country distracted by the factions of the nobility, which they took care to encourage; and by the time the young King was grown up, the task of bringing affairs into anything like order was exceedingly difficult. Henry wanted to get his sister's son completely under his own domination, but James distrusted his uncle's profession of the kindest intentions, went his own way, and gradually brought his own kingdom under control.

With ill-feeling between the Kings, the chronic practice of warfare between the Borderers became active, developing at last into authorised incursions; and at the end of 1542 James sent an army to invade England. His force was routed with great slaughter at Solway Moss by Wharton, one of the English Wardens of the Marches. The news killed James. Only a few days before his death, a daughter was born to him, who succeeded to the throne as the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots. Once more, for nearly twenty years, Scotland was to suffer under the government of a regency.

Solway Moss, 1542.

Meantime the renewed quarrel between Charles and Francis had come to a head; Charles thought an English alliance would be useful, and the Scottish business had set Francis in antagonism to Henry, since the independence of Scotland was always a matter of first rate importance to the French. So in 1543 Henry was persuaded to make a league with Charles to attack Francis. The only benefit which came of it was the capture of Boulogne: and Charles soon deserted his ally, making terms for himself at the Peace of Crêpy (Sept. 1544). Next year, Francis prepared a great navy for the invasion of England; but the English fleet was unable, and the French unwilling, to force an engagement, disease attacked the French, and the armada melted away. Terms of peace were arranged in the following summer (1546); which left Boulogne in the hands of the English for eight years, as security for the payment by France of a considerable sum of money.

A French War, 1543—6.

There are two points to be remembered about this last French war. Henry VIII. was the first English King who made a real effort to form a Royal Navy—a Navy for fighting purposes. Before his time, everyone had relied entirely on turning the merchant navy to account in time of war. To this naval policy was due the collapse of the intended French invasion of 1545; and much more was to come of it hereafter. The second point is that the war made a very heavy expenditure necessary. Henry was always enormously extravagant, and in spite of all that he had torn from the Church his exchequer was low. To refill it, he persuaded Parliament to sanction what was nothing less than a scandalous robbery; it cancelled his debts, so that his creditors lost everything he owed them. But before this he had adopted the evil device of debasing the coinage: that is, of issuing coins which were made up so largely of base metal that they were worth much less than their nominal value; so that when a debt of a hundred pounds was paid back in the new coins, the purchasing power of the

The Navy.

Debased coinage.

coins the creditor received was very much less than the purchasing power of the coins he had lent. Also when a workman received his wages, he could buy very much less food and clothes with the money. Thus the debasement of the coinage interfered seriously with trade, besides causing great misery and want among the labouring classes, who were already suffering terribly from other causes, especially in rural districts. These agrarian troubles will demand attention in the next chapter, to which their examination is deferred.

Ireland and Wales.

Two other points have to be noted incidentally. After repudiating the Papal authority, Henry for the first time assumed the title of King of Ireland. Hitherto, the title had been "Lord" of Ireland, on the theory that the dominion over that country was held by a grant from the Pope. The other is that, in this reign, Wales was also for the first time represented in the English Parliament, as she has been ever since.

The succession, 1546.

When 1546 arrived, everyone knew that the King was not likely to live long, and arrangements had to be made for carrying on the government at his death. There was no doubt about his immediate successor, Prince Edward, who was nine years old. The King had also two daughters who had both been declared illegitimate by the Courts of Justice. His elder sister Margaret had married James IV. of Scotland, so that she was grandmother of the baby Mary Stuart; but she had married again and had another daughter, now Countess of Lennox. Then his younger sister Mary, who for a few weeks had been Queen of Louis XII., had immediately after Louis's death married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and had two daughters. Henry fixed the order of succession, first on Edward and his heirs, then on his daughter Mary and her heirs, then on Elizabeth and her heirs, then on the Brandons—shutting out the descendants of his sister Margaret.

Fall of the Howards.

As the year drew to an end, the Howards, the most powerful of the noble families, fell into disgrace. Both Norfolk and his son, the Earl of Surrey, were attainted of treason. Henry had intended to appoint a Council of Regency in which the two parties who favoured or opposed the Reformation should be evenly balanced; but the fall of the Howards turned the scale. Their great ecclesiastical ally, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was not included on the list of the Council; Surrey was executed, and Norfolk was only saved from the same fate by the death of the King himself (Jan. 28, 1547).

CHAPTER XVIII.

STORM AND STRESS: 1547—1558.

§ 1. *Edward VI.: the rule of Protector Somerset*, 1547—1549.

The appointed Council of Executors, as they were called under the will of Henry VIII.—in which, as authorised by Parliamentary enactment, the dead King had laid down the arrangements to be followed on his demise—contained members of both the parties; but the reforming section was led by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, the young King's uncle, and by Archbishop Cranmer, while the opposing group had now no recognised chief. Hertford and his friends immediately obtained undisputed control. He himself was made Protector of the Realm, and Duke of Somerset; John Dudley, Lord Lisle, was made Earl of Warwick, and several other titles were distributed.

Protector Somerset.

Somerset was a man of considerable ability, with a sincere desire to achieve glory as a benefactor of his race. The things he wished to do were generally admirable. But unfortunately, he was at once exceedingly unpractical and cursed with an overweening confidence in his own powers; also, he was greedy of wealth. Consequently, the way he set about the things he wanted to do was apt to be the very worst he could have adopted.

His ideas were in advance of his age. Since the days of Edward I., English statesmen had often realised that it would be a very good thing for England to have Scotland under the same government. Somerset wanted England and Scotland to be really united, on an equality. There were religious reformers who wanted the doctrines of the Church to be purged and purified; but practically they all wanted what they personally regarded as sound doctrine to be imposed on every one else. Somerset wanted toleration, at least for much wider diversities of opinion than most of his neighbours. He wanted also to govern on the principles of abstract justice, and to do without the machinery which made the will of the Government irresistible whether it was just

His aims.

or not. And he wanted to protect the labouring classes against the rapacity of the new class of landowners which had been multiplied by the sale and distribution of the monastic lands. But when he fell, every one of these objects was further off, less attainable, than when he came into power; and his own acts had helped to that result.

Scotland. Scotland demanded his immediate attention. In that country, there was a Reformation party, which Henry had encouraged, and which looked to England for help. The reactionaries, or extreme clerical party, always strongly anti-English, looked to France; the Queen-mother, the widow of James, was a Guise, and the Guises were powerful at the French Court. The leader of this party in Scotland, Cardinal Beaton, had just been murdered; the Government was bent on avenging his death. It was therefore of first-rate importance for England to counteract French influence, and to secure the predominance of the Protestant Anglophile party; which, depending on English support, would probably be willing to fall in with Somerset's scheme, for a union of the crowns, by marrying the little Scots queen to the English boy-king as soon as the pair were old enough. But delay enabled the French party to get the upper hand; and then Somerset tried to force his scheme upon Scotland at the sword's point. That was the one thing which was quite certain to unite all Scotland against him. He led an army across the border; and found the chiefs of all parties banded together to resist him. At Pinkie Cleugh, near Edinburgh (Sept. 1547), he won an overwhelming victory—the Scots moving, as at Flodden, from an impregnable position, and advancing in such a manner that he was able to cut them to pieces in detail though they were the more numerous. But the operation absolutely ruined for the time all chance of forming in Scotland a party friendly to England; Somerset could not attempt a regular conquest; and little Queen Mary was hurried off to France, where not long after she was betrothed to the Dauphin instead of to young King Edward of England.

Pinkie, 1547.

The legislation of the Parliament which met in November was in accordance with the Protector's theories. Henry's Treasons Act was repealed, with the Six Articles Act, the Royal Proclamations Act, and the old Act *de Heretico comburendo*; and a general pardon for minor offences was also issued. But a few months later it became clear that Somerset's brother Thomas, who had been made Lord Admiral and Lord Seymour of Sudely, was engaged in plots for his own advancement and the Protector's overthrow. There is practically no doubt

The Protector's Brother, 1548—9.

that if there had been a full and formal trial, the Admiral would have been very deservedly condemned; but Somerset was persuaded to adopt what had become almost the regular practice of proceeding by a Bill of Attainder, and his brother was condemned and executed unheard, early in 1549. Hence the Protector got the discredit of acting by tyrannical methods when a question personal to himself was involved.

Similar blundering marked his religious measures. Almost at the outset of his rule, injunctions were issued for the removal from churches of "abused images," figures which were often themselves made objects of direct worship instead of being regarded as merely symbols; but the removal was carried out with much sacrilegious violence. Preaching was in general restricted to the reading of authorised homilies, to prevent inflammatory controversial sermons; but licenses were granted to men who did preach inflammatory sermons, all on the side of the advanced reformers; and two bishops who protested, Gardiner and Bonner, were imprisoned for a short time. Actual legislation however did not proceed very far. Two of the practices forbidden by the Six Articles Act—the administration of the Cup to the laity or "Communion in both kinds," and marriage of the clergy—were sanctioned in 1547 and 1548 by Parliament; and in the session of 1548–9, an English Book of Common Prayer was ordered to be adopted, which was so expressed that both the orthodox Catholics and the advanced reformers could use it without doing violence to their consciences. This was accompanied by the first Act of Uniformity, imposing penalties on the clergy if they evaded the use of the new Prayer-Book.

Religious Reforms, 1547–9.

The First Prayer-Book, 1549.

In the meantime, the Duke was also endeavouring to deal with the prevalent distress and poverty, to which reference has been made in the account of the last years of Henry VIII. As early as the time of Henry VII., landowners had discovered that they could make a great deal more money by using the land for breeding sheep, and then selling the wool, than by keeping it under tillage; so that corn-land all over the country began to be converted into sheep-runs. Agricultural tenants were turned out, that their holdings might be included in these sheep-runs; and since very many fewer labourers were needed to look after the sheep than to keep land under cultivation, vast numbers of the rural population lost their employment. Matters were made worse by the landlords appropriating by degrees more and more of the "common lands" to which they really had no private right. Manufacturing

Agricultural Depression.

industries had not yet been much developed; hence the number of men who wanted work was out of all proportion to the work there was for them to do; the competition made labour very cheap, and the men who succeeded in getting work were very ill paid. Attempts to check these evils by legislation failed, because the persons whose business it was to enforce the law belonged to the very class who profited by setting restrictive laws at nought. The country was filled with sturdy vagrants, who had no scruples about using violence, since the penalties for small offences were so severe that they thought—to use the proverbial phrase—that they might as well be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb. So year by year the trouble grew; and the dissolution of the monasteries made it very much worse. For the men who acquired the monastic lands meant to make all the profit out of them they could; whereas the monasteries themselves had been on the whole kindly landlords, charitably disposed, and not so eager to wring the last penny out of their property. Then Henry's debasement of the coin made the wages, already low, worth less than half what they had been worth before. And so, long before Henry's death, the agricultural districts were seething with discontent, and were naturally inclined to believe that the reformers of religion were at the bottom of the trouble, since they saw their own troubles increasing hand in hand with the ruin of the Church's wealth.

Somerset made earnest efforts to pass and enforce laws against enclosing common lands and against converting arable land into pasture; he even took upon himself to set up a Court of Requests in his own house, so that sufferers from the mal-administration of justice might appeal to him. But this was really of very little assistance to the rural population, while it enraged the landlord class against him.

The Risings of 1549.

In 1549 there was a great rising in Devon and Cornwall; caused chiefly by the agrarian discontent, though the insurgents made open profession that opposition to the religious reforms was their motive, and the introduction of the new Prayer-Book actually started the outbreak; which was only crushed after sharp fighting, with a loss of some thousands of lives, in August. Before this, there had been riots and levelling of fences by mobs in various places; and while the western rising was in progress there was another equally serious insurrection in the eastern counties, headed by Robert Ket, a tanner. This last was purely agrarian, aiming at little more than the active enforcement of the law against the landlords. It was with difficulty put down by Warwick, the cleverest and most ambitious member of the Council.

Somerset's Scottish policy had failed; his religious measures went too far for the old clerical party, and not nearly far enough for the extreme reformers; his views about the land were philanthropic, while those of the Council were simply selfish, and therefore violently antagonistic to his. Its members were jealous of the power he was absorbing, and still more of the share he had appropriated of the last spoils of the Church. On the top of all this, French hostility and the desire to recover Boulogne led in September to the actual outbreak of war. A clique in the Council headed by Warwick suddenly turned on the Protector; who found that he had no military support to fall back on. He was deprived of his office, removed from the Council, imprisoned for a time in the Tower, and fined. For the remainder of the reign, it was Warwick who controlled the Government. Two years later, in the autumn of 1551, the Earl assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland; whence the period of his rule is generally known as Northumberland's administration.

War with France; Somerset deposed, 1549.

§ 2. *Edward VI.; the rule of Northumberland,* 1549—1553.

The whole reign of Edward VI. was signalised by incompetent government; and also by a rapid advance in the religion authorised by the State, from Henry's position of rigid Catholicism minus the Pope to an emphatic Protestantism. Nevertheless it has two strongly marked periods. Except that Northumberland—himself a man who apparently had no religious convictions in particular—pushed forward the Reformation in the same direction as Somerset but with much greater intolerance, his policy was in general a reversal of what the Protector had wished, but had failed, to carry out.

John Dudley.

A new Treasons Act was promptly introduced, which placed designs against any member of the Council on the same footing as designs against the King himself, and made assemblages for the purpose of getting the laws altered treasonable: while another, two years later (1552), revived the "verbal treason" of Henry's Act. The first of these was accompanied by provisions for repressing any concerted expression of discontent, which were in effect measures to strengthen the hands of the landowners. Scotland was left severely to herself and to the domination of the French party; which had the useful result—not anticipated—of creating a reaction of popular sentiment, which was no more in favour of servitude to France than of servitude to England. Peace was patched up with

Reversal of Policy.

France—England being in no condition for war—on terms which surrendered everything that Henry's last French campaigns had won. Warwick (as he remained till October, 1557) was determined to become Dictator, and to remain so whether the delicate young King lived or died; to this end he deemed it necessary to have the zealous support of the whole of the party of religious reform in the country; and for this reason he associated himself with their most fanatical members, and subordinated everything else to the cause they advocated.

Religious intolerance.

Before the Protector's fall, Gardiner and Bonner had been a second time imprisoned for disobeying the Act of Uniformity. With the new government, the reign of toleration ceased; the two bishops were not only kept in prison, but deprived of their sees; and in course of time three others—Tunstal, Day, and Heath—were similarly treated. New appointments were all made from among the extreme men. The Act of Uniformity was rigidly enforced, and the Princess Mary was forbidden the privilege of privately attending the celebration of the Mass according to the old rites. During Somerset's rule, no one had been put to death for religious opinions; under his successor, two victims, Joan Bocher and another, were sent to the stake for denying the doctrine of the Incarnation. Somerset's attack on the "abused images" had not satisfied the extremists, and fresh injunctions were issued for a still more sweeping destruction.

Destruction of Somerset, 1551—2.

The former Protector was not kept long in prison. The ease with which he had been overthrown seemed to show that he had no effective personal following; if he was not going to be dangerous, there was no reason for treating him harshly. But, being at liberty, he opposed the severe measures of his successor, and it seemed not unlikely, as time went on, that the moderate men might rally to him as a leader. Therefore in 1551 Warwick resolved to be rid of him. Towards the end of the year he was charged with plotting against the life of Warwick—who now assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland, and bestowed corresponding honours on some of his own supporters, making Henry Grey (Marquis of Dorset) Duke of Suffolk—and with bringing together "assemblies" for felonious purposes. The first charge was withdrawn, by way of a display of magnanimity; but, on the second charge, Somerset was condemned to death. In January he was executed, amid the lamentations of the common folk, who had learned to believe that, whatever his faults might be, he had their welfare sincerely at heart.

About the time of Somerset's final overthrow, Parliament was busy authorising a revised Book of Common Prayer; which went much beyond the previous one in excluding old usages and doctrines, its tone being altogether more pronouncedly Protestant; though even now it did not go far enough to satisfy the more fanatical adherents of the Swiss views. This prayer-book is substantially the same as the one now in use; for its noble and tender phraseology and exquisite English we are indebted mainly to Archbishop Cranmer. Next year the "Forty-two Articles of Religion," which differ very little from the "Thirty-nine Articles" of our prayer-book, were sanctioned by the King.

The Second Prayer-book, 1552.

The Emperor Charles V., out of sympathy for his cousin Mary, more than once seemed likely to interfere with Northumberland's proceedings; but his own Protestant subjects kept him too busy. Mary herself, however, was named as Edward's successor, in default of heirs of his own body, under the will of Henry VIII. Northumberland had treated her so ill that he knew her accession was sure to mean his own political ruin. The physicians knew that the young King, always fragile, would be in his grave ere long; and the Duke saw nothing for it but to change the succession. The Princess Elizabeth he could not rely on. After the two daughters of Henry VIII. stood Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, elder daughter of the late King's sister Mary—the Stewart offspring of the other sister Margaret being excluded. The Duke resolved to marry his own son to Jane Grey, the daughter of Frances, and to have her declared the true heir on the ground that both Henry's own daughters were illegitimate. So in May 1553 Lady Jane Grey was married to Guildford Dudley; and Edward, who was now obviously dying, was induced to make his own will, setting aside his father's, and naming Lady Jane as heir to the throne. This will was confirmed by the signature of very nearly every member of the Council; chiefly because Northumberland had the control of all the armed force immediately available, and they did not dare to oppose him. The support of the advanced Protestants seemed assured, because they all feared a Catholic reaction if Mary came to the throne. The plot was kept as secret as possible. Edward, an earnest and precocious boy whose character as a man it would have been rash to prophesy, died on July 6th, 1553, being not quite sixteen.

Northumberland's plot, 1553.

§ 8. *The Reign of Queen Mary*, 1553—1558.

Collapse of the Plot.

The fact of Edward's death was not immediately made public—Northumberland's arrangements were incomplete—but it leaked out. The Princess Mary fled to the North, where she had friends on whom she could depend; Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen at St Paul's Cross in London. But the Fleet declared for Queen Mary, and news came in that the country was everywhere taking up arms on her behalf. Northumberland made a desperate effort, and marched from London with all the troops he could command, to fight for his plot; he was no sooner out of the capital than the Council almost to a man went over to Mary's side. Northumberland's own troops deserted him; and he surrendered ignominiously. Never had a conspiracy collapsed more hopelessly or more helplessly.

Mary's moderation.

Mary was hailed with acclamation. She made haste to set at liberty, and to restore to positions of trust and confidence, those of her own way of thinking who had been set aside or placed in durance under the late régime; Gardiner being made Chancellor. Northumberland, with only two companions, was sent to the block: receiving and deserving no sympathy. He was an utterly selfish intriguer, whose treason only found its due reward. At the last, he, who had posed as devoted to the reformed religion, professed himself in reality a Catholic. Lady Jane and her husband were sent to the Tower, and a few others who had been prominent as her advocates, such as Ridley, the Bishop of London, were imprisoned. Others were given ample opportunity to escape, but as they remained they were presently put in confinement; among these were Cranmer and Latimer. Many were simply pardoned, and some even admitted to favour.

But this was not to last. It was obviously advisable that Mary should marry; so that if she had children the succession might not again be in dispute. Unhappily, she determined to wed Philip of Spain, the son of Charles V. It was felt that by doing so she would be committed to a policy friendly to the papacy; and also that England was likely to become little more than a province of Spain. There was no doubt that the religious position of Henry's last years would at the least be restored. The fear of this and of a Spanish marriage led, about the new year, to an ill-concerted rising, known as

Wyatt's Rebellion, 1554.

Wyatt's rebellion, because it was headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt. When he marched on London, there was a panic; but Mary displayed so much personal courage and

energy that the panic was allayed; Wyatt's force was broken up, and he himself was taken prisoner while endeavouring to force his way through the City gate called Ludgate. Leniency was no longer safe; Wyatt himself, Lady Jane Grey, and her husband, were beheaded, and there were several other executions. The Princess Elizabeth was strongly suspected of complicity, and was for some time kept under guard; but there was no real evidence against her.

In the meantime, before the close of 1553, Parliament had met and had been dissolved again, after once more abolishing the recent Treasons Act, and the whole of the religious legislation of the reign of Edward VI.

The Spanish Marriage.

The marriage negotiations went forward. Gardiner and others of Mary's advisers, finding their opposition to the match vain, had to content themselves with inserting in the treaty such safeguards as words could provide against any direct exercise of control by the bridegroom over his bride's kingdom and policy. In July the Prince arrived and the marriage took place. Mary was eager for a formal reconciliation with Rome—for England to return to the Roman obedience and receive the Papal pardon; and in November, Cardinal Pole—a brother of that Lord Montague who was executed in 1538 by Henry VIII.—arrived in England as Papal legate; to welcome repentant England back to the bosom of the Church. He had long been living in exile abroad, under an attainder, which was now reversed. Both Gardiner and Bonner had advocated the separation from Rome in Henry's time; but both were now convinced that Henry's Catholicism without the Pope could not be maintained, and publicly confessed their error. Already a number of the clergy had been deprived for being married, though the law had expressly sanctioned their marrying; and there were grave fears of a persecution. The reconciliation with Rome was effected, through a series of solemn ceremonies—though none of the Church's pious children were pious enough to surrender back to her the spoils they had acquired during the last two reigns—and then the dreaded persecution opened.

Reconciliation with Rome.

The Persecution, 1555—8.

Henry's anti-papal legislation was repealed; the persecuting statutes which had been in force in the reign of Henry VIII., but had been abolished by Somerset, were re-enacted by Parliament in January 1555. The first victim fell in February. Philip himself did not remain in England, but from motives of policy, the influence of the Spaniards was used to restrain rather than encourage persecution. Mary, however, was

utterly devoted to the old Faith: she believed with perfect sincerity that the souls of heretics were doomed to everlasting destruction; she deemed it better that the bodies of some should burn in earthly fires, if so the erring multitudes might be turned from their transgression, and save their souls from fire unquenchable. It is a pitiful tragedy, this; of a woman brave and stedfast herself, naturally generous, loving justice, who, out of a strange and terrible conception of duty, brought upon herself the name of the most merciless persecutor in our history, and died with the bitter knowledge that the sacrifice of her own kindly instincts had been in vain; that the blood of the martyrs had served but to water the "heresies" she had striven to extirpate.

The Martyrs.

The first to suffer were Rogers, the translator of "Matthew's Bible," and Rowland Taylor of Hadleigh; then two bishops, Hooper and Ferrar. Month by month there were fresh victims—in this first year, two more bishops, Ridley and old Latimer, whose words at the stake rang like a trumpet call through England: "Be of good cheer, brother Ridley, play the man; for we shall this day light a candle which by God's grace shall not be put out"; besides these, many another of less note; humble craftsmen, tender women, old men and maidens and young lads, whom no anguish, no terror, would induce to deny their faith—though their judges were willing enough to give them the chance of recantation and pardon. Early in the next year, the old Archbishop Cranmer followed his comrades Ridley and Latimer. His name has often been held up to scorn as a pliant time-server, though with scant justice. Before the end, his courage gave way, and in the hope of saving his life he recanted the teachings of his later years; yet again, before the end, he redeemed himself, praying that he might be pardoned for this great sin; and as the flames rose about him, he thrust forth into the fire the right hand that had signed his recantation, saying, "This hand hath offended," and so held it unflinching till it was consumed. And still the persecution went on. In three and a half years, nearly three hundred martyrs perished, and the conviction was seared into the hearts of Englishmen that the restoration of "Popery" would mean the rekindling of the fires of Smithfield.

France, Spain, and the succession.

Gardiner died at the end of 1555. There were some abortive insurrections; but their contrivers made the mistake of relying on French assistance, and, however discontented Englishmen might be, they did not want to see the government overthrown and a new one set up by a

foreign Power, which would then be able to assume practical domination. As time went on, and Philip became certain that his wife would have no child, he made it his business to secure the goodwill of the next heir, Elizabeth; though at first the Spaniards had desired her destruction. The French, on the other hand, were certain to do everything they could to secure the succession of Mary Stuart, who was betrothed to the Dauphin, and was also unquestionably the legitimate heir—as descending from Henry's elder sister; since Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate when her mother was put to death. But, since Mary would be wholly under French influence, her accession would not be at all satisfactory to Spain.

The French war: loss of Calais, 1558.

In 1557, France and Spain were at war; and then the thing happened which the opponents of the Spanish match had always feared. England was dragged into the war, as an ally of Spain. The result was that in the first week of January 1558, a French army under the Duke of Guise captured Calais, which England had held for two hundred years. The shock to English sentiment, the sense of lost honour, was much what we should feel if we lost Gibraltar to-day. To Mary, it was an agonising blow. She was already suffering from an incurable disease. Disaster abroad, lowering hate and increasing misery at home, the cold neglect of her husband, disappointment that no child was born to her—the sum of these woes took all heart and hope out of life. In November she died, unlamented; but if ever Queen deserved pity and pardon for her errors, it was Mary Tudor.

CHAPTER XIX.

ELIZABETH AND WILLIAM CECIL: 1558—1585.

§ 1. *Recuperation*, 1558—1568.

The New Government.

There were only two people who could set up a claim to the throne against Elizabeth—Mary Stuart, the grandchild of Margaret Tudor, and Katharine Grey (sister of Lady Jane) and grandchild of Mary Tudor. All the possible claimants were young women, of whom Elizabeth herself was the eldest, being just five-and-twenty. No one, however, was disposed openly to challenge her title. One result of the position was that for five and twenty years to come Elizabeth was always playing at intending to marry some member of some royal house, and using the pretence to prevent adverse combinations against her and to tide over dangerous crises.

Being exceedingly clever herself, she was also a keen judge of the abilities and character of others: and she had already chosen as her chief counsellors William Cecil, a wary and experienced statesman who had retired into the background under Mary, and his brother-in-law, Nicholas Bacon. The shrewd Cecil never allowed his acute brain to be misled by sentiment, or by superficial appearances: and he was resolved on two things—to restore a firm, steady, and acceptable government in England, and not to allow her to fall under the control of any foreign Power.

France, Spain, and Scotland.

In this same year Charles V. died, and his dominions were divided. His brother became Emperor, but his son Philip became King of Spain, and also Lord of the Burgundian inheritance, which meant principally the Low Countries. Germany and the Empire play very little part in the politics of Elizabeth's reign; the two important Powers are Spain and France. These two are rivals, each afraid of the aggrandisement of the other, and each anxious to obtain influence over England, and over Scotland, so as to influence England indirectly. France, however,

throughout the reign, was weakened by dissensions and frequent civil wars between the zealous Catholics and the Protestant party, called Huguenots. Spain, on the other hand, had her energies distracted first by the prospect, and then by the actual development, of a revolt of the Netherlands against her rule, the ground of which was only in part religious. In Scotland, again, the country was divided into Protestant and Catholic factions; the latter being headed first by the Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, as regent, and then by Mary Stuart herself—both of whom were so closely connected with France that Spain could hope nothing from alliance with them.

Elizabeth and Cecil, then, saw—what the rest did not realise—that Spain could not afford to withdraw her support from Elizabeth, because really the only alternative to her was Mary Stuart; Mary Stuart was wife of the Dauphin and would be Queen of France as well as of Scotland; and if she became Queen of England as well, France and England and Scotland would all be politically united.

Why Philip was ignored.

Thus Philip was much astonished and annoyed to find Elizabeth and her ministers calmly and persistently ignoring his advice and instructions, and going their own way: while he was really quite impotent, however much his ambassadors might storm and threaten. On the other hand, France could not actively promote a revolution in favour of Mary, because that would force Philip into active hostility whether he liked it or not. Then, although Mary did in 1559 become Queen of France for a short time, her husband died very soon; and the French Government, after that, no longer had the same inducement to desire her accession in England, though that would still be likely to conduce to her alliance with France rather than with Spain.

For a long time, then, these considerations controlled the foreign policy of England. After the termination of the French war, which was still going on at Elizabeth's accession, by the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis in 1559, she kept up the fiction of seeking foreign alliances, while she carefully avoided making them in fact. But though neither Elizabeth herself nor the country had anything to gain by her marriage so long as she should be alive herself, her ministers were very anxious for her to marry, because if she died without an heir of her body, serious trouble was certain to follow.

Intervention in Scotland, 1559–60.

In one field, however, active intervention was becoming imperative on Elizabeth's accession. The domination in Scotland of Mary of Guise had revived the anti-French attitude of the Protestants; but unless these were made secure of English support, the nationalist sentiment might

after all find its most effective expression in working for the combination of France, England, and Scotland under one Crown, rather than that of France and Scotland without England. If, then, England actively supported the Protestants, the French influence might yet be counteracted; if she stood aside, all interests north of the Tweed might unite in favour of Mary's claim to take Elizabeth's place. So by degrees Cecil persuaded his mistress to help the "Lords of the Congregation"—as the Protestant leaders called themselves—first secretly and then openly; with the result that in 1560 they got the upper hand completely. Mary of Guise herself died, the French garrison of Leith was forced to come to terms; and by the Treaty of Edinburgh, a Protestant government was established in alliance with England, the French troops were dismissed out of the country, and Mary's claim to supersede Elizabeth was formally withdrawn (July, 1560). The treaty, however, was never actually ratified by Mary herself.

Treaty of Edinburgh.

The restoration of sound government at home meant, in the first place, the settlement of the religious problem in a way which should satisfy at once the mass of the people and the necessities of Elizabeth's position. Owing to her birth, the Queen's title to the throne was, in the eyes of Catholics, necessarily weaker than that of Mary Stuart: she must therefore make sure of the solid support of all Protestants. So Mary's legislation in its turn was reversed by the Parliament of 1559; the Prayer-book of 1552, with slight modifications in favour of the less advanced reformers, was reinstated; and a new Act of Uniformity imposing moderate penalties for disobedience was passed. A new Act of Supremacy dropped Henry's title of "Supreme Head," but declared the Crown to be "Supreme in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil." This Act also gave powers for constituting, for the consideration of ecclesiastical causes, a Court of High Commission; which was effectively established in 1583, and later became a serious instrument of oppression. The Bench of Bishops was filled with moderately advanced reformers, Matthew Parker becoming Primate. For the time, at least, a general disposition was encouraged on the part of the authorities to wink at deviations from the letter of the law which were not aggressively paraded: this compromise finding the great majority acquiescent.

The Religious settlement, 1559.

Nothing, however, conduced more to make England believe that a steady and settled government might now be looked for, than Cecil's careful management of the exchequer, his selection of honest and trustworthy financial agents, and his early restoration of the coinage to its proper value.

These statutes were enacted and these principles were at work, before Elizabeth had been on the throne two years. During the first ten years of her reign there were no other domestic events which need be noted. Abroad, a General Council of the Church—that is, of representative churchmen who acknowledged the Papal supremacy—which had been holding meetings at intervals for several years, re-assembled at Trent in 1562 to bring its consultations to a conclusion, and closed its sessions at the end of 1563. This Council of Trent defined the position of the Roman Church, treating those who refused to accept the rulings then laid down as outside the pale; and hence, with the usual inaccuracy of political nicknames, those within have been entitled Catholics, and those outside, Protestants: the true significance of both terms being ignored. In France, Catholics (headed by the House of Guise), and Huguenots headed by the Bourbon princes, Condé and Navarre, and by Coligny, twice broke out in open war. The real head of the government was Catherine de Medici, the Queen-mother, who wished to retain the supreme control herself, keeping the two parties balanced. In the Netherlands, repression of Protestantism and of the ancestral political rights of the States went hand in hand; the severity of the government culminating under the rule of Philip's general and minister, the Duke of Alva; which in 1569 brought on a revolt, cruelly stamped down and followed by a reign of terror.

The Council of Trent, 1563.

The Huguenots, 1563—8.

The Netherlands.

Meantime, Elizabeth was amusing herself, and tormenting her ministers, by encouraging and evading one suitor after another: the first being Philip himself, whom she had the wisdom to reject without any hesitation. Another was the Archduke Charles, a younger son of Philip's uncle, the Emperor; another, the Earl of Arran, who was presumptive heir to the throne of Scotland, should Mary die childless before him. If Elizabeth really cared for anyone, it was Robert Dudley (Northumberland's son), whom she made Earl of Leicester; but him she would never have been rash enough to marry.

Elizabeth's suitors.

In 1561, Mary Queen of Scots, already a widow at eighteen years old, returned to her native land to assume the government. The hopes of the English Catholics, as well as her own ambitions, centred in her succession to the English throne and in her recognition at least as Elizabeth's heir. Elizabeth and Cecil were above all things anxious to keep up a strong Protestant party in Scotland, and to prevent Mary from

Mary Stuart in Scotland, 1561—8.

making a second marriage which would strengthen her hands if she put forward a claim to the English throne. Mary found the majority of her subjects turbulent and antagonistic. In 1565 she married her cousin, Lord Darnley, in defiance of Elizabeth. Early in 1567 he was murdered, and practically everyone believed that the Queen was in the plot—an impression which was intensified when she married Bothwell, who was notoriously a principal in it. Her subjects rose in arms; Bothwell was forced to fly, and the Queen to abdicate in favour of her son James, who had been born in the previous year. She was imprisoned, but made her escape in 1568. She was joined by a few followers, who were routed at Langside; she herself fled south, crossed the Solway, and threw herself on the hospitality of Elizabeth.

§ 2. *Elizabeth, Mary Stuart, and the Protestant Cause,* 1568—1585.

Mary in England, 1568.

Mary, a fugitive from her own subjects, had placed herself in Elizabeth's power. Elizabeth was in a difficulty. If she sent the Scots Queen back to Scotland, refusing aid, she would be supporting subjects in rebellion against their sovereign. If she helped in the recovery of the Crown, she would stultify her own previous attitude to the Protestants and would strengthen the hands of a rival. If she let her go to France, she could not deny her right to appeal to France for aid. She resolved, as the least evil, to keep Mary a prisoner in England. This would enable her to use the threat of her release, or, under certain circumstances, of her execution, to control parties in Scotland. On the other hand, it immediately made Mary the figure-head of Catholic intrigues for Elizabeth's own deposition. In 1570, the Pope issued a Bull, deposing the heretic Queen; and from henceforth every Catholic in England or in Europe had the sanction of his Church for participating in conspiracies in favour of Mary; who, as far as legitimacy was concerned, was *de jure* Queen of England, since no Catholic could admit the validity of the Boleyn marriage.

Intrigues and Plots, 1569—72.

An investigation was held, at which the Scots lords were allowed to produce their evidence of Mary's complicity in Darnley's murder. When they had done so, the case was practically stopped, and the court dissolved. In 1569 the Catholic earls of Northumberland and Westmorland rose in arms, but the insurrection was crushed. In 1570, the Pope's Bull filled all England with resentment against the interference of a foreign prelate, strengthened

the loyalty of the mass of the population, and turned every Catholic into an object of some suspicion. Next year, a plot known as Ridolfi's, from the name of its principal agent in England, was discovered, in which the Spanish ambassador was implicated. Elizabeth was now negotiating a marriage with Henry Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France; being anxious to menace Philip with the fear of an Anglo-French alliance. The scheme was a mere blind, and when it had served its turn for the best part of a year, she managed to drop it and to substitute a new one of the same kind for marriage with another brother, Francis of Alençon. In the meantime, she was giving secret help to the Netherlands, so that Philip's hands were kept too full for him to concentrate his energies in an attack on her. In fact for several years to come, Spain and England were each trying to do the other as much harm as possible, while each was anxious not only to avoid an open declaration of war but to keep up an appearance of goodwill. In 1572 the prospect of an Anglo-French alliance was shattered for the time by the Massacre of St Bartholomew. A compromise between Catholics and Huguenots had been followed by the Huguenot leaders gaining an ascendency over the King, Charles IX., which made Catherine tremble for her own power; and she entered on a plot with the Guise faction for their destruction, which developed into a sudden wholesale slaughter of all the Huguenots in Paris, followed up by similar massacres in the Provinces. When the deed was done, Catherine realised that she had made a blunder: but a long time passed before it could be retrieved.

St Bartholomew, 1572 (Aug.).

Thus between 1572 and 1579 much intrigue and negotiation was going on, on all hands: with very little definite result. But in 1579 the resistance of the Netherlands to Philip entered on a new phase, the northern group of states combining in the Union of Utrecht; and Elizabeth had in the previous year revived the pretence of negotiations for her own marriage with Alençon. Papal intrigues kindled a great insurrection in Ireland; and in 1580 a Catholic missionary campaign in England was organised by the Jesuits, largely with the object of subverting Elizabeth's government. Also in that year, on the death of the King of Portugal, Philip successfully asserted his own title to the succession, which he claimed through his mother, a Portuguese Princess. Of this we shall soon see the importance.

1572—80.

When Henry VIII. came to the throne, the control of the English government of Ireland, centred in Dublin, extended very little beyond the "Pale," *i.e.* the counties on the

Ireland, 1509—1580.

central east coast. Outside of this, the great chiefs—Kildare, Ormonde, Desmond, O'Neill, Tyrconnell, and others—exercised their own rule or misrule. Henry had alternated between fits of enforcing authority for a time by the strong hand, and endeavours to make the chiefs find their personal interest in posing as his loyal officers. In Elizabeth's early years, Shan O'Neill in the north very nearly succeeded in making himself strong enough to attempt throwing off the English dominion altogether, and began intriguing with Spain for assistance; while the extension of the Act of Uniformity to Ireland supplied a plea for the support of the Pope and of foreign adherents of the Papacy. O'Neill was overthrown. Then the attempt was made to plant English colonies on forfeited lands; but the Englishmen could not rid themselves of the idea that the Irish could only be treated not as human beings but as wild beasts; the wretched business of murders, executions, and reprisals went on. At last, the south rose in revolt.

English volunteers were in the Netherlands fighting against the Spaniards; Drake was sailing round the world, capturing Spanish prizes; in this Irish rebellion—Desmond's rebellion as it is called—some hundreds of Philip's subjects took part on their own responsibility. The fighting was chiefly in the south-west—the Desmond country: where the organised resistance to the royal forces was terminated by the capture of the fort of Smerwick, whose garrison were put to the sword (Nov. 1580).

The Jesuit Mission, 1580—1.

In England the country was this year invaded by several Catholic emissaries. Of these the chief were Parsons and Campian; most were members of the Jesuit Order, which had been established some years before the Council of Trent, being the creation of Ignatius Loyola. The Order was developing into the most powerful agency for the propagation of papal doctrines and the recovery of papal influence. The business of this mission now was to obtain converts and to spread the doctrine that Catholics, while they might profess allegiance to Elizabeth, were bound to desire the success of designs for her overthrow. The effect was to compel the government to greatly increased harshness in its treatment of professing Catholics, and to an inexcusable employment of the rack in extorting evidence from prisoners.

The Netherlands and Alençon, 1578—83.

From 1578 to 1583 the Alençon intrigue was going on. Even Elizabeth's own ministers never knew whether she meant to marry the French prince or not. He for his part was kept dangling between the chance of the marriage and the chance of being adopted—for the sake

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IRELAND

in Tudor Times and at the Revolution

of French support—as the head of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, who continued to struggle under their heroic leader, William the Silent, Prince of Orange, against Spain; the Spanish governor now being the very able soldier and statesman Alexander of Parma. Elizabeth's object was to give Orange in one way or another support enough to keep him from being crushed; but to avoid either being herself drawn into open war with Spain, or allowing Orange to throw himself completely on the assistance of France, or herself quarrelling openly with France. This manœuvring was brought to an end by the treachery of Alençon; who attempted to secure and betray to Parma some important cities in the Low Countries, but failed completely and had to disappear ignominiously.

The disappearance of Alençon was followed by an event which compelled Elizabeth and Cecil (who had been made Lord Burghley some years before) to realise that the time was at hand when an open struggle with Spain could no longer be deferred—Walsingham and other ministers would have been glad before this for England to take up a bold stand on behalf of Protestantism. In 1583 the Throgmorton plot was discovered—a very comprehensive conspiracy; for the assassination of Elizabeth, a general Catholic insurrection, an invasion to be conducted by the Duke of Guise and supported by Spain, and the accession of Mary Stuart. Even this did not at once lead to a declaration of war; but an Association was formed (1584), and joined by almost every Englishman, for the protection of the Queen and the exclusion from the succession of any person—meaning of course Mary—in whose favour an insurrection should be attempted. The Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, was ordered to leave the country. Then, by the death of Alençon, Henry of Bourbon, the King of Navarre, the head of the Huguenots, became heir presumptive to the French throne; and France was entirely absorbed in the struggle between the Huguenots and the "Holy League," an Association formed and headed by the Guises to exclude Henry from the succession. At last in 1585 the ill-feeling between England and Spain reached such a pitch that Elizabeth was driven to enter into an avowed alliance with the United Provinces—Orange had been murdered in 1584; and, by taking open part in the Netherlands war, to declare war against Spain.

Throgmorton's Plot, 1583.

Alliance with the Netherlands, 1585.

§ 3. *The Sea-dogs*, 1558—1585.

Antagonism of Spain and England.

There were two reasons why England and Spain were bound to grapple sooner or later. The first was the religious question. England was officially Protestant, and her Protestantism was becoming more national and thorough every day: Philip regarded himself as divinely appointed to extirpate heresy, not only in his own dominions but throughout Christendom. The second reason has hardly been mentioned as yet, but it has counted for as much as the other in determining the course of European history.

Since the days of Columbus, Spain and Portugal between them had laid claim to the dominion of the New World and to supremacy in African and Asiatic waters; a claim ratified by a Bull of Pope Alexander VI. in the reign of Henry VII. Englishmen had no respect for the Pope's Bull, and saw no reason to recognise the right thus asserted; but Spain and Portugal were already in full possession before English seamen began to enter the field. For a long time, the English had turned their exploring energies to the far north; making no attempt at permanent settlements. But the Spaniards had occupied the West Indies, Mexico, Central America, Peru, and the northern part of South America, known as Tierra Firma, or to English sailors as the Spanish Main, *i.e.* Mainland. From the great gold and silver mines of those regions, fleets began year by year to bring home store of precious metals. Rumour declared that in the unexplored interior lay realms of wealth still more vast, which men called El Dorado, the land of gold. Here and there English captains found their way as traders to the Spanish settlements and came home with wonderful tales of what they had seen and heard.

Spanish America.

Then English merchants began to find that they could do lucrative business by fitting out ships for the ocean traffic. John Hawkins kidnapped negroes in Africa and sold them as slaves to Spaniards in America. English sailors soon learned that they were the best seamen afloat and could handle their ships better than any others in the world. They were bold, and reckless of danger. They ignored the Spaniards' laws, and the Spaniards, not without reason, called them pirates: but, when they succeeded in capturing them, punished them as heretics. In that, the Englishmen in their turn found a sufficient excuse for treating Spanish ships and Spanish settlements as lawful objects to be attacked, providing lawful spoil: with a perfect conviction that they were warranted in smiting the enemies of the reformed Faith.

English sailors.

SPANISH AMERICA

Besides, they declined to admit the right of the Spaniard to shut the Englishman out of the New World—with the more determination, when they found that the Englishman was strong enough to force his way in. These proceedings culminated in the great exploit of Francis Drake, who sailed from Plymouth at the end of 1577, made his way through the strait of Magellan, passed up the coast of South America, raided one after another of the Peruvian ports, captured, looted, and dismissed treasure-laden Spanish ships, made friends with the natives in California, sailed through the isles of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and triumphantly reappeared at Plymouth after an absence of almost three years; his ship laden with the spoils of the Spaniard, himself the first captain who had in person completely circumnavigated the globe.

Drake's voyage, 1577–80.

Drake returned at the moment when Spanish adventurers were helping the rebels in Ireland, so that complaints of his proceedings had an effective answer. It was also the moment when Philip had united the ocean-power of Portugal to that of Spain: while the voyage itself was proof that England was capable of competing with him. From this time at least, English sailors had a firm conviction that they would prove very much more than a match for their rivals, if only they could have a fair fight.

Moreover two Englishmen at least—Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh—were dreaming now of creating a new England beyond the seas: not merely of exploiting gold-mines, but of forming a great agricultural, industrial, and commercial community. Gilbert (Raleigh's half-brother) attempted to plant a colony in North America in 1583. He failed, and was lost at sea while returning. In 1585 Raleigh succeeded in planting a colony which he called Virginia; but his efforts to maintain it were in vain. It was not till the next reign that the idea of Englishmen making a permanent home for themselves across the Atlantic took hold of men's minds, and a new Virginia became the mother of what is now the American nation. But the honour of the design belongs to Walter Raleigh. The design itself however was one which Spain, if she had maintained her predominance, would never have allowed to be carried out. And this was the second reason why a duel between Spain and England was inevitable—unless one or other withdrew her pretensions.

Gilbert and Raleigh.

CHAPTER XX.

THE TRIUMPH OF ELIZABETH: 1585—1603.

§ 1. *The end of Mary Stuart*, 1585—1587.

Why Spain waited.

The year 1585 marks a turning point in Elizabeth's reign, because the war with Spain at last became open. From the time that Philip had given up all hope of making Elizabeth dependent on him, and of recovering England for the Papacy, he had desired her downfall. Two things had kept him from taking active steps to precipitate it—one, the fear that her successor, though a Catholic, might ally herself with France rather than with Spain: the other, the sense that Elizabeth might wait till he had thoroughly crushed the resistance of the Netherlands. So he had contented himself with secretly encouraging every sort of plot that could shake her throne, weaken the stability of her government, and encourage the expectation that the Catholics might have their turn again. This had suited Elizabeth very well. England, when she came to the throne, had fallen into low estate. It had been violently agitated by governments which successively carried through a religious revolution and its reversal. The treasury was empty, the navy which Henry had created was decayed, Calais had been lost, depression was everywhere prevalent, there was a pretender to the throne with a strong legal title whose claim might be advanced at any moment. By the time twelve years had passed, the situation had become very different. The pretender to the throne was a prisoner in England; the suppression of the northern insurrection in 1569 had just shown that the country was in no mind for rebellion; the treasury was replenished; financial prosperity was returning; the general depression had been replaced by a spirit of enterprise and self-confidence. Statesmen of the highest ability, like Francis Walsingham, especially if they were moved by strong religious feeling, were already inclining to set Spain openly at defiance. But the Queen herself,

Why England waited.

and her wary and long-headed Lord Treasurer, had other views. In the first place, they were not sure that war was inevitable: they hoped that Spain would see it to be in her own interest to abate her pretensions and would come to reasonable terms of mutual accommodation; whereas war was not unlikely to clear the way for the aggrandisement of France which would be dangerous to England. On the other hand, if war should prove inevitable, still the longer it was put off, the more confidently England could face it when the time came; since every year increased the country's financial prosperity, its self-confidence, and the stability of the government; whilst the endless struggle in the Netherlands was diverting commerce to England, and year by year exhausting her rival's resources. So the Queen and Burghley held out against warlike counsels, and avoided the actual declaration of war till Elizabeth had been on her throne twenty-seven years.

At the end of 1585, Elizabeth sent an army into the Netherlands, with the Earl of Leicester in command; but she still steadily refused to accept the Protectorate of the United Provinces, which was offered to her. The operations of the army were futile, and notable chiefly for one engagement in 1586—the battle of Zutphen—in which the famous Sir Philip Sidney lost his life, and the English soldiers showed brilliant courage, but with no practical results. A more effective stroke was a naval raid by Francis Drake, in command of twenty-five ships; they sacked and destroyed the shipping in the Spanish harbour of Vigo, and then, sailing for the West Indies, sacked San Domingo and Cartagena, captured several prizes, and came home in 1586 laden with much booty.

1586. Zutphen and Cartagena.

The northern rising (1569), the Ridolfi plot (1571), and the Throgmorton plot (1583), had all aimed at placing Mary Stuart on the English throne. Elizabeth had carefully avoided investigating the captive queen's personal complicity in these schemes. It suited her much better that a strong suspicion of active participation should rest on Mary, than that she should be definitely proved either innocent or guilty—just as in the case of the Darnley murder. But in 1586 yet another plot came to light, known as the Babington conspiracy. From its beginning, the Secretary of State, Francis Walsingham, had known all about it, through his spies who passed as ardent conspirators. He made arrangements whereby the whole of Mary's correspondence passed through the hands of a trusted agent who was really in his pay. A great invasion, a Catholic rising, and the assassination of Elizabeth by Anthony Babington and other young men, formed the programme.

The Babington Plot.

Letters, said to have been written by Mary, proved—if they were genuine, which she denied—that she knew and applauded all the details of the scheme. A commission of enquiry was appointed. It adjudged her guilty, referring the sentence to Parliament and the Queen. Parliament demanded her execution. After much vacillation and hesitation, Elizabeth permitted the great seal to be affixed to the warrant—even then, she wished Mary's gaoler to put the prisoner to death on his own responsibility, so that she might be able to say herself that the deed was not sanctioned by her. But her Council acted on the warrant, and on Feb. 8th, 1587, the Queen of Scots was beheaded at Fotheringay.

Execution of Mary, Feb. 1587.

There must always remain some doubt whether as a matter of fact Mary was actually privy to any schemes for the assassination of Elizabeth. There is no doubt at all that she appealed to Philip and her Guise cousins to deliver her from captivity, as she was justified in doing. Certainly in the sixteenth century there was no European government which would have hesitated on moral grounds to put to death a claimant of the throne who encouraged rebellion against the *de facto* ruler. In short, from her point of view, Mary was justified in doing what from their point of view the English people were justified in punishing—after long persistence—by death. But it is impossible to excuse the meanness with which Elizabeth endeavoured to evade her own responsibility, to declare that the thing had been done without her sanction, and to ruin the unlucky Secretary Davison, who had obtained her authority for the sealing of the warrant.

Mary's death made a great change. Her right of succession to the English throne was inherited by her son James VI. of Scotland. He had been bred a Protestant, and was of no use as a figurehead for Catholic plots. Philip of Spain therefore resolved to declare that he himself was the rightful king; since no Protestant could reign—the theory on which "the League" was opposing the prospective claims of the King of Navarre in France—whereas he himself had a title by descent, through his Portuguese parentage, from John of Gaunt, son of Edward III. and father of Henry IV. Catholic exiles and zealots might be willing to win back England to the Roman Church by establishing a Spanish king on the throne; Catholics in England, though they had desired Mary's succession, were not ready to have their country turned into a province of Spain, and subordinated their desire for religious restoration to their patriotism. England was to present a united front to the great invasion which the Spanish king was now preparing.

Philip claims the English throne.

§ 2. *The Spanish Armada*, 1587—1588.

Philip's plan.

Ships and stores were accumulating in the ports of Spain and Portugal in the spring of 1587. The plan of Philip's admiral, Santa Cruz, was to sail in the summer with a mighty fleet carrying an army on board, pass up the Channel to the Flemish harbours, join hands there with Parma, and transport a great invading army to the shores of England. The troops would be veterans, reputed the finest soldiers in the world, accustomed to military discipline: the English levies to oppose them would have among them very few men of this class. Parma was the best living general; and England would be crushed. This plan was for the time rudely shattered by Francis Drake; who, early in April, swooped with a small squadron upon the great harbour of Cadiz, intent on what he called "singeing the King of Spain's beard." He effected a complete surprise, cleared the place of such stores as he could take on board, destroyed the rest, made wreckage of the shipping, created a general panic, and having rendered it all but impossible for the Armada to start before the winter, took his way home, capturing a richly laden prize by the way.

Drake at Cadiz.

By the time the damage had been made good, Santa Cruz was not prepared to face the winter storms. He was himself a commander of ability; but he died, and the Armada was placed under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who was a landsman with absolutely no experience. Very early in the next year the English fleet was in trim to take the seas.

1588. The Rival fleets.

If the Spanish Armada had been able to overthrow the English fleet, a powerful army would have been landed in England; it is conceivable that a Spanish conquest would have followed, and the world's history would have been changed. The power of Spain already overshadowed Europe, and she was accustomed to look upon herself as holding the empire of the seas. It is still not unusual for people to speak as if the Armada was only defeated by a miracle. Yet at the time, the English seamen never had any doubt that they would humble the pride of Spain. The fight was to be between scientific seamanship, scientific shipbuilding, and scientific tactics on one side, against obsolete tactics, obsolete ships, and defective seamanship on the other. The Spaniard thought of nothing but making a battle by sea as like a battle on land as he could; of grappling the enemy's vessel and pouring soldiers on to his decks. The Englishman, in a smaller ship which could be manœuvred with ease, never grappled, but sailed

by at a convenient distance, pouring broadsides into the masses of soldiery on the enemy's decks, and pounding his hulls. The Spanish ship was a sort of floating barracks; the English ship was a fighting machine. There had never been a naval battle on a large scale in which the new English plan of fighting had been tried. But the sailors had found out, by practical experience in the Spanish-American seas, that an English ship could sail round and round a Spaniard of double the size, and fire three shots to the Spaniard's one, doing also three times the damage with each shot.

The English admiral was Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham; but he had Drake and John Hawkins to counsel him. The bulk of the English fleet—privately owned vessels for the most part, with a few ships of the small but efficient Royal Navy—was lying at Plymouth, when news was brought on July 19, 1588, that the Armada had been sighted. The Spaniards did not seek a general engagement. Their object was to work up the Channel, keeping a compact formation, like a great half-moon, and join hands with Parma at Dunkirk. In the first day's fighting, off Plymouth (July 21), the English contented themselves with harassing and crippling stragglers. Two days later there was a closer engagement off Portland, and another again two days later off the Isle of Wight. So far the English had done a good deal of damage and suffered very little in return; but the main benefit was that they had proved both to themselves and to the Spaniards that the latter were quite out-classed. On the eighth day after it was first sighted the Armada reached Calais. At this stage the English fleet was joined by Wynter's squadron, which had remained at the east end of the Channel to guard against any move by Parma. By night, with a favouring wind, some fire-ships were sent into the Calais harbour; there was a panic; the Spaniards cut their cables and made for the open sea; and the morning found them for the first time scattered. The English seized their opportunity, and off Gravelines (July 29) sunk or crippled the best of the enemy's ships, which were given no chance of re-forming in line of battle. The flight into the North Sea, which then began, was not long followed up, the English ammunition running short as that of the Spaniards had already done. But nothing more was needed. Tempests completed the work of the seamen. Shattered and crippled, not more than half the ships of the "Most Fortunate Armada" struggled home at last. The coasts of Scotland and Ireland were strewn with the wreckage of the rest.

The Armada in the Channel, July 19—27.

Destruction of the Armada, July 29.

§ 3. *Continuation of the War with Spain*, 1588—1598.

Rival policies, 1588—98.

The overthrow of the Armada made evident what Drake and the seamen generally had been long proclaiming, that any English fleet was more than a match for a Spanish fleet of thrice the tonnage. England never again in Elizabeth's reign felt herself to be on the defensive; the only question was, in what way and how far she should carry aggressive measures. Yet, great as the disaster was, Spain was by no means crushed. Englishmen like Drake and Raleigh were confident that her power might be utterly destroyed, and saw in its destruction the removal of the only rival which could hinder England from obtaining undisputed mastery of the seas and of the New World. Elizabeth and Burghley still desired Spain to be preserved as a counterpoise to France which, when she should succeed in settling her internal dissensions, would again become dangerous. They were willing enough however to emphasize the success achieved, so forcibly that Spain must at last learn the wisdom of coming to terms. The intoxication of victory made it vain to try to hold in check the popular desire to smite the Spaniard. So the Queen and her great minister made it their business to guide operations so that England might appropriate the fruit without striking at the root of Spanish power. The war that was now carried on for some years was a war on Spanish commerce, which provided English adventurers and the Royal Treasury with a rich harvest of spoils, but left Spain with her dominions intact. Raleigh still dreamed of a systematic occupation of territory in the New World; but he could get no support for his schemes, even when they took the comparatively attractive form of a proposed conquest of Guiana—the South American interior, where El Dorado itself was supposed to lie.

The Lisbon Expedition, 1589.

The first blow struck after the great victory was intended by Drake, who designed it, to wrench Portugal from Philip. Lisbon was to be captured, and a rival claimant to the throne, Don Antonio, was to be proclaimed King. By the time he set sail, however, in April 1589, Drake was so hampered by instructions, and the action of his fleet was so far subordinated to that of the land-forces he was convoying, that the expedition failed in its object: and the blame of the failure was laid on the great admiral. His name no longer appears as commanding fleets, until in 1595 he and John Hawkins sailed together on their

last voyage for the Spanish Main—as they had sailed together on Drake's first journey thither in 1567.

Two years after the Lisbon affair, a little English fleet, commanded by Lord Thomas Howard, was lying at Flores, in the Azores, in hopes of capturing the "Plate Fleet," or convoy of vessels bringing to Spain the year's product of silver and gold; when they learnt that a Spanish squadron of over fifty sail was at hand. They put to sea, but the second in command, Richard Grenville, delayed—purposely, as some said—so that the approaching Spaniards cut him off from his consorts. Grenville, on the *Revenge*—one of the larger English ships, on which Drake had himself sailed against the Armada, but less than half the size of many Spanish galleons—sailed into the heart of the enemy's fleet and fought them single-handed for fifteen hours, sinking some and crippling others; till he had hardly a man on board unwounded, and the sailors themselves insisted on surrendering, since the only alternative was to blow the vessel up.

The Revenge, 1591.

By confining themselves to the raiding policy, the English allowed the Spaniards to recover strength to some extent, and presently Elizabeth found herself compelled to assent to the striking of a more damaging blow. In 1596, soon after the news of Drake's death reached England, a strong fleet put to sea, carrying a considerable force of soldiers. The latter were under the command of the Queen's young favourite, the Earl of Essex, while the Admiral was Lord Howard, who had commanded against the Armada; and with him was Walter Raleigh. The fleet appeared suddenly before Cadiz, fought its way into the harbour, captured two warships, sank several more, looted or destroyed a crowd of richly-laden vessels, and completely sacked the town. Next year there was an ill-managed expedition to the Azores, known as the Islands Voyage, which led to an angry quarrel between its commander, Essex, and Raleigh, who was second in command. Spain took the opportunity to despatch a fresh and unexpected Armada against England—probably destined for Ireland; but it was shattered by storms, and the ships which survived struggled back to port without having had an engagement.

The Cadiz Expedition, 1596.

The Islands Voyage, 1597.

Meantime, Henry of Navarre had claimed the French Crown, on the assassination of King Henry III. in 1589; and, partly by English help, had been making good his claim in spite of the opposition of the Guises, who were supported by Philip. He won over most of the Catholics by adopting their religion, while maintaining the principle

of toleration for the Huguenots: and in 1598, the peace of Vervins made him complete master of the country. In the same year Philip II. died. Six weeks before Philip died Burghley —one of the shrewdest and most successful ministers by whose wisdom any English monarch has profited. Burghley's real successor was his crafty son, Robert Cecil.

Death of Philip II. and Burghley, 1598.

§ 4. *Essex and Robert Cecil*, 1598—1603.

Elizabeth was now sixty-five years old; there was no Tudor to ascend the throne after her, and the question who her successor was to be was becoming acute. The choice must be either (1) a descendant of Henry VII.—that is, of one or other of the two sisters of Henry VIII.; or (2) setting aside the Tudor blood, a descendant of the House of York; or (3) setting the York blood also aside, a descendant of John of Gaunt—that is, of one of the sisters of Henry IV. There was no doubt at all that the best title lay with the descendant of Henry VII.'s elder daughter, Margaret, by her first husband, James IV. of Scotland—who was now reigning as James VI. The only possible ground for setting him aside was, that he was a foreigner and therefore could not inherit. In that case, the next heir would be Margaret's descendant by her second marriage, Arabella Stuart[1], who was an English subject. The will of Henry VIII., however, set aside his sister Margaret altogether in favour of his younger sister Mary Brandon. Mary's elder daughter was now represented by Katharine, Countess of Hertford (the sister of Lady Jane Grey), and her son, Lord Beauchamp: and the younger daughter by the Stanleys of Derby, who, though Catholics, refused entirely to be put forward in the Catholic interest. All the others named were Protestants. The old Yorkists were represented by the Earl of Huntingdon, whose mother was a Pole; but he also was a Protestant. So the Catholics were obliged either to fall back on the descent of the Spanish royal family from John of Gaunt, in which case Isabella, sister of Philip III., the new King of Spain, would be their candidate; or else to adopt the Protestant candidate from whom the most was to be hoped—James,

The Succession.

[1] The Lennox Stuarts, though bearing the same name as the Royal House of Scotland, were of a different family. But, curiously, through a marriage into the Royal House, Arabella actually stood next in succession to the Scottish throne, though for a different reason from that which placed her next to him in the English line. See Table III.

or Arabella, or Lord Beauchamp: while it was possible for Protestants to support the claim of any one of the last three. So there was plenty of scope for intrigues. The serious danger for England, however, lay in the possible success of a Catholic candidate: her security rested on the fact that the Catholics could not agree to unite in supporting anyone.

Cecil and Essex.

Robert Cecil, a younger son of old Lord Burghley, meant to manage matters to suit himself and to secure him in the confidence of Elizabeth's successor. He had two rivals to fear—Walter Raleigh, whose abilities were of the highest order, and with whom he pretended to be in close alliance; and the Earl of Essex, who fascinated the old Queen, was very popular with the mob, and was violently jealous of Cecil, of Raleigh, and in fact of anyone to whom Elizabeth showed favour of any kind.

Ireland; Tyrone's rebellion, 1598.

Ireland at this time was in a very dangerous state. The suppression of Desmond's rebellion had left the hostile chiefs and districts in an exhausted condition, and the English colonies and garrisons in various parts of the country prevented open insurrection even when the Armada was coming. But Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, quietly organised alliances among the malcontents and intrigued with Spain, while professing loyalty to the English government. Perhaps he would really have become loyal if he had been trusted, but the English governors both distrusted him and were guilty of grave breaches of faith themselves in their dealings with him. Elizabeth would never allow enough money to be spent to maintain a really efficient army in Ireland; and in 1598 Tyrone was openly in arms, successfully routing the troops which were sent to attack him.

Essex in Ireland, 1599.

Essex, in the Council, was loud in condemnation of everyone who had anything to do with Irish affairs; whereupon he was himself offered the task of bringing the country into order. He could not refuse, and in 1599 he appeared there, having been granted larger powers and larger forces than any of his predecessors. He knew that his personal influence with the Queen always waned when he was absent; and now he easily convinced himself that his enemies were taking the opportunity to slander and misrepresent him, and to undermine his favour. There is very little doubt that he meant to use his Irish command so as to be able to threaten the use of force. He was certainly in communication with the Scots King, and he made terms with Tyrone instead of crushing him as he had undertaken to do. He repeatedly disobeyed the orders he had received; and finally rushed on his own doom by

deserting his command, and racing off to London to fling himself before the Queen, and clamour against the ill-treatment he was receiving.

Fall of Essex, 1600.

This step practically ruined him. Raleigh urged that no leniency should be extended to him; Cecil, perceiving that Essex was fairly in the toils, posed as the advocate of magnanimity. The Earl was imprisoned, but released within twelve months (Aug. 1600). Meantime, Cecil had been encouraging the English Catholics to look forward to a compromise; under which the Spanish Infanta might be allowed to succeed to the throne, provided that Burgundy was separated from Spain and united with England. Essex was hardly at liberty before he raised an outcry against the selling of England to Spain, appealed to the mob, and on being summoned to the Council attempted to raise an insurrection in London (Feb. 1601). After that, to spare him became impossible; and he was tried, condemned, and executed, though Elizabeth never forgave herself.

Cecil and King James.

The astute Cecil had long been satisfied that James Stuart had a far better chance of the succession than any other candidate. He was already making sure that the Scots King should look to him as the man to whose skill and devotion he would owe his throne, and impressing him with distrust of every important rival. As the old Queen's end drew near, there was not one of the other candidates who had an organised party to intervene. In March 1603, Elizabeth, now in her seventieth year, was stricken with mortal illness. To the last it seemed that she would refuse, as she had done all her life, to declare in favour of any heir; but those who were about her death-bed affirmed that, in her last hour, she approved by signs of James. In the early morning of March 24th the great Queen died, and the Crowns of England and Scotland were at last united.

Death of Elizabeth.

CHAPTER XXI.

ELIZABETH'S ENGLAND: 1558—1603.

§ 1. *Constitutional, Social, and Economic development.*

The mediaeval system had enabled the greater barons to have under their personal control such military forces that two or three of them acting in concert could raise dangerous insurrections. The barons had defied King John and Henry III.; they had dethroned Edward II. and Richard II.; and through most of the fifteenth century they were making and unmaking Kings. In combining to resist tyranny on the King's part, they had served the country well; but when factious and personal aims became a sufficient motive for revolt, there was an end of settled government. The national welfare demanded that a firm and strong rule should be maintained, and that the power of the baronage to disturb it should be reft from them.

The Tudor Monarchy.

That could only be done by concentrating power in the hands of the King; and to establish this new power, both Henry VII. and Henry VIII. saw that they must have the general support of popular feeling in their favour: they must take the people into partnership, not in the sense of sharing control with them, but in the sense of consulting their sentiments and not arousing their animosity. Thus Henry VIII. always took very good care that if he did anything which turned out to be really unpopular, the blame for it should fall, not on him, but on Wolsey or Cromwell: and he used Parliament so that it should always seem at least that the people's representatives were hardly less responsible than himself for the policy he adopted. While Cromwell strengthened his statutory powers, Henry encouraged his subjects to believe that he was taking them into his confidence. And in particular he was quick to realise Wolsey's mistake of trying to get money out of them without their formal assent: after Wolsey's fall, the King's exactions were always imposed with a Parliamentary sanction.

To these principles Elizabeth adhered strictly. The Queen ruled; no one might or could dictate her course of action; but she took care that her course of action should be in harmony with popular feeling or at the worst should not defy it. If Parliaments attempted to control her, she snubbed them and ordered them to mind their own business; but she recognised the indications of strong public feeling, and, if it did run counter to her own, found some method of compromise which satisfied it without abating her authority. She admitted to her Council men who were mere personal favourites, courtiers who pretended to be statesmen, like Leicester, Hatton, and Essex; but the men she relied on were Cecil, and Nicholas Bacon, and Walsingham; sober, keen-witted, utterly above corruption, and in sympathy with the mass of their countrymen. The Tudor monarchical system rested on essential accord between the Crown and the people. It was not government by the people, but it was government for the people and with the assent of the people.

Crown and People.

For the continuance of such a régime, the popularity of the ruler and the loyalty of his subjects to his person were essential. Except, perhaps, at the moment of the divorce, Henry never lost the affection of his subjects; he lived in their minds as "bluff King Hal," however some of them might rage at his doings; they were always ready to hold the minister, not the King, to blame. To Elizabeth the devotion was still more enthusiastic and more nearly universal. Both were possessed of an infinity of tact—understood the art of retiring from an untenable position without loss of dignity, of saying exactly the right thing, of appealing to popular enthusiasm, of displaying an engaging geniality and a frank confidence in their people's affection.

Royal popularity.

In both reigns, the magnificence of the Court and the encouragement of pageantry and display were elements of popularity: especially as the common folk did not feel that these things were paid for at their expense. Henry relieved general taxation by robbing the Church; Elizabeth, by a strict economy, and by the private profits she made out of sea-faring adventures. The personal extravagances of the wealthy tended to add gaiety and colour to life.

The depression of the old nobility meant that their political power was gathered into the hands of the sovereign—not, in Tudor times, that it had passed down to lower ranks. But the elements out of which political power was to grow were passing to a new group: and this was largely due to the dissolution of the monasteries. The distribution of their lands caused a new class of landed gentry to grow up, which

The country Gentlemen.

was already in its third generation and very thoroughly established, long before Elizabeth's death. At the same time, the development of commerce in Elizabeth's reign was increasing the wealth of the towns and adding to the importance of the mercantile community. Hence the Commons' House of Parliament was unconsciously acquiring a new sense of its own dignity and importance which, while it led to no disturbance of harmony so long as Crown and Parliament were in accord, might become a serious matter if differences arose between them.

Commerce and Industry.

This revived commercial, industrial, and rural prosperity was due to a combination of causes. The knowledge that the government was not capricious but steady, that it was able to hold its own, that it would keep its engagements and play no more pranks with the coinage, gave the sense of security which is always needed to encourage trade. Then, the process of converting arable land into pasture had already nearly gone its full length when Elizabeth came to the throne, so that not much additional labour was displaced. By slow degrees the labour already displaced found employment, as manufacturing industries developed —partly through the arrival in England of Flemish fugitives from Spanish oppression, who not only did in England the work that was formerly done in Flanders, but began to teach Englishmen to do it for themselves. The practical effect of the long struggle in the Netherlands was to bring to England much of the trade which had hitherto gone to the Low Countries. The immense extension of sea-going traffic, especially after English maritime supremacy had been assured by the defeat of the Armada, led to the formation of companies of merchants for trade with the Levant, with Russia (still an almost unknown region) and with the East. The last of these, the famous East India Company, which was to bring India under its sway in the far future, was incorporated on the last day of 1600. And, finally, before the close of Elizabeth's reign, means had been gradually devised for dealing with honest poverty; with which in the old days the monasteries had endeavoured to cope, though in a manner which is generally considered to have increased that poverty which was not honest but merely idle. The Elizabethan Poor-Law was given its final shape by the Parliament of 1601; which established a compulsory system of poor-relief out of rates levied by local authorities, and remained in force almost without change for two hundred years.

The Poor-Law.

§ 2. *The Religious Settlement, the Catholics, and the growth of Puritanism.*

Religious Latitude.

The idea of toleration in religion hardly presented itself to men's minds in the sixteenth century; that is, it was practically the universal view that within the State everyone should be compelled, under penalties, to conform to the religion which the State imposed. That religion might be comprehensive—that is, it might admit large diversities of opinion, and some diversities of ceremonial; but only such as could be embraced by members of a single ecclesiastical organisation. It was the object of the Elizabethan statesmen to make the established religion as comprehensive as possible, so that the greatest possible number of the Queen's subjects might be able to conform without doing violence to their consciences. But it was necessary from their point of view to shut out doctrines which implied recognition either of the Pope's authority or of a priestly authority which could claim to override that of the State, and on the other hand to prevent practices which set at nought the seemly authority of tradition.

The State and the Catholics.

The Catholics of the old school, who wanted the restoration of the old religion, were evidently outside the pale; and all the more so after the conclusion, in 1563, of the Council of Trent, which defined the Catholic position. They could not form a section of a comprehensive Church. They must then look with favourable eyes on the prospect of another government being instituted which would restore the old religion simply; so that their loyalty, however genuine, was liable to suspicion. And this was made worse by the Pope's Bull formally absolving Catholics from their allegiance to Elizabeth, in 1570. It was made worse still by the Jesuit mission of 1580, and by the series of plots fostered by the Catholic exiles. All these things provided a real political reason for sternly restraining efforts to spread Catholicism, and for keeping Catholics under very strict surveillance; in them was found excuse for going further, and punishing the mere profession of Catholicism as an offence and its propagation as a crime. Increasingly throughout Elizabeth's reign Catholics were subjected to serious persecution, though to nothing which could in any sense be compared with the persecution of Protestants under Mary.

The Puritans.

On the other hand, Protestants, who had learned their Protestantism from the Swiss School of Calvin, were dissatisfied with the retention of practices which in their eyes savoured of superstition and were what they called "rags

of Rome"—such as the wearing of surplices, the sign of the Cross in baptism, and the use of the ring in marriage. During Elizabeth's early years the bishops, being generally men with leanings towards the views of this school, were disposed to look upon laxity in these matters with leniency. Elizabeth however insisted on the enforcement of the law, which caused the ejection of several of the clergy from their livings. But the feeling on the subject of vestments and the like was only one aspect of that attitude of mind which came to be called Puritanism. The basis of Puritanism was the reference to Scripture not as the chief but as the sole authority. Whatever doctrines or practices were not enjoined in the Scriptures were to be regarded as excrescences, to be removed. Puritans might discover in Scripture a warrant for the Episcopal form of Church government, and those who did so remained contentedly loyal to the Church; but they were much more likely to convince themselves that the Presbyterian system of Calvin, or some system that was neither Presbyterian nor Episcopalian, was that sanctioned by the Bible. The strength of their fanaticism would then decide for them whether they should remain in the Church, merely seeking to procure its reorganisation on what they regarded as scriptural lines, or quietly submit to the established order, or separate themselves from the Church altogether. Among the ranks of the clergy themselves there grew up towards the middle of the reign a large body which desired to replace the Episcopalian by the Presbyterian system, as well as to do away with several of the forms and ceremonies prescribed by the law. The Presbyterians however accepted the idea of the Church and the nation being one, and of the Church holding State endowments. The sect who were known as Brownists or Independents rejected this view, holding that the Church consisted only of true Christians—those whose salvation was assured—and had nothing to do with the State.

Nonconformity.

Archbishop Whitgift, who became primate in 1583, took the view that these Puritan developments would produce anarchy if they were allowed to continue; and the Court of High Commission, sanctioned under the Act of Supremacy, was at once constituted as an effective instrument for enforcing uniformity. Like the Court of Star Chamber, it was a judicial committee; and it claimed the power of compelling a man to answer on oath questions as to his religious views. It was employed for the suppression and expulsion both of Presbyterians and of Brownists; and the Puritans, thus checked in pulpits and assemblies, took up the war in another way. The issue of a number of pamphlets known as

The Court of High Commission.

the "Martin Mar-Prelate" tracts, violently attacking the established system, brought matters to a head; and in 1593 an Act was passed dealing very severely with nonconformity, but giving those who wished the opportunity of exiling themselves. For the rest of the reign Puritanism caused little trouble; but beneath the surface Puritan ideas gained ground steadily, to bear fruit under the Stuarts.

§ 3. *The Literary Outburst.*

At the end of the fourteenth century England gave the world the man who sowed the seeds of the Reformation. In the reign of Elizabeth, two hundred years after Wycliffe, the Reformation in England became an accomplished fact. In the days of Wycliffe England also gave birth to a great poet, Geoffrey Chaucer. In the reign of Elizabeth the promise of Chaucer was of a sudden fulfilled; the literature of England sprang into the front rank of the literatures of the world. A new life was stirring, new blood was throbbing in the veins of the English nation. By the discovery of a limitless New World, by the bursting of the intellectual fetters which had bound mankind in days when learning was the private possession of a single class, by the invention of printing which brought knowledge within the reach of those who had been barred from it, the imaginations of men were awakened to a sudden vitality. The mental as well as the physical vigour of Englishmen had been braced up to the highest point by the strain of a mighty struggle wherein her strength was not exhausted but increased. As of old that same glorious Athens which smote the Persian at Marathon and Salamis gave birth to Aeschylus and Sophocles, so the England which shattered the Armada was the mother of Spenser and Shakspeare.

The new impulse.

Between Chaucer and Spenser, England produced nothing to suggest that in letters she was to stand at the head of the nations. The fifteenth century is almost a blank, save for crude but spirited ballads, preserved not by the pens but on the lips of men. In the first half of the sixteenth century Sir Thomas More's is the only great name, his *Utopia* the only great original work—and that was written in Latin. Yet something was then being done to show the capabilities of the English tongue. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was executed in the last days of Henry VIII., and Thomas Wyatt, the father of Mary's rebel, began to make graceful metrical experiments—"the earliest pipe of half-awakened birds"—and Cranmer, translating, adapting, and supple-

The Early Tudors.

menting the Latin prayers of the Church, was constructing the noble language and exquisite phraseology of the English liturgy. Yet for another quarter of a century England remained almost silent.

Then, when Elizabeth had been already seated on the throne for twenty years, the dawn broke unmistakeably with the appearance of Edmund Spenser's poem the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and of John Lyly's *Euphues*.

The Utopia, 1516.

Now More's *Utopia* demands attention not as marking a stage in the course of literary development, but as the work of a man of genius; whose record of the state of society in his times is of value, whose ideas on the principles of good government anticipated those of thinkers in the nineteenth century, while the book which contains the record and the ideas is a pleasant and ingenious phantasy. It presents us with the England of the day—the latter years of Henry VII. and the opening years of Henry VIII.—with those growing troubles of the rural districts which have been discussed in earlier pages; depopulated holdings, labourers converted into foot-pads, vagabond friars, idle Churchmen, grasping landlords, rulers for whom war and peace are only moves in a game of rival ambitions. Depicting an imaginary State discovered by an explorer in the unknown Western seas, it enunciates novel theories of toleration, of moral and intellectual well-being, not personal advancement and wealth, as the objects to be kept in view by governors as well as governed, of laws whose penalties aim only at protecting the public and reclaiming the evil-doer.

Euphues, 1579.

But when we pass from 1516, the year when *Utopia* was published, to 1579, with the *Shepherd's Calendar* and *Euphues*, it is to find in those works not masterpieces of individual genius, but the definite indication of an epoch, the sunrise of a national literature. John Lyly, who wrote *Euphues*, was not a genius; *Euphues* itself is dull, pedantic, and intolerably affected. But it was the first attempt to realise that the composition of English prose may be set about with the deliberate artistic intention of making the most of the language; that the best use and arrangement of words may be as carefully studied in prose as in verse. Edmund Spenser, on the other hand, was a genius, but his powers were not fully shown till the first books of his *Faerie Queene* appeared ten years later. The *Shepherd's Calendar* is not itself one of the great poems; but it showed that English words could be combined in English rhythms with a hitherto unsuspected charm.

Spenser and Sidney.

The new literary impulse of which these works were the first-fruits was soon finding expression in the prose of Philip Sidney's romance of *Arcadia* and in the verse of his *Astrophel and Stella* sonnets. Not till 1594 did it produce what may be called the first real monument of English prose, the *Ecclesiastical Polity* of Richard Hooker. It was only in the next reign that the typical Elizabethan, Walter Raleigh, composed that noble but uncompleted work, his *History of the World*. Before Elizabeth was gone, Francis Bacon, too—in spite of his own belief that Latin was the only proper language for literature that was meant to be permanent—had shown in his first *Essays* that his own English was no less effective. But the Intellectual impulse bore other fruit as well. It was not only in the field of pure literature that England was now to take her place in the forefront of the nations. For in Bacon, not only literary expression but science and philosophy found an exponent of the first rank; since it was the greatest and the favourite work of his life to give, by his later writings, form and shape and system to the new methods by which men were seeking to drag from Nature the secrets which should make Man her master.

Hooker, Raleigh, and Bacon.

Yet in what we know as the "Elizabethan period" of English literature—which really extends over the last twenty-five years of Elizabeth and the first twenty of James I. —the most astonishing and most characteristic product was the creation of the Elizabethan Drama. Two thousand years before, Athens had invented a drama of her own, and, later, Rome had copied Athens; but throughout what we call the Middle Ages, all that was left to represent drama was "Miracle Plays" and "Mysteries" —performances giving perfectly conventional renderings of portions of the Bible story, or legends of the Saints, or allegories in which the several virtues and vices were personified; which were later supplemented by gorgeous "masques" and pageants in dumb show. With the revival of learning, literary men began to produce imitations of the old Latin plays, and schoolmasters used to set their boys to act bits of Terence and Seneca. In the middle of the sixteenth century one of these schoolmasters, in England, Nicholas Udal, wrote *Ralph Royster Doyster*—the first English comedy—for his boys to act; and soon after the first English tragedy in verse, *Gorboduc*, was produced. The idea of really telling a story by representing the persons and the events on the stage before an audience, and then of clothing the story in poetic language, took hold of the imagination of the younger generation. Almost in the hour of England's

The Drama.

mighty triumph over the Armada, Marlowe burst upon the world with his tragedies of *Tamburlaine*, and *Faustus*, and *Edward II.*; and before that brief blaze was quenched the sun of William Shakspeare was already rising. It was in the drama that the immense vitality, the vast imaginativeness, the unbounded audacity of the Elizabethan spirit, found its appropriate literary expression; in Shakspeare's plays we see the men and women of Shakspeare's own day—the men and women who made England what she was.

Marlowe and Shakspeare.

CHAPTER XXII.

JAMES I.: 1603—1625.

§ 1. *The King of Scots and his new Kingdom.*

The Union of the Crowns.

The accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England in itself marked a great change. Under the Tudors, culminating with Elizabeth, a new England had been built up, claiming place as the first maritime Power. Whereas, until Tudor times, maritime power had hardly been recognised as carrying political weight, it was in virtue of maritime power that England asserted her position. Just at this moment, she became united with Scotland under one sceptre. The two nations were not to become indissolubly one for another century. But three hundred years ago, the interests of a state were identified with the interests of its Prince; England and Scotland, sharing one King, could not follow different policies. They could not be at war with each other unless one or other was in rebellion against its sovereign. The two countries were bound to stand in close alliance; no longer in the normal relation, which had subsisted at least from the days of Edward I. to those of Edward VI., of either open war, or an armed truce which was always threatening to be converted into open war. Instead of being a drag on England and a check to her power, the force of Scotland was now added to the force of England. The time-honoured alliance between France and Scotland became at the most a remote instead of an imminent peril.

This union was brought about not by conquest, but by the simple process of inheritance, through a marriage: just as one marriage had created Spain, by uniting Castile and Aragon; another had brought Burgundy under the same head; and another had added Portugal. It was a happy turn of the wheel for both England and Scotland which, by the death of Francis II. in 1560, had separated the crowns of Scotland and France, united for a year by his marriage to Mary Stuart.

But besides bringing England and Scotland into combination, the accession of James placed on the English throne a dynasty which had no share in the Tudor tradition. The Stuarts knew that the Tudors had been powerful rulers; but did not suspect that their strength had lain chiefly in the skill with which they kept grip on the loyalty of the nation at large.

The new King.

There were very few of the new King's new subjects who knew nearly as much as he did of foreign politics, or who could discuss theories of government with half his erudition: and he had a boundless faith in his own cunning. Unfortunately his cleverness, unlike that of his predecessor, did not make "the wisest fool in Christendom," as he was named, a good judge of character; he allowed himself to be guided by favourites, who were invariably worthless—at least after the death of Robert Cecil in 1612. For he believed that he owed his throne to that astute politician, gave him to begin with the chief place in his counsels, and retained his confidence in him during the nine years he lived as Earl of Salisbury.

James had the most exalted notions of the Royal Authority as belonging to Kings by right divine: and his experiences in Scotland—where the Presbyterian clergy accounted themselves, in virtue of their office, entitled to lay down the law to the King as the Prophets of Israel laid commands on the Hebrew monarchs—made him doubly determined to be free of clerical control. In England he found the episcopal system, under which the King could choose his bishops, and rely on them to maintain ecclesiastical discipline as his subordinates; and he very promptly came to the conclusion which he summed up in the formula, "No bishop, no King."

His ecclesiastical views.

He found an England in which the Catholics were restive under penal laws, which, as a rule, were only acted upon in a desultory way, but even when half held in suspense were extremely galling. The Catholics hoped that the son of Mary Stuart would give them relief. In the Church, the Puritans were on their side craving for relief in the matter of ceremonies and vestments; and they looked to the King of Presbyterian Scotland to sympathise. He found a people with no more desire to hamper Royalty than it had displayed under Elizabeth, but tenacious of what it regarded as traditional Parliamentary rights. How would his theories of the Episcopate and of Divine Right harmonise with these conditions?

§ 2. *James I.; First period*, 1603—1612.

The Catholics were disillusioned at once. The penal laws were too effective an instrument, if need should arise, to be dispensed with. A foolish and impracticable plot was hatched by some well-meaning persons to seize the King's person—an experience by no means new to James—and make him grant toleration. This, which was known as the "Bye-plot," was betrayed. But beside this there existed another plot of some sort to set Arabella Stuart on the throne. The thing has never been really unravelled. Lord Cobham, a friend of Raleigh's, was at the bottom of it, though probably there was not much in it of any kind. Raleigh's name was dragged into it, on the absurd hypothesis that he, of all men, had sold himself to Spain; and by a gross perversion of justice he was condemned for High Treason. The supposed conspirators were not executed: but Raleigh was imprisoned in the Tower, and kept there for thirteen years. This was known as the "Main plot." Both the Catholic plot and the other were perfectly futile: the second is of importance only because it caused Raleigh, Spain's most determined enemy, to be caged, at a time when a policy of peace if not alliance with Spain was about to be entered upon. An attempt was in fact made to suspend the Penal Laws; but the immediate effect was to bring into the open a good deal of the Catholic practice which had been going on covertly; whereby alarm was created, and the laws began to be re-enforced with increased strictness.

Main and Bye Plots, 1603.

The Puritans too were early disillusioned. When James arrived in England, he was presented with what was called the Millenary Petition, because it was said to bear the signatures of a thousand Puritan clergy, begging for the admission into the Church of their views of ceremonies and vestments. In January, 1604, a conference was ordered at Hampton Court, at which the bishops were represented in force, the petitioners had four representatives, and the King sat as umpire. The Puritan proposals were rejected, and their representatives were scolded by James. Convocation issued Canons which received the royal sanction and therefore applied to the clergy—but not parliamentary sanction and so did not apply to the laity—in consequence of which large numbers of the Puritan clergy resigned their livings. James did not recognise the significance of the fact

Hampton Court Conference, 1604.

that Parliament—which even under Elizabeth had shown strong Puritan leanings—took up their cause.

Gunpowder Plot, 1605.

In 1605, any chance that the Catholics might have had of recovering popular support was destroyed by the Gunpowder plot. Certain ardent spirits conceived the idea that if they blew up Parliament and King together, a Catholic ascendency might be restored. The distortion of ideas which made such a plot possible to the conscience of really high-minded zealots was exemplified during the religious struggles many times, on both sides; but the scale on which this business was planned made it more appalling. One of the men who was taken into the conspirators' confidence gave warning to the government, but also such notice to the plotters that they could have escaped undiscovered. The famous Guy Fawkes however stood his ground, in the desperate hope that he might still achieve his object. He was seized in the cellars adjoining the Houses of Parliament; and the rest brought on their own doom by attempting to take up arms instead of lying *perdus* as they might have done. The panic and horror caused by the whole affair produced a popular rage against "Popery," which broke out in the wildest forms for ages afterwards, whenever a hint went abroad of a "Popish plot." At the moment, the effect was to increase the stringency with which the Penal Laws were administered.

Peace with Spain, 1604.

Through the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, the English people and the Spanish Government had persisted with equal obstinacy in maintaining hostilities. Peaceful counsels however were now prevailing at Madrid, while in England the war-fever had died down, and James was personally quite as anxious in his desire to avoid war as his predecessor had been. In 1604, peace was made between Spain and England, and five years later Philip III. made a twelve years' truce with the United Provinces—that is, the northern group which had remained in revolt; so that for a time, the struggle of the Dutch Protestants ceased to be an active factor in politics. We shall presently find, what was not yet recognised, that the real effective championship of Catholicism was passing from the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs to the Austrian branch; although James never realised the decadence of the power of Spain. We have also to note that as yet the union between England and Scotland made no further progress; beyond the declaration of the judges that Scots born after the accession of James I. to the English throne were in virtue of their birth naturalised English subjects.

James was hardly seated on the throne before his monarchical ideas came into collision with those of his Parliament. Battles between Elizabeth's theory of the Prerogative—that is, of rights inherent in the crown—and the Parliament's theory of Privilege—that is, of Parliamentary rights established by custom, had always been evaded in her reign by the practical compromise of one party acceding to the wishes of the other while both left the discussion of the theory in abeyance. Practical compromises continued for the present, but the opposing theories began to receive much more definite and formal expression.

Prerogative and Privilege.

Goodwin's Case, 1604.

The first occasion of collision was the return to Parliament of a member, Goodwin, who had been outlawed. The King declared his election void: Parliament declared that they alone had power to examine the validity of elections. They were quite ready to pronounce the election invalid themselves, however; and the claim they now asserted was never again challenged. At the same time, they answered the King's pronouncement that all power lay in him by right divine, and that their powers were held only by the King's grace; they affirmed that if he thought that was the case in England he had been "misinformed"; and a little later, when he said that they had no right to question the Royal Prerogative, they replied by affirming that free and unfettered discussion was the immemorial and inalienable right of English Parliaments.

Before long, a practical question arose. It had been laid down by Plantagenet Statutes that there could be no taxation without consent of Parliament; but the practice had grown up of the first Parliament in each reign conferring upon the King "tonnage and poundage," the right of levying the recognised custom duties on imports and exports. Mary and Elizabeth had been allowed without protest to extend the rights thus conferred by imposing some additional duties without express Parliamentary authority. In 1606, James, being short of money, followed this precedent and made some further "Impositions." A merchant named Bates refused to pay; the judges gave their decision in the King's favour. Thus fortified, James in 1608 proceeded to new Impositions which would substantially increase his revenue: though to nothing like the extent of his requirements. The Commons smelt danger. Their power had always been the power of the purse; without supplies voluntarily conceded by them, the crown would be impotent—hence the old objection to Benevolences, by which the crown had attempted to escape its dependence on them. The Commons now passed a resolution de-

The "Impositions," 1606.

claring the Impositions to be illegal. But the Commons alone could not overthrow a decision of the judges on a point of law. So in 1610 a proposal was brought forward called the Great Contract: to the effect that the King should resign the old feudal dues which were undoubtedly his legal right, and some of the Impositions which the judges said were his legal right, and should have in exchange for these a revenue of £200,000 granted him. But the bargain broke down, and Parliament was dissolved without enacting the Great Contract. For several years, the King ruled without a Parliament at all, save for one which was summoned in 1614 and dissolved again without doing anything, because it refused to discuss any proposals until the claim to the Impositions should be withdrawn. This was nick-named the "Addled Parliament" by the wits of the day. The King made shift during the ten years' interval to keep his exchequer supplied by various devices, including the old Benevolences in a modified form.

The Great Contract, 1610.

Before passing to the second division of James's reign, we have to note two important developments outside England itself, which were to bear fruit in the future history of the nation: one, the progress of the later Elizabethan policy in Ireland; the other, the progress of the Colonial Idea which was first conceived in the brains of Humphrey Gilbert and of Walter Raleigh.

During the reign of Elizabeth, it had been the steady aim of the government—or perhaps we should say the persistent result of government action which had not been directed by any clearly defined policy—to extend over Ireland the system already prevalent in the Pale: to break down the rule of the great chiefs who dominated large areas, and supersede it by the control of provincial governors. Tyrone's rebellion, which Essex had been sent to quell, was the last great effort to beat back the tide of English domination. That was suppressed by the skill of Mountjoy. Tyrone obtained pardon, but his ascendency in the north, with that of Tyrconnell in the north-west, did not satisfy them, or the English. Early in the reign of James, the two chiefs fled the country, a large expanse of territory was forfeited, and Ulster was to a great extent planted with English and Scottish settlers in 1611. Incidentally, this suggested to James the ingenious plan of selling hereditary knighthoods, which were called baronetcies, to people who were prepared to pay the price; to provide the necessary funds for the colonisation. The colonists held their property under the English system of land-tenure, and this fact helped to extend the same system elsewhere, in substitution for the traditional native systems;

Ireland, 1602—12.

a change deeply resented by the native population, but increasing the effective power of the English Government in Ireland.

Virginia, 1606—9.

The second point was the realisation of Raleigh's dream of an English settlement in Virginia. In 1606 a charter was granted to a company having its head-quarters in London, to establish its government in North America. Unlike Raleigh's attempts, this one was so far successful that a new and workable charter was granted in 1609; and from that time forward, the new colony, in spite of vicissitudes, grew and flourished. Primarily at least, it was a commercial undertaking: but it was to be followed by others on a different basis.

§ 8. *The King, the Spaniards, and the Palatinate*, 1612—1621.

Lack of Statesmen, 1612—21.

Except for the few weeks of 1614 during which the Addled Parliament was sitting, the Houses were not summoned between 1611 and 1621. There was no opportunity for Constitutional points of difference to be raised. Hitherto, King James had worked in harmony with a minister, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; who, though not a great statesman, was at least a capable and experienced politician. But early in 1612 Salisbury died. There was one man, Francis Bacon, who was more than capable of taking his place; but in him James placed no confidence. Henry, the Prince of Wales, was a young man of high promise; but he died at the age of nineteen, a few months after Cecil. The only way to influence was through court favour; the only way to court favour was by making interest with unworthy favourites whom James delighted to honour—a course which no self-respecting men would adopt. After 1612, no statesman worthy the name is to be found beside the King.

Carr and Villiers.

Of these favourites, the first and the worst was Robert Carr, a young Scot who owed his position to good looks and bad manners. Having won it, he desired to marry the wife of the Earl of Essex, the son of Elizabeth's ill-fated favourite. A divorce was procured, and the lady became Countess of Somerset, Carr having been raised to the Earldom. Ruin followed, when it was discovered that the wife at least, if not the husband, had procured the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had stood in the way of the divorce. Somerset gave place to George Villiers—now created Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Buckingham—who was not without talents as well as good looks, but whose assumption of the part of a

statesman was entirely disastrous. The influence however of these favourites was for a time merely negative, as effectually barring the King from intelligent advisers. Through the middle period of his reign, the policy James followed was his own.

The Palatine marriage, 1613.

Unlike Elizabeth, the King had sons and daughters. Royal marriages played an important part in uniting nations for political ends. James saw nothing incongruous in the idea of a Spanish Catholic Princess becoming the bride of his son, while his daughter married a Protestant Prince. The notion that nothing could make Spain anything but a determined enemy of Protestantism appeared to him chimerical. Both Prince Henry and Cecil had scouted the idea of the former marrying a Spanish Princess; but Henry being dead, the idea of such a union with Spain through his son Charles, now heir apparent, seemed quite feasible. Meantime, to maintain the Protestant connexion, in 1613 he married his daughter Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine, Frederick. Among the children of this marriage were the famous Prince Rupert and his brother Maurice, and Sophia who became the wife of the Elector of Hanover and mother of our King George I. As the marriage of a daughter of the first Tudor King gave England a new dynasty at the end of precisely one hundred years, so at the end of one hundred years a new dynasty was brought in by this marriage of a daughter of the first King of the House of Stuart.

The two Habsburg Houses.

But the Palatine marriage was to bring on complications at an earlier date. Roughly speaking, at this time the north German principalities were Protestant, the south German Catholic. The Palatinate, Protestant itself, lay between Protestant and Catholic territories. The Austrian Habsburgs, long quiescent, were about to organise the recovery of Protestant States for Catholicism. The Spanish Habsburgs, with their Burgundian possessions—it was only the northern provinces of the Netherlands which had broken away from them—were to support the movement. But the shadow of coming events had not yet been observed. The man who had foreseen, and recognised the need of combating, this new Habsburg combination, was the French King Henry IV.; but the dagger of the assassin Ravaillac had removed him in 1610, at the very moment when he was preparing his counter-stroke. James, in spite of the subtlety on which he prided himself, was quite unconscious. Only his people retained an instinctive sense that the Spanish Habsburg was a foe to Protestantism, and therefore to the Protestantism of England.

In 1613 there came to England a new Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, who soon acquired a considerable ascendency over James. To Spain, the idea of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and a Spanish Infanta was not displeasing: provided it meant toleration—to be followed by ascendency—for Catholics in England, and the bringing up of the royal children as Catholics. This was not James's idea; he reckoned that the alliance would secure the great Catholic power on the side of peace—that it would weigh more than the kinship between the Habsburg of Austria and the Habsburg of Spain: whereas he was very much afraid of Spanish hostility.

Proposed Spanish Marriage, 1613.

Now there occurred a puzzling episode. Raleigh in the Tower had made repeated efforts to get himself set at liberty; holding out the promise that if he were released he would lead another expedition to Guiana, where one of his captains knew the way to a gold-mine of unexampled richness. In 1616 Raleigh was set at liberty, to prepare his expedition. Nothing was more certain than that, if he went, there would be a collision with the Spaniards of the Spanish Main. Raleigh was ready to make any promises, since he knew and the King knew and Gondomar knew that there was no possibility of their being kept. He counted on the old Elizabethan story being repeated. He would break the peace, of course; but the wealth he would bring home would secure his own pardon; and England would win an advance post in South America, of great strategic value in the rivalry with Spain. If Raleigh had not been desperate, he would have seen that he was simply sailing into a trap. Such crews as he could get together were not of the material for emulating Drake's exploits, and in addition Gondomar had full information of everything that was going on—why not? For no harm was intended to Spain, and if any were done, Raleigh was to answer for it with his head. He did. The expedition was a disastrous failure. Raleigh's son was killed; he himself came home to meet certain doom. He was executed, under the old sentence of 1603. Spain was more than satisfied by the sacrifice of her most determined foe (1618).

Raleigh's Guiana Expedition, 1617—8.

But in this year, while James, with the Spanish marriage in view, was truckling to Gondomar, the terrible Thirty Years' War was beginning on the Continent. Bohemia lay on the eastern border of the Palatinate; the Emperor Matthias, head of the Habsburgs, was its king. The prevailing religion was Protestantism. The Bohemians claimed that their crown was elective. They were suddenly informed that it was

Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

not elective but hereditary, and that the heir was Ferdinand of Styria, a zealous Catholic, the cousin of Matthias. At the moment, they were surprised into accepting him; but immediately afterwards were in revolt. Early in 1619 Matthias died; and Ferdinand—now claiming to be King of Bohemia which rejected him—was soon after chosen Emperor. The Bohemians elected as their king Frederick, the Elector Palatine, the son-in-law of James; who tried to make good his title by force of arms. In 1620, while a Spanish army marched up the Rhine and occupied the western Palatinate, on behalf of Ferdinand, the Elector joined the Bohemians, but met with a disastrous and crushing defeat at the White Mountain, near Prague.

So the King of England's son-in-law, who was also the head of the Protestant interest in Germany, was being threatened on the east of his dominions by the Austrian, while the Spaniard was already in possession of the western half. What were Frederick's Protestant father-in-law, and Protestant England, to do in the circumstances?

§ 4. *The Ascendency of Buckingham* (1), 1621—1625.

The King's attitude, 1621.

The prospect of the Palatinate being invaded had already induced James to allow a regiment of English volunteers to proceed to his son-in-law's dominions. But he felt that the Count Palatine had in fact no business in Bohemia. His own attitude was the strictly correct one, of desiring to negotiate a peace between the contending princes, and to avoid war himself. On the other hand, the German Protestants were half of them standing aside, afraid to join in without English support; and there was every chance of the Palatinate being irrevocably lost, unless James struck in at once, and with vigour. That was a course the English people were quite disposed to take, when James called a new Parliament which met at the beginning of 1621. The King's primary object was to withdraw Spain from the struggle, without himself plunging precipitately into the war. To that end, he proposed to press forward the Spanish marriage.

Parliament, 1621.

Parliament, called on to grant supplies without having a definite war-programme placed before it, voted only two subsidies; that is £140,000. Then it turned its attention to other matters. Under the rule of favourites, corruption of every sort was prevalent. The trade theories of the time recognised some advantages in the granting of "monopolies" to individuals or companies—that is, the exclusive right of selling particular classes of goods. Such monopolies had been granted by the old

Monopolies.

Queen to Essex, Raleigh, and various other persons. Even then, they were felt as so serious a grievance by legitimate traders that Elizabeth's last Parliament, in 1601, had made a violent attack on the system; and she had displayed her tact very signally by the grace with which she promised to meet the wishes of the Commons. Under James however the evil had increased greatly, and Buckingham not only appropriated monopolies himself but practically sold these privileges right and left. The Commons now turned on the system so fiercely, that Buckingham thought it well to surrender his own monopolies and encourage the King to abolish them altogether.

Bacon impeached, 1621.

There was more, however, behind. Place and power were generally obtained by buying Buckingham's good word, and the place-men were as ready to receive as to give bribes. One man was thrust forward as the butt of popular indignation—the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, Viscount St Alban—whom the world has conspired to call "Lord Bacon," which was never his title. The attack took the form of an Impeachment; that is, the Commons indicted him before the House of Lords—a method of procedure which had not been employed since 1450, but was to play a considerable part during the next two hundred years. Bacon was condemned, fined, and dismissed. He had been guilty of receiving—in accordance with the common practice—presents from suitors in his Court; a thoroughly bad custom which received its death-blow. Bacon had probably never permitted his actual judgments to be influenced by such customary gifts.

King and Parliament, 1621—2.

After a strong expression of readiness to support the Elector Frederick, the Houses were adjourned in summer; but the progress of the Catholic arms made the King summon them again in haste, to vote supplies for subsidising the Protestants. The Commons voted the supplies; and added a demand for breaking off the Spanish negotiations, enforcing the penal laws against Catholics at home, and espousing the Protestant cause boldly abroad. James replied that these high matters were none of their business; they responded by asserting their right to discuss whatever they chose. The King with his own hand tore the record of their protest out of the journals of the House, and immediately afterwards (Jan., 1622) dissolved the Parliament.

The wooing of the Infanta, 1623.

Things continued to go ill in the Palatinate: the King continued to try to curry favour with Spain and secure the Spanish marriage. Buckingham and Gondomar contrived a sort of comic opera device, by which, at the beginning of 1623, the Prince of Wales and the favourite went off together,

in a promptly penetrated disguise, to ride through France to Madrid; where Charles was to press his suit to the Infanta in person, and the authorities were to be persuaded to hand over the Palatinate as the bride's dower. King James in England was in terror lest the person of his son should be in danger. King Philip at Madrid was in difficulties; since he only meant to allow the marriage, if every concession he demanded was made to the English Catholics, and a pledge given that the children of the marriage should be brought up as Catholics. The Infanta took fright at the idea of marrying a heretic; Charles shocked the grandees by his ignorance of Spanish etiquette; Buckingham gave universal offence by his insolence. Still, the promise of one concession after another was extracted from the Prince of Wales, the reports of which alarmed King James and enraged the public. However, the Spaniards insisted that the promised concessions must be given effect before, not after, the marriage; and before the end of the year Charles and Buckingham returned to England, the one disgusted with the whole affair, the other in a rage against everything Spanish, and both thoroughly determined to urge war instead of alliance.

Buckingham and Parliament, 1624.

Parliament was again summoned, meeting in February, 1624. Buckingham, now and for some years to come the real ruler of England, was as hot against Spain as he had before been for the alliance, and found himself in the unwonted position of being on the popular side. War supplies were voted; but it was understood that this was probably only an instalment, and that the Houses would be summoned again, to be consulted as to the course which should be followed, and to be asked for further grants. The Duke's new proposal was that Charles should marry Henrietta Maria, the sister of the French King—since the French King was very deeply interested in checking the advance of the allied Habsburg monarchies. Parliament acquiesced in the plan with extreme reluctance, and only on condition that no concessions should be made to the English Catholics as part of the contract. It was suspicious of any Catholic marriage. The promise was given, and Parliament was prorogued—after another impeachment, that of the Lord Treasurer, Middlesex, who was opposed to the war. The French negotiations were opened; but the fears of the Commons were justified—a condition was made, of concessions to the English Catholics. Buckingham, James, and Charles, broke their word for the sake of the French alliance; the conditions were accepted, and the marriage treaty was signed. Buckingham did not dare to face

The French Marriage Treaty.

Parliament and ask for supplies after this breach of faith. Without raising the funds needed, he managed to dispatch a sort of army of twelve thousand men to join the Protestant commander Mansfeld, with no commissariat and no money. Half frozen and half starved, they promptly fell easy victims to disease, and very soon three-fourths of them were dead or dying.

Disastrous Expedition.

It was a disastrous beginning to the war, and a disastrous end to the reign. In March, 1625, James I. died. His passing was of no moment, for Buckingham had superseded him—and Buckingham remained: master of the son, as he had been master of the father.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHARLES I. KING AND COMMONS: 1625—1629.

§ 1. *The rule of Buckingham, and the Petition of Right*, 1625—1628.

CHARLES I. became King of England in March, 1625. In May the wedding with Henrietta Maria was celebrated by proxy in Paris: in June she arrived in England, and the first Parliament of the new reign was assembled.

A suspicious Parliament, 1625.

The members had expected to be summoned months earlier, for a winter session, to provide funds for a naval war against Spain. That was the prevalent idea, since they still looked on Spain, not Austria, as the real enemy of Protestantism. They had not been summoned; but, without consulting them, Buckingham had sent his disastrous expedition to take part in the war by land, in the Palatinate. Moreover, the King had married his Catholic bride; and the Puritan country gentlemen, of whom the House of Commons was mainly composed, suspected that a liberty which they regarded as most dangerous was about to be granted to the Catholics. Therefore they met in a mood of intense mistrust, satisfied only of one thing—that they would not vote large sums of money for any purpose at all, if Buckingham was to have the handling thereof.

In the previous summer, Charles had promised the Parliament to make no concessions in favour of the Catholics; he had then broken that promise by making engagements to the French King Louis XIII. in the contrary sense. Now he intended to break these engagements and keep his earlier promise to Parliament after all. But when he asked for money to carry on the war in the Palatinate —which he looked on more as a family duty to his sister and brother-in-law than as an obligation to Protestantism—the Commons would only grant £140,000, because of Buckingham. In effect, the removal of the Duke was to be the condition of further supplies. Charles, refusing to acknowledge the

Parliament dissolved.

right of Parliament to dictate to him the dismissal of ministers, dissolved it.

The Cadiz fiasco.

Then, with the money in hand, a fleet was sent off to Cadiz, by way of carrying out the popular idea of making the war a naval one with Spain. While this expedition was absent, Buckingham went to Holland to arrange for a Protestant League; and promised large subsidies to the King of Denmark, to encourage him in taking the lead. But the Cadiz expedition was a melancholy fiasco. Unwilling captains, with crews collected by press-gangs, were not the kind of men to emulate the exploits of Drake and Raleigh and the Elizabethan seamen. Afloat the men would not fight, and ashore they got drunk. Their ignominious return to England made the country more thoroughly convinced even than before of Buckingham's incompetence.

Second Parliament, 1626; Grievances.

The disastrous effect of attempting to carry on an energetic bellicose foreign policy, without ample grants of money from Parliament, had been made very evident. Again the Houses were summoned to meet in February, 1626. In the hope of weakening the Opposition, the King made its former leaders in the Commons—Coke, Wentworth, Phelips and others—sheriffs; which prevented them from taking their seats as members. Their place was taken by Sir John Eliot; the stratagem was a failure. The House proceeded to draw up a list of grievances. The King demanded supplies; the House replied by presenting its list. Charles responded with vague threats of what would happen if they did not vote the money he wanted. They retorted by impeaching Buckingham. To save the favourite, Parliament was dissolved (June). For nearly two years—till March, 1628—Buckingham tried to conduct his wars without help from Parliament, scraping together any money that could be raised, by any methods which the judges were likely to recognise as legal—that is, permissible under the letter of the existing law.

The situation on the Continent, 1626.

Now there was a single reason for pursuing a warlike policy. The armies of the Catholic German Princes were overwhelming the armies of the Protestant German Princes; and the Catholics were being helped by the Spaniards, from the Spanish Netherlands, who were once more at war with the Protestant Netherlands or United Provinces: while France, though a Catholic Power, was deeply interested in checking the advance of the two great Habsburg Houses, that is, the Imperial or Austrian House, and the Spanish House. The situation was in many respects like that of Elizabeth's time, only the Catholic German States on one side, and the Protestant German States on

the other, were added to the actual belligerents. A Burghley, conducting policy under Charles I., would have desired as nearly as possible to follow the Elizabethan plan. England would have kept the Continental Protestants afloat with subsidies and volunteer troops; while crippling the Catholic Power by waging war on her fleets, her commerce, and her colonies. On the one hand, he would not have felt called upon to involve England in very great risks for the rescue of the Palatinate; on the other, he would have regarded it as of first-rate importance to preserve at least friendly relations with France. Now, however, there was no one with a clear-sighted view in control. The alternatives to the policy suggested were, either a thorough-going participation in the land war in Germany, or complete neutrality. Parliament wanted the naval war; but a naval war needed organisers of the Drake and Hawkins type. The King's eyes were fixed on the Palatinate, but the country had not learned to regard the advance of the Empire as a menace to itself. Buckingham merely desired to enjoy posing as a triumphant warrior; caring nothing about Protestantism, and moved, in selecting the objects of his hostility, principally by a sense of personal affront. As he had before turned upon Spain, so now he turned upon France, and quarrelled with her at the precise moment when—if a spirited foreign policy was to be of any use at all—her alliance was of first-rate importance.

English Policy.

Buckingham's policy of war at any price was a mere episode in the struggle then going on, which was to change the face of Europe. His ignominious performances hardly affected the course of events; and, after 1628, the contest went on for twenty years without armed intervention, or even the exercise of serious diplomatic influence, on the part of England. But his policy, and his conduct of it, forced forward the great questions on which the Constitutional struggle at home was to turn: which were primarily, the right of the King to obtain money from his subjects without an appeal to Parliament, the right of Parliament to demand the dismissal of ministers whom it distrusted, the King's power of imprisonment, and the Parliament's right of protest.

Buckingham.

Any war policy demands heavy expenditure; the dissolution of Parliament in June, 1626, made it necessary to raise money. The old-time Benevolences had meant compulsory presents to the King. The law had abolished them. James had tried a modification—the presents were not to be compulsory, they were merely expressions of goodwill: but being voluntary, they were also meagre and inadequate. Charles now tried not compulsory presents but a forced loan, for the purpose of subsidising the Protestants.

A forced loan.

When the money was collected, it was diverted to another object. Louis XIII. had agreed to the marriage of his sister and King Charles, in the expectation of advancing at least the toleration of Catholicism in England; but his hopes had been disappointed. On the other hand his own Protestant subjects were turbulent, and Charles thought fit to take their part. Buckingham quarrelled with the French King and the French Court, just as in 1623 he had quarrelled with the Spanish King and Court. Instead of making mutual concessions, for the purpose of a combined move against the Habsburg combination, England and France went to war. The money raised was absorbed in sending a fleet and army under Buckingham in July, 1627, to relieve the Protestants in La Rochelle by capturing the Island of Rhé. As usual, the expedition was completely mismanaged, and proved a disastrous failure. More than half the English force perished, and the rest came home sick, starving, and savage over their misfortunes.

The Rochelle Expedition, 1627.

The forced loan had actually provided the money which had thus been wasted; but it had not met the King's necessities. The Chief Justice, Crewe, declared it to be illegal, and was removed in consequence. Rich men refused to pay it, and were sent to prison; poor men did likewise and were sent to man the fleet.

Therefore for the third time Charles summoned a Parliament, in March, 1628. In the interval, besides the forced loan and other questionable expedients for raising money, levies of soldiers, raised nominally to resist invasion, had been billeted on the population, especially on people who resisted the forced loan. When disputes arose between this soldiery and civilians, the cases had been dealt with under martial law. When some of the gentlemen who were imprisoned, for refusing the forced loan, applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*—that is, a writ requiring the person of the prisoner to be produced for trial and the ground of his imprisonment to be stated—it was argued that the warrant of the King in Council was sufficient to justify detention without trial, no actual charge being formulated: and the gentlemen had been kept in prison. The fact that they were released just before Parliament met mollified no one. The House of Commons, with Eliot, Wentworth, and Coke to lead it, laid all these innovations at Buckingham's door. The King's demand for supply was met by the presentation of the Petition of Right. The Rights asserted were four—being the reversal of the grievances noted above: (1) No loan, benevolence, or tax to be enforced except by consent of Parliament: (2) No one to be

Third Parliament, 1628; Grievances.

The Petition of Right.

imprisoned without having the cause of imprisonment expressly stated: (3) No soldiers or mariners to be billeted on the King's subjects: (4) No Martial Law in time of peace. The Petition was presented in the form of an Act of Parliament, to receive the Royal assent. Instead of adopting the usual form of assent the King employed an evasive one. The Commons insisted, amid scenes of great excitement, on the recognised form. The King yielded, and the Petition of Right became law. The House thought the victory was won, and readily voted five subsidies—about £350,000.

Subsidies and Remonstrances.

But it went on to draw up three Remonstrances; one aimed directly at Buckingham, the other two at methods of taxation which, in its view, were in contravention of the Petition of Right. Before the Remonstrances could be presented the King prorogued Parliament, to reassemble in the January following.

Before that time came, Buckingham fell. A second expedition to La Rochelle, under Lord Denbigh, failed in its turn. The Duke was in full course of making preparations to take command of a third, in person, when a half-crazed fanatic hunted him out and slew him with a dagger thrust. The assassin, Felton, gloried in the deed, the doing of which he thought had been laid upon him for the liberation of England. The law hanged him, but half the populace applauded him. Charles, whose affection for the murdered man was perhaps the deepest attachment of his life, found in his friend's fate only a new reason for bitterness against the men who had set themselves against him.

Assassination of Buckingham.

§ 2. *The Breaking of Parliament*, 1628—1629.

The Petition of Right and its confirmation were not the end of a struggle: really, they were the beginning. The differences between kings and Parliaments during five-and-twenty years were to take the shape of a contest, to decide whether king or Parliament was to be the true supreme power in the State. The Tudors had ruled by a concert with their subjects; they went their own way, but they took care that the way they chose should be generally approved; with rare intervals, the work was done by administrators of the highest ability, and the things to which they put their hand were successful. Innovations on earlier practice were permitted, and even encouraged, by Parliaments which reposed confidence in their monarchs. The blunder of the Stuarts lay in attempting to treat the Tudor innovations as resting on accepted

Tudor and Stuart.

royal rights which, if logically extended, would enable the kings to do without Parliaments altogether, and to carry out a policy of which the nation entirely disapproved; while the administration, if the kings chose to place it in incompetent hands, would be entirely free from Parliamentary control. They claimed these rights as, in practice, the logical outcome of the precedents of a century, and as, in theory, powers inherent in princes by Divine ordinance.

The Commons and the Crown.

In the old days, when the king had been at odds with the nation, it was not the Commons but the barons who had taken upon themselves the burden of resistance; in the last resort they could take up arms and bring their retainers into the field. Now, the barons had lost their power; it was the Commons who took up the burden, and their appeal was to the power of the purse. They withheld supplies. For constitutional precedents, they returned to Plantagenet times; the Tudor precedents they treated, not as admissions of principle, but as concessions made for convenience, which might be recalled at convenience.

Thus, the popular policy and the able administration of the Tudors had produced the same practical effects as a compromise between the Parliamentary and the absolutist theories of government. It gave absolute power, with the sanction of national acquiescence. Whereas under the Stuarts, vagaries of policy joined to grossly incompetent administration forced the two theories of government into sharp antagonism. Compromise was only possible through mutual confidence, and mutual confidence was already dead. Either king or Commons must win the upper hand. Could absolute power establish itself without the sanction of acquiescence? Or should the national will override absolute power?

"High" Churchmen and Puritans.

The distrust which made compromise impossible was further embittered by an antagonism in religious matters. The failure, in Elizabeth's reign, of the attempt to shake the episcopal system of the Church, had been followed, early in the reign of James, by the failure to obtain relaxations as to forms and ceremonies. But the doctrinal views which may be roughly described as Calvinistic gained ground among both clergy and laity. On the other hand, a school of clergy grew up which rejected those stern doctrines, but insisted on a lofty view of the Divine authority at once of kings and priests—something quite different from the assumption by Scottish ministers of a prophetic authority which set them over kings. The new school was obnoxious to Parliament—which was imbued with Calvinism—on account both of its rejection of Calvinism and of its assertion of

monarchical principles. Of this new school, the chief representative was William Laud, who in 1628 was translated from the bishopric of Bath and Wells to that of London; while others, whose doctrines were formally censured by Parliament, were selected for preferment by the King.

Parliament reassembles, Jan. 1629; Grievances.

The prorogued Parliament met again in January, 1629, some five months after Buckingham's murder. Wentworth, in the interval, had permanently severed himself from Eliot's party, of which he had been a mainstay, transferred his support to the King, and been raised to the peerage. The leaders in the Commons were Eliot and John Pym. They turned at once to the two matters of crucial importance—innovations in religion, and infractions of the Petition of Right. On the religious question they practically assumed, what the House of Commons had never assumed before, that it lay with them to dictate to the clergy the sense in which the Thirty-nine Articles and the other formularies were to be interpreted.

Tonnage and Poundage.

The alleged breach of the Petition of Right lay in the levying of Tonnage and Poundage, coupled with the seizure of the goods of a merchant named Rolle, a member of the House, who had refused payment. It will be remembered that Tonnage and Poundage meant certain customs dues levied on goods at English ports, which Parliaments from the time of Henry VI. had regularly voted to the King, for life, in the first session of each new reign. The decision of the Judges with regard to the "Impositions" in the reign of James I. had affirmed the King's right to Tonnage and Poundage without any Parliamentary vote. The Commons challenged the validity of that judgment; and on the accession of Charles, the question not having been fought out, they formally voted the dues, but only for a year at a time. In 1628, the Houses had been prorogued before passing the vote. Nevertheless, the King, relying on the Judges' decision, levied Tonnage and Poundage as usual. The Commons declared that if the right had ever really existed, it had been surrendered by the clause in the Petition of Right against Taxation without consent of Parliament. The King's reply, probably sound in law, was that the phrasing of the Petition of Right did not cover customs duties. The point however being purely technical, he would waive the claim if they made him the grant for life. Had it been only the technical point which vexed the Commons, the compromise might have been quietly accepted. But by insisting on their interpretation of the Petition of Right, and only voting the dues for a year, they

were claiming to convert customs dues of all sorts into an annual grant—for which Parliament must be asked annually—instead of a standing claim which could be made whether Parliament sat or not. Whether they or Charles were technically in the right is matter of dispute; but obviously it was of great importance to each side to get its own view established as the law of the land. The companion question about Rolle's goods was one of Privilege, the Commons claiming that the goods of a Member were exempt from seizure.

Privilege.

Under Eliot's leadership, and against the judgment of Pym, this matter of Privilege was pressed in front of the other. On March 2, after an adjournment, during which Charles had tried to come to terms with some of the leaders, the House of Commons met: Finch, the Speaker, announced that he had orders to adjourn them again. They refused to adjourn: two members, Holles and Valentine, held the Speaker down in the chair. Another member locked the door. After a scene of uproar, Eliot rose to move three Resolutions: against innovations in Religion; against the levying of Tonnage and Poundage; against those who should submit to pay. The Speaker refused to put them to the House: Holles did so; they were passed with acclamations, even as the Guard were arriving to force the doors. Then the members streamed out. Eleven years were to pass before Parliament should meet again.

The three Resolutions.

Dissolution.

This episode has demanded a detailed narrative; because it shows clearly enough that neither King nor Parliament was simply asserting, against obvious innovation, an old and recognised right. Conditions had arisen, which really raised a new question, the answer to which would in effect decide for the future whether the King or the House of Commons was to have the last word in the government of the country. Was the King to be dependent on the good-will of the House for ordinary supplies, or only for exceptional demands? The King, backed by the Judges, made himself the arbiter in the dispute—for the time. The episode further illustrates the change which had taken place in the attitude both of Crown and of Parliament. In Tudor days, if the Privileges of Parliament and the Prerogative of the Crown came into collision, both parties sought to find a practical solution which would evade a quarrel. Now, the Commons, convinced that the King meant to use prerogative to their detriment, were determined to assert their privileges at any cost.

The Commons had won a definite victory, when the Petition of

Right was passed; but the Act afforded much less protection than they had anticipated. It was to be treated as leaving the power of levying customs duties, claimed as a Royal Prerogative, intact; and it did not secure the persons of the King's subjects from imprisonment as was supposed. This second point was brought into immediate prominence. The Petition touched nothing of the arbitrary powers of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, which could inflict penalties practically at their own discretion. A merchant named Chambers was heavily fined, thrown into prison, and kept there for some years, on account of his speaking contemptuously of the Privy Council. Eliot and others were indicted for riot and sedition on March 2, the day of the dissolution. They pleaded privilege; for any Parliamentary proceedings members were amenable to the jurisdiction of the House itself and of no one else. The Judges ruled that riot and sedition could not be Parliamentary proceedings, and that consequently the claim of privilege was invalid. The rest gave way, but Eliot stood fast. If his point were surrendered, there would be an end of free speech in the House; he would admit no other jurisdiction than that of the House. He was thrown into the Tower, where, after three years and a half, he died through the harshness of his confinement—a martyr to the cause of free speech.

Eliot imprisoned.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARLES I. THE ATTEMPT AT ABSOLUTISM: 1629—1642.

§ 1. *The King rules without Parliament*, 1629—1640.

In the policy on which Charles embarked, on the death of Buckingham, three ministers played important parts. The first and the least was Weston the Lord Treasurer; who on the one hand had to devise means of raising money without Parliament, and on the other to impress on the King the sheer impossibility of indulging in costly schemes of intervention in continental affairs. When the country had got accustomed to having enough money extracted from it to keep the King's treasury from becoming bankrupt in time of peace, it would be time enough to begin thinking of plans which needed more financial support.

Weston.

The second was Laud, soon to be advanced to the Archbishopric of Canterbury; a man entirely honest but narrow-minded and shallow—that is, without any sense of proportion, of the comparative importance of spiritual truths and external observances; to whom uniformity in the latter seemed a vital matter, not simply an affair of expediency as with the Elizabethans. To him, the Church of England was a branch of the Catholic Church, that is, of the Church Universal; but the Church Universal excluded all those bodies whose priesthood did not receive the Apostolic Succession by Episcopal ordination. This view implied a Divine authority in priests, and in bishops over priests, which was opposed to the whole Puritan conception of religion; and this anti-puritan conception Laud was zealous to impose on all men.

Laud.

The third minister was Thomas Wentworth, best known by a title which was not bestowed on him till 1640, that of Earl of Strafford. He took a leading part on the Parlia-

Went-worth.

mentary side in the House of Commons, and was one of the two or three most powerful advocates of the Petition of Right; but that Act was no sooner passed than he joined the other side, becoming from that moment beyond all comparison the ablest supporter of the scheme of Absolutism. The most intelligible explanation of his conduct is that he was convinced throughout that Absolute Monarchy combined with capable administration would be the strongest and best form of government, but that combined with Buckingham's administration it was bad. There were two alternatives to Buckingham—his own supremacy with the King, or Parliamentary supremacy. Cut off from the King by Buckingham's influence, he fought for the second, but grasped at the first the moment the opportunity occurred.

The War dropped.

Economy in expenditure, and the commercial prosperity which, by producing wealth generally, would enable the Treasury to be filled with comparative ease—these were Weston's primary objects; and to secure each, Peace was a necessity. Buckingham's war came to an end at once. The German Protestants were left, to be delivered by Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. The Huguenots were left, to the somewhat unexpected toleration of Cardinal Richelieu; who was now completely dominating French politics, and was in effect to raise France to the position of the leading Power in Europe. In return, French attempts to interfere in England on behalf of the Catholics came to an end. In the other field of his administration as Treasurer, that of devising means for raising money, Weston was ingenious, irritating, not violent, and fairly successful. Tonnage and Poundage and other customs dues were enforced; every excuse by which any one could be held liable for some obsolete feudal fine or fee was brought into play; monopolies were sold to any one who was ready to make a high enough bid. It was not till after Weston's death that the device of demanding Ship-money, due to the ingenuity of the Attorney General, Noy, took the form which aroused the resistance of John Hampden.

Money-raising.

Plantagenet and Tudor Princes had from time to time, when war was on hand, required the seaports to furnish vessels for the royal service. The right was quite undisputed. The lawyers now argued that if it was permissible to demand ships, it was permissible also to demand instead money for building them. The pretext was the necessity for strengthening the fleet. The demand, though unpopular, seemed reasonable; the money was paid, and the fleet was strengthened in 1634. But the next step was

Ship-money, 1634—5.

to argue that coast defence was as much a matter of importance to the country at large as to the seaports, and therefore the tax might be laid on the country at large; which was logical enough—but the thing had never been done before. John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire gentleman and a recognised leader in the last Parliament, refused in 1637 to pay the small sum claimed from him; on the ground that the exaction was illegal. Of the twelve judges, five supported Hampden, seven were for the King; and the Chief Justice, Finch, in giving judgment, openly affirmed that no Acts of Parliament could restrict the Royal right of taxation for defence of the kingdom. The sense that resistance was becoming a sheer necessity grew strong all over the country.

Hampden's opposition, 1637.

In the meantime, the Puritan grievance was steadily deepening. The Puritans in general were zealous to impose their own views on the Church and on the nation, but their objection to having the views of another school of religious thought imposed on themselves was still stronger. Laud's influence was already strong with the King, even before he became Bishop of London in 1628; it then took wider effect in the advancement of men who were in sympathy with his ideas; when he was advanced to the Primacy in 1633, it became a controlling force. Some years before, in the reign of King James, a little band of Puritans, determined to serve God after their own fashion, which was not that of the English Church, had been allowed to betake themselves to America; the "Pilgrim Fathers" who, in 1620, sailed on the *Mayflower*, were the founders of the New England Colonies. Like the southern colony of Virginia, they held their own. The extent to which the pressure of Laud's ecclesiastical policy was felt as a real and intolerable hardship is shown by the numbers of the men of substance in England who, from 1630 onwards, deliberately chose to leave their homes and exile themselves in America for their religion's sake.

The New England Colonies, 1620—30.

If Laud had set to work with tact and discretion, and had been content to rely on persuasion, he would at least have gained much sympathy from moderate-minded men; reform, in the sense of creating in the clergy a deeper sense of the spiritual character of their office, and in the laity a more reverent and less self-assertive attitude, was much to be desired. Unfortunately, as Archbishop, he sought to compel clergy and laity, with a high hand, to fall in with his own notions of seemliness. Demanding obedience, he enforced it by fines and deprivations,

Laud and his Courts.

asserting his Episcopal authority in Visitations throughout the Province of Canterbury, and by means of the Courts of High Commission and Star Chamber. Feeling was thus steadily embittered; especially as his enmity was directed against the Puritans, while his attitude to the Catholics caused him to be suspected, quite erroneously, of being himself a Romanist at heart. Hence, when a fanatical but honest Puritan named Prynne was placed in the pillory in 1633, for writing a preposterous book against stage-plays called *Histrio-mastix*, public opinion was hardly stirred; but within four years, when the same Prynne again incurred the same penalty along with two companions of the same type, the three were hailed as heroes and martyrs, and their march to the pillory was made a triumphal procession. It was not, however, Laud's policy in England so much as its extension to Scotland which was to bring a civil war appreciably nearer.

Prynne, 1633—7.

Whilst Charles was sedulously fostering public resentment by the methods he adopted for filling his treasury, and Laud was intensifying Puritan antagonism and at the same time driving moderate men into the opposing camp, Wentworth was vigorously applying despotic administrative powers in the North of England, and in Ireland. In the reign of Henry VIII., the government of the Border counties, which had always been under a special organisation, was re-organised and its area extended under the Council of the North. Wentworth's appointment as President of the Council of the North had followed close on his elevation to the peerage. Like the Star Chamber, the Council had almost unlimited freedom to override the Common Law and act on its own discretion, arbitrarily. Wentworth ruled without fear or favour, but with a rod of iron, and with utter disregard of popular sentiment. The scope of his energies was enlarged when, in 1633, the government of Ireland was placed in his hands. Here he acted on the same principles, imposing his will with equal rigidity on the native Irish, on the old Irish-English, and on the new Protestant English and Scots of the Pale and of the Ulster and other settlements. He brought in order, system, organisation; industries made unparalleled progress. His justice as between subject and subject, and his injustice as between subjects and Government, were even-handed. He held the country under such control as it had never known before; but all depended on the iron hand that wielded it. This was the system of uncompromising despotic rule to which Wentworth and Laud gave the name of "Thorough."

Wentworth in the North, 1630—3,

and in Ireland, 1633—9.

The Scots: "National League and Covenant," 1637—8.

In 1637, Wentworth was absolute master in Ireland, the Judges gave their decision on the question of Ship-money, and Prynne was pilloried. In 1637, Jeannie Geddes, according to popular tradition, threw her stool at the head of the Dean, at St Giles's in Edinburgh. The story no doubt is mythical; but it expressed picturesquely the fact that Scotland rose up against the attempt to impose on her conformity with Laud's ecclesiastical ideas. The constitution of the Scottish Church, as King James had succeeded in leaving it, was a compromise between Presbyterianism and the Episcopal system. Through the Bishops, Charles attempted to force upon it Anglican doctrines and practices which the great majority of the Scots regarded as papistical. In 1637 he ordered a new service-book, designed by Laud, to be adopted; and its first introduction, which was attempted in Edinburgh, immediately roused violent opposition. In February, 1638, clergy, nobles, gentry, burghers, the whole community, were hastening to sign the National League and Covenant for the defence of religion. Charles felt that he must parley with his adversaries, and he allowed the summoning of a General Assembly—that is, a mixed body of clergy and laymen which had held the chief control in the Scottish Church—in the autumn. The King was represented therein by his commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton. The Assembly proceeded to claim jurisdiction over the bishops. The bishops denied the jurisdiction; Hamilton supported them, and dissolved the Assembly. The Assembly paid no attention, and proceeded to restore the Presbyterian model, freed from bishops altogether.

The Bishops' War, 1639.

Charles threatened coercion—that is, war. That needed an English army; but the sympathies of most of his English subjects were with the Scots. The Scots themselves, on the other hand, were unanimous; they had among them some thousands of veterans, who had seen much service as volunteers in the great school of war under Gustavus Adolphus in Germany; one of whom was Alexander Leslie, a commander of high repute. Moreover, they had been at pains to make it known in England that they had no hostile intent to her, but were taking arms only to resist unconstitutional oppression. In June, 1639, Leslie with his army was at Dunse Law near Berwick; facing Charles with an English army which had no inclination to battle. Again the King held parley, made promises, and retired to concert military measures with Wentworth, who now hastened over from Ireland.

Misled as to the feeling of the country, Strafford—as he now became—advised the calling of a Parliament. Parliament, meeting in spring (1640), showed no inclination to support the King's Scottish policy. Instead, it began at once to talk of grievances. It was promptly dissolved; having lasted only three weeks, it is known as the Short Parliament. Every questionable device was called into play to raise the funds required; but it was with very inadequate forces that Strafford and his master again marched north.

Fourth ("Short") Parliament, 1640.

The Scots entered England, routing a feeble attempt to check them at Newburn. They came not as invaders, but as friends to the English people. Once more the King held parley, made promises, and left the Scots in occupation of Newcastle and Durham, as pledges of an indemnity and of their maintenance till the indemnity should be paid. For the time at least the game was lost to him, when he tried the desperate expedient of once more summoning Parliament. On November 3, 1640, the Long Parliament assembled.

The Scots in England.

§ 2. *The Struggle with the Long Parliament*, 1640—1642.

Two men led the Parliament: John Hampden and John Pym. Hampden was the hero of his party in the country generally; Pym was its organising head at Westminster. They knew that if the King dissolved Parliament before the grant was obtained for satisfying the Scots, the Scots army would march on London, meeting not opposition but welcome. Therefore there was no fear of a dissolution. They saw at the King's right hand one man who had shown the capacity for wielding despotic power, who meant to make the King's power despotic, who was himself the apostate leader of the cause of liberty. The utter destruction of Strafford was in their eyes the first indispensable step. A week after the Houses met, the Commons impeached Strafford of high treason. The trial did not open till the following March; meantime the Earl was a prisoner in the Tower, whither Laud soon followed him. Finch and others who had been instruments of the new absolutism fled over sea. But when the trial began it soon became clear enough that, whatever the great Earl had done, there was nothing which could be construed as treason against the King's person. Pym had to argue that whatever was done to the injury of the State was to the injury of the King, and therefore treason. When he and Hampden realised that the

The Long Parliament, 1640.

Strafford impeached.

impeachment was certain to end in Strafford's acquittal, they gave way to pressure, and brought before the House a Bill of Attainder, condemning Strafford to death as a public enemy. An impeachment is a legal process by which the highest Court of the realm pronounces judgment according to the law of the realm. An Act of Attainder is a legislative action, a pronouncement of the whole State, that the person attainted shall be put to death or otherwise penalised, for the protection of the State; it is unnecessary to prove that he has broken any particular law. Like any other Act, it takes effect only when King, Lords, and Commons have all given their assent. The Commons passed the Bill. The Lords might have hesitated; the report that the King's army from the North would release Strafford by force turned the scale. The Lords passed the Bill. Would the King stand firm, and refuse to condemn his servant for devotion to his cause? If he did, Strafford's destruction could not by any conceivable means be legally accomplished; but the nation might rise and sweep away Charles and Strafford together. If he did not——

Strafford's Attainder, 1641.

He did not. He pleaded, entreated, implored for anything short of the death penalty. The chiefs of the Commons were grim and inexorable. Outside Whitehall the populace seethed, clamouring, with one stormy voice, for the minister's death. The King yielded. The Act of Attainder was passed. Three days later, on May 12, 1641, Strafford's head was struck off. Laud was reserved, harmless and helpless, to be executed out of pure vindictiveness nearly four years later.

Strafford executed.

Between Strafford's death and the month of August, the edifice of absolutism, which Charles had been painfully rearing from 1629 to 1640, was being steadily pulled down. Bill after bill received the helpless King's assent. The Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission and the Council of the North were abolished. The claims to ship-money, tonnage and poundage, and customs duties were surrendered. Already, while Strafford was in the Tower, an Act had been passed authorising the meeting of Parliament—whether summoned by the King or not—at least once in three years. Another now secured the sitting Parliament from being dissolved except by its own consent. Nothing less than all this could have secured the Commons against the resumption of arbitrary methods. But in their eyes even all this was not sufficient. The insidious power of the Bishops would still be used to smother Puritan doctrine. A bill was brought in to remove them from the House of Lords and exclude them

Bills in restraint of the Crown

and of Episcopacy.

from the Privy Council. But the House of Commons did not by themselves constitute Parliament; the House of Lords rejected the bill. The House of Commons, supported by the Presbyterian sentiment of the City of London, responded by bringing in the "Root and Branch Bill" for the total abolition of Episcopacy. Even in the Commons this aroused strong opposition; the House, hitherto almost unanimous, ceased to be so. A moderate party rapidly grew up, headed by Lord Falkland and Edward Hyde, which was soon to find itself ranged on the King's side.

The Dutch Marriage.

A general idea prevailed, which is proved by documentary evidence to have been true, that Charles and his wife Henrietta Maria were intriguing for armed assistance from abroad to overthrow the arrangements with Parliament. In this summer Mary, the eldest Princess, was married to William of Orange (of which marriage our King William III. was to be the offspring), the Stadtholder or Protector of the United Provinces; whereby the Dutch sympathies were enlisted on behalf of the English Royal Family.

Scotland: "the Incident."

The events which brought matters to a head took place not in England but in Scotland and Ireland. The Scots were paid in August, and their army was disbanded. The King himself went to that country. There, too, the unanimity of the previous years was disappearing. The domination of Argyle was resented by Montrose and others; there were dissensions. While Charles was in Scotland a plot against Argyle was discovered; Montrose was generally believed to be implicated, and the King was suspected. The result of this episode, which is generally referred to as "the Incident," was to strengthen Argyle, while the reports which reached England strengthened the distrust of Charles.

Irish Insurrection.

On the top of these suspicions came news of a tremendous insurrection in Ireland. The strong hand of Strafford being gone, the native population of the North rose on the English and Scottish colonists; there were fierce massacres, in which perhaps 5000 people were slain, and popular rumour multiplied the numbers ten and twenty-fold. A wild conviction spread abroad that it was a huge Catholic plot, like the massacre of St Bartholomew, fostered by the King's Catholic wife. England cried aloud for vengeance, as two hundred years later she cried for vengeance on the Sepoy mutineers; but—vengeance needed an army. If that army were under the King's control, no one doubted that it would be turned to crush the Parliament. If it were under the control of Parliament, the King might as well abdicate.

Parliament, demanding control, must justify its demand in the eyes of the world. The Commons drew up a Grand Remonstrance, which in fact was a long indictment of the doings of Charles I. The debate was stormy; but for the cool, controlling force of Hampden, the members would have been fighting on the floor of the House. The Remonstrance was carried at last by only eleven votes (Nov. 20). Hampden succeeded in postponing the discussion of a proposal that it should be printed and published for all to read.

The Grand Remonstrance.

The Remonstrance decided most of the moderates; it implied, amongst other things, the determination of the Commons to press their attack on Episcopacy. Charles, arriving from Scotland, found much popular sentiment swaying in the balance, ready to lean to his side. He drove it to the other side by withdrawing the Guards from Parliament and placing a swashbuckling ruffian, Lunsford, in command of the Tower. The Commons printed and issued the Grand Remonstrance. On January 3, 1642, Charles sent a message that "on the word of a king" they should be protected from violence. On the same day he ordered the impeachment and arrest of five members—Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazelrig, and Strode—for treason, in having held communication with the Scots army. The members were not arrested: the next day Charles came down in person with a large troop of soldiers to seize them. He entered the House, walked up to the chair of the Speaker, Lenthall, looked round, and asked him if the five were present. Lenthall, kneeling, declared that he could neither see nor speak anything but as the House directed him. The King saw that in his own phrase "the birds were flown." He left the House with a half-threat. The five members had taken refuge in the City, and the City refused to surrender them. Charles had tried to win by a *coup d'état*—and the stroke had missed.

The Five Members, 1642 (Jan.).

The King left London; Parliament continued in session. Both sides kept up for some months fruitless efforts at negotiation—fruitless, because each was fully convinced of the insincerity of the other. Charles sent his Queen with the Crown jewels to Holland, to the Stadtholder, whose son was married to their daughter, to convert them into war-material. He naturally repudiated a demand that the Houses should control the Militia; the Houses responded to his refusal by a resolution claiming the right. Both sides were busy proclaiming themselves the champions of the Constitution and of the Law, against innovations. Both were preparing for an armed conflict. The simple fact was that

Parleys and Preparations.

the old Tudor absolutism by consent was dead; it had to give place either to pure despotism or to Parliamentary domination. Neither was possible without innovations. Each side regarded the innovations it claimed as being only measures in defence of the Constitution. Those who feared most the tyranny of Parliament went with the King. Those who feared most the tyranny of the King went with the Parliament. Hull refused to open its gates to Charles. The Parliament raised troops in conformity with their Militia Resolution, and appointed the Earl of Essex general. Charles issued "commissions of array," and appointed Lord Lindsey general. On August 22, 1642, he unfurled his standard at Nottingham. It was the Declaration of the Great Civil War.

War, Aug.

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ENGLAND AND THE SCOTTISH LOWLANDS

in the time of Tudors and Stuarts

CHAPTER XXV.

CHARLES I. THE GREAT CIVIL WAR: 1642—1649.

§ 1. *In the Balance*, 1642—1644.

Cavaliers and Roundheads.

The country was not split into two geographical halves, one for the King and the other for the Parliament. Every section of society, from the peers down, gave adherents to both sides; every county had some of the gentry on one side, some on the other. But, adopting as convenient titles the two nicknames which now came into vogue, it may be said that the strength of the Cavaliers lay in the north and the west, that of the Roundheads in the east and the south, while Devon and Cornwall, fairly evenly balanced at the outset, very early fell to the Cavaliers. As to the division of classes, the great majority of peers and gentry, as well as of the towns, had been opposed to the King in the contest, down to 1641; till that date, a general belief prevailed that a compromise which would prevent the Crown from wielding excessive powers was attainable. Men like Falkland and Hyde, who were attached to the Church but still desired the Prerogative to be limited, worked along with Pym and Hampden. The bulk of the Commons however felt that the King would never rest with such a compromise, and were determined to assert the supremacy of Parliament and with it the supremacy of Puritanism. Hence those who hoped with Falkland and Hyde found themselves compelled to look to association with the King, and to influence in his counsels, as the only way in which the desired compromise could be brought about. Thus this large section, who may be called constitutionalists, threw their weight on the Royalist or Cavalier side: and these comprised a majority of the peers, and of the gentry of the north and west, as well as a goodly proportion of the gentry of the east and south. One fact however

Composition of Parties.

was invaluable to the Parliament. From Hull to Dover, and from Dover to Plymouth, every sea-port was in their hands, as well as Bristol, and the whole of the navy. Thus Charles was practically cut off from efficient communication with the continent; the sea was a high-way which the Roundheads could use and the Cavaliers could not, and the Parliament, not the King, levied the customs duties. It is also to be remarked that, on taking the field, the Parliamentary troops consisted mainly of foot, city train-bands and militia; while those of Charles were largely cavalry, the personal following of landowners by whom they were mounted.

The sea.

Charles gathered his adherents at Nottingham; Essex, the Parliament's General, collected his troops at Northampton. The King moved westward to Shrewsbury, where he was in a much better position to form an effective army. Essex, though in much greater force, did not attack, but only moved to Worcester; diminishing his forces by distributing garrisons, while the Royalist ranks were increasing. With Charles was his General, Lord Lindsey, and also, in command of the cavalry, a more influential adviser, Prince Rupert of the Palatinate, the King's nephew. As soon as he felt strong enough, Charles resolved to make a bold stroke, and march on London. Essex moved eastwards to intercept him, and the armies came in touch at Edgehill. On October 23, 1642, the first pitched battle of the war was fought. The Royalists, much better furnished with cavalry, broke each wing of the Roundhead army, but swept on in headlong pursuit, and in search of plunder. Essex's foot in the centre held their own against the Royalist infantry; two regiments of horse, which had not been shattered by Rupert and Wilmot, came to their aid, charging the Royalist flank. Rupert returned in time only to save the day, not to turn the drawn battle into a victory. But, for practical purposes, it was a victory; since Essex drew off to Worcester, and allowed the King to continue his march to Oxford, where he established his permanent head-quarters. Meanwhile Essex was allowed to pass and again stand in the way between Oxford and London. The Londoners poured out to reinforce him. On November 12, Rupert fell on their advanced post at Brentford, but the main force at Turnham Green was too strong to be attacked. The Royalists retired on Oxford.

Edgehill, Oct. 1642.

Oxford remained the King's base, London that of Essex. Through the spring and summer of 1643, Essex stood wholly on the defensive. Rupert made cavalry excursions from Oxford, but very little came of the operations of these two main armies, except the death of Hampden in a skirmish at Chalgrove

1643.

Field. The important operations were in the north and south-west.

Royalist successes in the North and South-west.

In the north an Association of the Northern Counties was formed in the royal interest; which, under the command of Newcastle, gradually mastered Yorkshire; leaving the Roundheads little except Hull, which, being placed in charge of Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas, remained impregnable, owing to the Parliamentarian command of the sea. In Devon, Sir Ralph Hopton, for the King, won that district, and advancing eastwards defeated Waller at Lansdown. Waller followed him, and Hopton should have been caught between Waller and Essex at Devizes; but Essex had not advanced; and he was relieved by a cavalry column from Oxford, which routed Waller at Roundway Down (July). A few days later, Bristol surrendered to Prince Rupert; so that in the whole west country, from north to south, Gloucester and the ports on the south coast alone remained in the hands of the Roundheads.

A check in autumn.

The King's plan now was to make a concerted movement on London: Newcastle descending through the eastern counties, Hopton advancing along the south to Kent, while he himself occupied the attention of Essex. But Newcastle was afraid to leave Hull, and Hopton to leave Plymouth, as a base for the Roundheads to act from on the rear. Instead of carrying out the proposed plan, Charles turned on Gloucester. Gloucester held out, and Essex advanced from the Thames valley to relieve it. This he was allowed to accomplish successfully. On his return towards London, the Cavalier army intercepted him at Newbury: but with great difficulty he cut his way through; the raw London apprentices, of whom his troops were largely composed, showing surprising valour and discipline, and beating off the charges of the Royalist horse. Either the fall of Gloucester or a rout at Newbury might have been decisive; as it was, the King's arms received a check.

The Eastern Counties.

If Charles's original plan had taken effect, Newcastle would have found a difficult task; for he would not only have had Hull and the Fairfaxes on his rear, but he would have been invading the counties where resistance would have been fiercest. A southward move was indeed actually made, but it was checked. For there Oliver Cromwell was organising the Roundhead Association of the Eastern Counties—on the same lines as Newcastle's own Cavalier Association of the Northern Counties; and before the end of the year he succeeded, in concert with the Fairfaxes, in raising the siege of Hull, after Winceby fight, and in considerably improving the Parliamentary position in those parts.

But we have to turn from the operations of captains to those of politicians.

The Solemn League and Covenant.

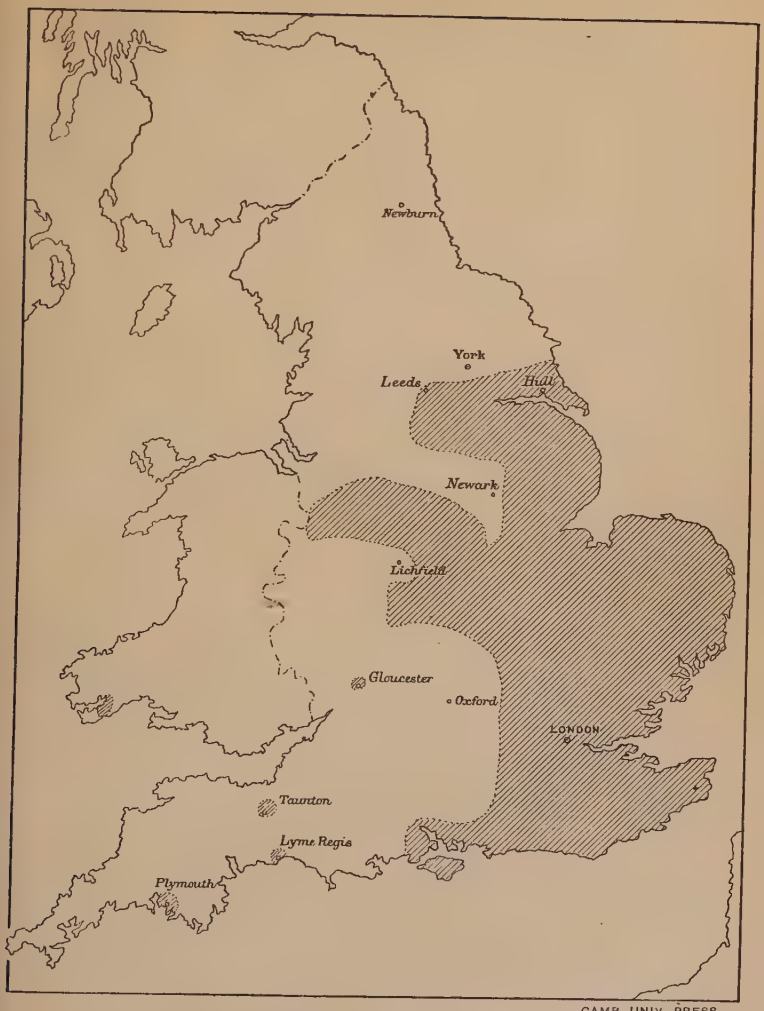
Purged of the Royalists who had joined the King's standard, the Parliament men who continued to sit at Westminster, in both Houses, were all Puritan, and mostly Presbyterian. With the war going so unfavourably, it would make an immense difference if the Scots could be brought to give armed support; but the price of that support would be an undertaking to establish the Presbyterian system in England. The last work of John Pym was to effect a treaty under which the Parliament and the army accepted the Solemn League and Covenant, engaging to maintain Presbyterianism in Scotland with a modifying phrase for England; the Scots were to cooperate in the war, and a committee of both kingdoms took the place of the English committee of safety which had hitherto officially controlled operations. In December, "King Pym" died.

1644. The Scots enter England.

The union with the Scots was one of the two great factors which turned the tide of war. Early in the next year (1644), old Lord Leven, the Alexander Leslie of 1640, led the Scots army over the Border; his lieutenant-general and cavalry commander was a remote kinsman, David Leslie, who also had learned the art of war under the great Gustavus. Newcastle could no longer play the aggressor: he was on the defensive, and in April threw himself into York, the Fairfaxes joining hands with the Scots. Then (since pressure in the south had been relieved, Waller having defeated Hopton at Cheriton), for the conquest of the north, the army of the Eastern Counties Association, which for the last twelvemonth Cromwell had been raising, drilling, and training, was allowed to march under the Earl of Manchester, with Cromwell as second in command, to join the forces before York. So strong a combination required to be dealt with energetically. Rupert, who had been detached from Oxford in the spring to operate in the Lancashire district, swept into the neighbouring county with a powerful force to relieve York; which he accomplished successfully, avoiding battle and out-manœuvring the besiegers. The Roundheads now began to retire; but Rupert, advancing from York, offered battle at Marston Moor.

Marston Moor, July.

The forces in the field were the largest that met in any battle of the war: Manchester, in command of the Parliament troops, having 27,000 men, while Rupert had 18,000 or more, including the pick of a cavalry which had not yet known what it meant to be routed. The Royalists had the better position.



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CAVALIERS v. ROUNDHEADS

before Marston Moor, 1644

Shaded districts ▨ in occupation by the Roundheads

MARSTON MOOR

	Horse	Foot
Royalists		
Parliamentarians		

As the armies faced each other, the Roundhead cavalry lay on the extreme left, commanded by Cromwell, with the pick of Rupert's regiments opposite, and on the extreme right under Sir Thomas Fairfax, with Goring opposite. David Leslie was with Cromwell's second line. The whole of the Parliament line advanced to the attack. Cromwell, supported by Leslie, after fierce fighting drove the opposing cavalry in rout. The foot, next to him, on the Roundhead left, turned the flank of their opponents and routed them also: but the centre was routed by the Cavaliers; Goring's horse routed those under Fairfax; and the right of the Roundhead infantry, including half the Scots, were isolated, with the victorious Royalist centre on one flank, and a detachment of the victorious Royalist horse charging on the other. They held their ground however so stoutly, that the horse and foot, having carried the day on the left, were able to come to the rescue and shatter the Royalists utterly; Newcastle's Border "Whitecoats" dying to a man rather than surrender to their traditional foes from Scotland. In effect, the battle of Marston Moor (July 2) transferred the whole of the north from the King to the Parliament.

Cromwell's Ironsides.

Marston Moor was not only a signal victory; it revealed for the first time the second factor which was to decide the war in favour of the Parliament. Cromwell's methods of enlistment and training had enabled him to place in the field a cavalry—his "Ironsides"—as irresistible as Rupert's own, and with the added capacity, which Rupert's lacked, of rallying and re-forming, at the word of command, in the full tide of victory: and they were led by a captain who knew, as Rupert did not, the moment when that word should be given. They had given a taste of their quality in the operations of the previous autumn; but it was at Marston Moor that they and their leader were put to the proof. Thenceforth Cromwell was stamped as the first cavalry chief of the day.

Royalist successes in the South.

The north was won: southward, affairs were going otherwise. In the spring, Charles with his main army had been weakened by detaching Rupert for his northern campaign, while Hopton had been checked by Waller in Hampshire. Essex and Waller should have seized the opportunity to press the King at Oxford. They advanced and drove him to Worcester; but Essex then left Waller to carry on this work, and himself led his army towards Devon to recover the south-west. In June, Charles turned on Waller, shattered him at Cropredy Bridge, and marched in pursuit of Essex; who was overwhelmed at Lost-

withiel in Cornwall in September, and only escaped himself by sea, his army being forced to capitulate. Manchester reluctantly brought down his victorious English troops from the north—where the Scots remained—to cut off the King on his way back to Oxford. But by mismanagement he failed to overwhelm Charles as he should have done at the second battle of Newbury (Oct. 27). The Royalist army escaped in the night; Manchester refused to press his advantage, and the King was enabled again to gather his scattered forces. Moreover, a month after Marston Moor, the Marquis of Montrose suddenly raised the Royal Standard in the Highlands of Scotland, and started, with the victory of Tippermuir, a series of blows at the Covenant government; flashing like lightning from district to district. His success gave promise of a Royalist revolution being effected in the northern kingdom. For the first time, the Roundheads had materially improved their position on the whole; but, at the end of the year's campaigning, their ultimate victory was still far from being assured.

Newbury (2nd battle), Oct.

Montrose.

§ 2. *The Victory of Parliament*, 1645—1648.

The resistance to the King was based partly on the constitutional objection to the Crown's claim to raise funds for its own ends by Prerogative without appeal to Parliament; partly on the religious objection to the enforcement of uniformity in accordance with Laud's ideas. From this position, Parliament had in effect advanced till it claimed for itself what the King had claimed for himself—the right to control policy, and to impose religious uniformity in accordance with Presbyterian ideas. As early as 1641, this had caused a cleavage, the Episcopal Parliamentarians going over to the King. Another cleavage was now imminent, since there was a great mass of Puritans who were opposed to the imposition of any compulsory uniformity whatever. Romanism they condemned, indeed, being inclined to the doctrine that the Pope is Anti-Christ. Prelacy they condemned, partly as tainted with Romanism, partly as a political system. Holding all manner of tenets of the most diverse description, the bulk of them —known variously as Congregationalists, Independents, Sectarians, or Separatists—maintained the right of every congregation to worship after its own fashion. In the eyes of Presbyterians, such liberty meant license, disorder, anarchy.

Presbyterians and Independents.

The Scottish alliance rested on Presbyterianism; Cromwell's army of the Association of the Eastern Counties was Independent. He had raised and officered his troops with a single eye to their enthusiasm on the one hand and their capacity for discipline on the other, and with total disregard of their orthodoxy. Respect for orthodoxy had hampered all the previous operations, by its interference with military efficiency. Cromwell was satisfied in his own mind that the Presbyterian commanders, such as Essex and his own chief Manchester, were too ready to believe that the King might be induced to substitute a Presbyterian for a Prelatical Church, to strike hard; the Presbyterians were unwilling that the settlement arrived at should be one that would concede to Independents the desired liberty of conscience. But military efficiency was, in any case, the primary necessity for bringing the war to a successful conclusion. In the winter, Cromwell in Parliament urged the need of reorganisation; of giving the commands not to persons of influence but to officers of tried ability; of insisting, in the subordinate ranks, on soldiership, not on orthodoxy. The result was the passing of the Self-denying Ordinance (1645), by which all members of either House were to lay down their commands, though there was nothing to prevent their being reappointed. Sir Thomas Fairfax was made general in place of Essex; recruiting and re-organisation of the "New Model" army were carried on on Cromwell's principles; and before long Fairfax and everyone else realised that Cromwell himself was indispensable. At last Fairfax, with Cromwell as his lieutenant-general, was able to force the critical struggle on the King; and the two armies met in the decisive struggle of Naseby on June 14th, 1645. On the left, Rupert's horse drove Ireton's off the field, but continued in their course of pursuit and plunder. On the right, Cromwell's "Ironsides" swept away the Royalist cavalry, but having done so swept back on the infantry who had all but broken the Roundhead line. Cromwell's action decided the day, and shattered the Cavalier army. From that time, the end was no longer in doubt; and the last chance of the Royalists disappeared when David Leslie surprised Montrose, who had with him only a handful of men, at Philiphaugh near the Border (Sept. 13), and the great Marquis became a fugitive. The last effective Cavalier force, under Goring in the south-west, was scattered at Langport a month after Naseby: all that remained to be done was the subjugation of isolated centres of resistance. A year after Naseby, the war was practically over.

The Self-denying Ordinance, 1645.

The "New Model."

Naseby, June 14th.

Philiphaugh, Sept.

Round-head divisions.

It was not long before Charles realised that, in the military point of view, his cause was lost; but he watched the dissensions of the victors with growing hope that diplomatic ingenuity would yet succeed in drawing one or other of the factions to his side. The Scots were dissatisfied at the power of the Independents, and jealous of their claiming the chief share in the victory at Marston Moor. Independency was altogether predominant in the New Model army, and that army could make itself master of the whole situation. Both the men whom it most loved and trusted, Fairfax and Cromwell, were conspicuously bent on moderation, conciliation, toleration. But the official Government was on the Presbyterian side, and Presbyterianism might prefer an agreement with the King to the domination of the Independent army. In

1646.

May, 1646, Charles suddenly betook himself to the Scots army in the north, surrendered himself to them, and set to work to play the different parties off against each other, while he negotiated with them all.

The King and the Scots.

In July, Parliament made its offer. Charles was to take the Covenant, Presbyterianism was to be established, Parliament was to have the control of the militia for twenty years. If he had accepted these terms, he would have combined the Scots and the Parliament in his favour; but he was absolutely resolved never to yield on the question of episcopacy—as a matter not of policy, but of religious conviction. While he temporised and intrigued, the Scots realised that he would never accept the Covenant—the one thing which would satisfy them. In effect, they informed the Parliament that they now regarded the King as a hostage. They were willing to hand him over and retire from England, but not till England paid them the arrears due under the terms of the alliance. The money was paid; the King was transferred to the custody of Parliament, and lodged at Holmby House in Northamptonshire; and the Scots army withdrew over the border (Jan. 1647). That complication in English affairs was over.

1647. Army, Parliament, and King.

The Tudors had created the system of government by a popular monarchy. The Stuarts had destroyed that system by making the monarchy *un*popular. So the only possible alternatives had presented themselves, of absolute monarchy or an absolute Parliament. In the strife between them, the Parliament, in creating an army, had created a third alternative—a government resting on the support of the army. At present, the army stood to Parliament very much as Parliament had once stood to the King; it recognised the Parlia-

ment's government, but insisted on adequate recognition of its own legitimate wishes. If Parliament tried to ride rough-shod over the army, it would meet the fate of the King when he tried to ride rough-shod over Parliament. Like the Parliament chiefs of old, the army chiefs now did not wish to usurp authority. While there was hope of obtaining fair play without doing so, they asked for nothing more. But they would take nothing less.

This was the situation out of which Charles hoped to make his own profit, by intrigues and promises. But the trickery by which his father had manœuvred himself into power, through the shoals and quicksands and cross-currents of Scottish politics, was beyond the abilities of the son; who, while perfectly regardless of his pledged word, was absolutely incapable of surrendering anything which had established itself in his mind as a matter of principle, while he never succeeded in making anyone believe that he meant to keep a promise if he made it.

Antagonisms and intrigues.

Parliament invited a contest with the army by proposing to disband it without guaranteeing more than a fraction of the arrears of pay, to re-embody a small portion of it under Presbyterian officers, to remove all members of Parliament from their commands, and to despatch a portion of the troops to Ireland. The soldiers petitioned for guarantees, without which they refused to disband; and meanwhile the Presbyterian leaders were negotiating for the restoration of Charles on terms which, after the lapse of three years, would have enabled him to renew the old constitutional struggle. They were negotiating too with the Scots for armed aid in the establishment of Presbyterianism and the suppression of sectaries. Cromwell for long did all in his power to persuade the troops to recognise the authority of Parliament; but at last, seeing the course affairs were taking, both he and Fairfax dropped conciliation. If the King's person were in the hands of the army, they should be able to make their own terms. Suddenly on June 4 Cornet Joyce with a troop of horse appeared at Holmby House and required the King to accompany him. Charles was carried off to the army head-quarters at Newmarket.

Thence he was presently removed to Hampton Court. The army itself put forward proposals for a settlement, in which the fundamental principle was complete toleration for everyone but Roman Catholics; and marching to London, they overawed the Presbyterian majority in Parliament, many of whom withdrew from the Houses. But Charles, believing that his intrigues in other quarters would

prove successful, refused the army's proposals, and in November succeeded in escaping to the Isle of Wight; where, though the Governor still kept him under surveillance at Carisbrooke, he was almost a free man.

§ 3. *The Second Civil War and the end of Charles I.*, 1648—1649.

1648. The Second Civil War.

Cromwell and his son-in-law Ireton had steadily striven to adjust matters between the army and the Parliament, moderating the demands of the former—which were becoming frankly Republican—and seeking to find some means of reconstituting a very limited monarchy. The flight of Charles to the Isle of Wight hardened all men's hearts against him, as proving his insincerity—that his negotiations had been merely temporising expedients till the war could be renewed with Scottish or Irish and possibly Dutch or even French troops. The justification of these suspicions appeared in spring (1648); when the Cavaliers rose in arms in Kent and Essex, and in Wales; and it became known that a section of the Scots, headed by the Marquis of Hamilton, had entered on an engagement (whence they became known as the Engagers) to restore the King on condition of his establishing Presbyterianism for three years, ratifying the Covenant without accepting it for himself, and suppressing the sectarians. Fairfax dealt with the rising in Kent and Essex; Cromwell was despatched to Wales. As the summer advanced, the army of the Engagers, who had temporarily gained the upper hand in Scotland, crossed the Border; but as they marched south by the Lancashire route, ill led by Hamilton and in scattered detachments, Cromwell fell upon them near Preston (Aug. 17), and cut them to pieces in detail. A few days later, Colchester, which had offered a long and stubborn resistance to Fairfax, was forced to surrender.

The Army resolves.

This, the Second Civil War, was brief enough. But it was fatal to the King. The exasperation of the army knew no bounds. The men who had striven for some sort of reconciliation, gave up all hope. They were certain now that whatever professions Charles might make, he would still intrigue to win back by force or fraud all the powers which he might resign by treaty. The victorious troops came south, to find that, in the absence of the generals, the majority in Parliament would have made a treaty with Charles—if the infatuated King had not declined it, in the obstinate belief that he would yet win by intrigue. The

negotiations were still in progress. Cromwell, with the rest of the army, was convinced the time for negotiation was passed. Neither King nor Parliament could be trusted. Cromwell, however, did not himself return till Dec. 7th. In the interval, during November, the army presented a Remonstrance, demanding the trial of the King, the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and the supremacy of the Commons, who were to be elected on a new and extended franchise. No answer was accorded.

Pride's Purge.

On Dec. 1st, by order of Fairfax, troops conveyed Charles from Carisbrooke to Hurst Castle. On the 5th, Parliament passed a resolution in favour of reconciliation with him. On the 6th, Colonel Pride, with a body of soldiers, stationed himself at the door of the House, and detained or turned back all the obnoxious members, till all but the few who were in agreement with the army had been barred from admission. Next day, the King himself was brought up to Whitehall. Cromwell had not been responsible for "Pride's Purge," as the exclusion of the Presbyterians was called, but he was prompt to testify his approval. On the 23rd the remnant of the Commons, who were known thenceforth as "the Rump Parliament," passed a Resolution that Charles should be tried for his life. On the 1st of January, 1649, the House pronounced it treason to levy war against Parliament and the Kingdom, and appointed a High Court of Justice for the trial.

1649. The "High Court of Justice." Jan.

Eight years ago, the nation had demanded the death of Strafford, not for breaking the law, but as a public enemy. The nation made the law for the occasion. Sixty-two years ago, the nation had demanded the death of a Queen over whom no English court had jurisdiction. Charles assented to the death of Strafford; Elizabeth assented to the death of Mary. In the eyes of Cromwell and those who thought with him, a like terrible necessity had again arisen: Charles Stuart was a public enemy; while he lived there could be no peace in England; he must die. But in the case of Strafford, and in the case of Mary, the doom was spoken by the whole nation, or very nearly the whole. The nation had indeed no less ground for speaking the doom of Charles; and had the nation spoken it, the deed would perhaps have been unwise, but would have been neither a manifest blunder nor a manifest crime. But it was not the nation that spoke. The men who did the thing thought they were doing a thing righteous and needful; but they stood for a small section of the people only. They had the power to execute their will, because the power of the sword was with them; they had the approval of their

own consciences, but the conscience of the people was against them. The trial and execution were simply a piece of Lynch law on a huge scale, and therefore they were a crime; they aroused passions infinitely fiercer than all the years of war had kindled, therefore they were a blunder. In removing the man whose life seemed to be the one obstacle to peaceful settlement, a hundred fresh obstacles were created to any permanent peace. Even from the merely party point of view, the thing was a blunder, because it drove a crowd of semi-supporters into hot opposition.

Fallen Royalty, however well deserved the fall may have been, is always pathetic, and appeals to the generous sentiment of humanity. Hitherto that sentiment had been largely counteracted by the sense of the King's perfidy: but that was entirely forgotten in the shock of horror caused by the action of the regicides. The King made himself and half the world believe that he was a martyr to his religious faith, as his grandmother had persuaded herself and a good many other people that she was a martyr to hers. The halo of his martyrdom extended itself; creating a new devotion to the Royal House, at least among the adherents of the Anglicanism to which he clung.

The trial.

Matters proceeded apace. The High Court of Justice was constituted by Act not of Parliament but of the Rump in the House of Commons. It met on January 20. Of the members appointed, half abstained from taking any part in the proceedings, including Sir Thomas Fairfax. The President was a lawyer named Bradshaw. Being arraigned for having made war on the people of England, and other high crimes and misdemeanours, Charles declined to plead; denying the authority of the court, and claiming to stand for law and liberty against an illegal tyranny. The court naturally refused to admit that its authority was disputable. No defence being offered, it remained only to affirm the truth of the charges and to pass sentence; which was pronounced on Jan. 27th.

Charles beheaded, Jan. 29.

Two days later, on a scaffold before Whitehall, in the sight of gathered multitudes, the head of an English King was struck off, in the name but not by the will of the English people. "Nothing in his life became him like the leaving of it." The Tragedy was finished.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE COMMONWEALTH: 1649—1660.

§ 1. *The Third Civil War*, 1649—1651.

Both Monarchy and Parliamentary government as hitherto known in England had tumbled in ruins: the only government possible was one with the power of the sword behind it. The army had pronounced decisively against a King. The only body representing a Government was the Rump. It proceeded to declare England a Republic or "Commonwealth," and to appoint, chiefly out of its own members, a Council of State, which was to be the real ruling body.

The Commonwealth.

But if England lay in the grip of the army, Ireland and Scotland did not. Ireland was not an independent nation, but it was not a part of England in the sense that Yorkshire was, or Wales. Scotland, on the other hand, was actually an independent nation, bound to England only by the link of the common Crown. If England chose to be rid of her Stuart King, Scotland was not called upon to accept for herself England's decision. By the death of Charles I., Charles II. became King of Scotland, and Scotland had no intention of repudiating him, though she also had no intention of admitting his rule except on terms satisfactory to herself. The Covenant had expressly bound those who took it to maintain the King, and the execution was a clear breach of that undertaking.

All through the recent years a chaotic war, in which Catholics and Royalists had more or less combined forces, had been going on in Ireland. If they triumphed there, there would be danger for the Republic from Ireland, danger from Scotland, and danger also in another field. In 1648 a section of the fleet had revolted to the side of the Cavaliers; and now Prince Rupert was instituting a privateering war by sea on the enemy whom he had failed to conquer by land.

Dangers ahead.

The first necessity was to bring Ireland into subjection; but

before the expedition to this end could be organised a mutineering spirit in the army itself had to be suppressed. The extremists, whom Cromwell and Fairfax had with much difficulty brought into line at an earlier stage, were dissatisfied with the settlement of government, demanding more violent changes. By the middle of summer, however, these troubles were checked, and Cromwell proceeded to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. In that country the supporters of the Parliament were by this time fighting with their backs to the wall; for the Scots in Ulster associated themselves with their countrymen in Scotland, not with the regicide government of England. Cromwell arrived with the usual ignorance of Irish history, Irish motives, and the Irish character, and a full belief in the worst stories of the atrocities imputed to the Irish in the rising which heralded the Great Rebellion in England. During the first English war, he had always in theory and practice urged the policy of humanity in the hour of victory. In Ireland, he was as convinced as any Elizabethan of the need for merciless severity. He fell upon Drogheda, stormed it, and put the garrison to the sword, giving no quarter. The same thing happened at Wexford. In Europe, indeed, it was the habitual practice in war that, when a town was carried by storm, quarter should not be given; but the English Civil War had been conducted on less barbaric methods. Such terrific blows soon cowed resistance, and Cromwell was able, in the spring of 1650, to leave the completion of the work of subjugation to his lieutenants, and against his own name and all his works a tradition of passionate hate.

Cromwell in Ireland, 1649—50.

His return was needed. Young Charles Stuart had taken refuge with his sister and her husband the Stadtholder in Holland, and opened negotiations with Scotland. The Scots required him to accept the Covenant. In the hope that he might recover the throne without that, he encouraged Montrose to make one more desperate effort to raise the Highlands. The attempt failed; the great Marquis, with nothing but a band of foreign mercenaries, was defeated, captured, and surrendered to the Government, of which his deadly foe Argyle was the ruling spirit. The typical Hero of Lost Causes was shamefully hanged—as William Wallace had been hanged by King Edward, centuries before. Charles promptly repudiated his enterprise, made friends with Argyle and his party, accepted the Covenant, and returned to Scotland in June (1650).

Scotland; Montrose, and Charles II., 1649—50.

If Charles were established in Scotland, the English Cavaliers would make any alliance to place him on his father's throne in

England also; the Presbyterians would be ready to espouse the cause of a King who had accepted the Covenant, and the Scots would give their support. The Government of the Commonwealth saw that an army must go to Scotland; the whole position of the Independents was at stake. Fairfax, the general-in-chief, declined to go. If the Scots chose to make Charles their King, they were within their rights. Cromwell could not stir him from that resolution; so Fairfax resigned the command, and Cromwell was appointed the Lord-General. In July he led his army across the border; but he could not out-manœuvre David Leslie, or force him to fight. The English had to fall back to Dunbar, where Leslie seemed to have them in a trap. But Leslie, skilled soldier though he was, could not control the fanatical ministers who were with him, and who forced him to abandon his position of vantage to overwhelm the "sectaries." If they counted on the aid of the outstretched arm of the Lord of Hosts, Cromwell's faith in the Divine agency on behalf of the Cause was no less strong, and better warranted. "The Lord hath delivered them into our hand," he exclaimed, when he saw Leslie's troops make the fatal move, which enabled him to fall on them in detail and shatter them (Sept. 3, 1650).

Cromwell at Dunbar, 1650.

Dunbar saved Cromwell's army, but it did not end the war. It split the Scots, however, and Cromwell spent time in negotiation. In the spring he was for a time incapacitated by illness, and on the other hand Charles was crowned King of Scotland at Scone. In the early summer, when Cromwell was fit to take the field again, he found Leslie again posted impregnably in the neighbourhood of Stirling. To cut his communications with the north, Cromwell marched on Perth and took it; but by so doing he left the road to England open. The Scots—accompanied by the King—in their turn became the invaders, hoping that Cavaliers and Presbyterians would join and support them. That hope was disappointed. Cromwell, leaving Monk to control Scotland, followed south. Through Lancashire the Scots marched, into the heart of England, with Cromwell on their trail. He in fact knew that in Scotland he might fail to beat them—the blunder of Dunbar was not likely to be repeated—but when they were in England, with himself between them and Scotland, he would not be at the same disadvantage. In conjunction with the southern army, sent to meet them, he enveloped the Scots at Worcester, and cut them to pieces (Sept. 3, 1651). Charles escaped from the field, with difficulty made his way, after long wanderings, to the coast, and

Worcester, 1651.

succeeded in finding at Brighton a fishing boat which conveyed him to France.

The Navy: Blake, 1649—51.

The Civil War was now at an end, save for the finishing touches which were still required by sea, to clear the water of privateering cavaliers. For while Cromwell was doing his work first in Ireland and then in Scotland, Sir Harry Vane in London and Robert Blake on the sea were building up the might of the Navy. Since the days of Hawkins and Drake and Raleigh the material had been there; but under the wretched administration of the Stuarts, typified in Buckingham's day of power, it had been shown clearly enough that something was needed—which Hawkins and Drake had supplied—to turn the material to account. What Cromwell had done for the Army, Vane and Blake did for the Navy. The Commonwealth soldiers showed a singular aptitude for naval command. Blake had won credit by his defence of Taunton in the war; placed in command of the fleet, he won a place in our naval annals below none save Nelson and Drake. In 1649 he kept Rupert out of action. In 1650 Rupert, having got loose, resumed his attacks on English commerce; Blake nearly annihilated him in the Mediterranean. In 1651 the privateers were cleared out of their strongholds in the Scilly and Channel Islands and in the Isle of Man. It remained only to clear the remnant out of the West Indies, and to re-establish the authority of the Commonwealth in Virginia—for the political colour of the Northern or New England colonies was settled by their Independency.

After the "crowning mercy" of Worcester Cromwell was never called upon in person to draw the sword again.

§ 2. *The Dutch War, and the ejection of the Rump*, 1651—1653.

The political situation, 1651.

It was obvious from the outset that the form of government established on the death of King Charles I. could not be permanent; also, that no final form could be arrived at till the danger of rebellion was fairly quenched. With the battle of Worcester, effectively bringing the Civil War to an end, begins the serious effort to plant in England a form of government which was not a modification of that which had grown up by degrees—government in which the King, the Peers, and the Commons had all had some sort of share for centuries—but was something new.

But another marked change also begins about this time. For nearly fifty years past, except during the interlude of Buckingham's

administration, England had taken no active part in foreign wars; though for thirty of them the great Thirty Years' War between Protestantism and Catholicism had been raging, in which every State in Europe had been involved. But the Civil War was no sooner over than England started on a series of foreign wars, sometimes with the Dutch, sometimes with Spain, sometimes with France. Statesmen—except those of the Buckingham type—do not plunge into great wars without deep-seated reasons and far-reaching objects. Therefore we have to know something of what had been going on in Europe as well as in England, unless those wars in which we took part are to be as meaningless to us as a later war was to old Kaspar in the ballad—"What they killed each other for, I never could make out."

End of the Thirty Years' War, 1648.

The Thirty Years' War, which began with the struggle about the Palatinate, came to an end in 1648. It was a contest with a double motive—the recovery of Protestant States for Catholicism, and the extension of the power of the two Habsburg dynasties, Austrian and Spanish. Hence one great Catholic State, France, had for political reasons thrown its weight on the Protestant side in order to prevent a Habsburg domination of Europe. When, in 1648, the year before the execution of King Charles, the Peace of Westphalia was signed, the practical outcome was this. The division of Germany into what may roughly be called the northern and Protestant principalities, and the southern and Catholic principalities, was permanently fixed. The division of the Low Countries into the southern, Catholic, or Spanish Netherlands, corresponding to the modern Belgium, and the Protestant northern "United Netherlands," recognised as an Independent State, was definitely fixed. France had acquired a footing on the Rhine, having absorbed Alsace; she had also taken her place as the leading military Power.

France and Spain.

Next, however, we must observe that, between France and Spain, war was not ended by the pacification of Germany: their rivalry was to make both desire the friendship, not the hostility, of England—especially when both realised that England possessed both an army and a fleet more powerful than she had been able to wield in the past. On the other hand, the United Netherlands were at last freed from their long struggle with Spain; they were extremely wealthy; their commerce was greater than that of any other nation, and their fleet was great in proportion. So that the question was to arise, whether English and Dutch were to share a maritime supremacy which would make them, in alliance, irresistible, or were to enter on a rivalry with each other. And here

Holland.

we see the real influence and meaning of Royal marriages. The wife of the young Stadtholder William was the Princess Royal of England: the Dutch owed their liberties chiefly to the dogged pertinacity and high abilities of the princes of the House of Orange—William the Silent, Maurice of Nassau, and the late Stadtholder Frederick Henry: that House held a high place in the popular affections; consequently popular sentiment favoured the Stuarts in England as against the Commonwealth. Thus a whole-hearted union between the English Commonwealth and the Dutch Republic was difficult, and the scales turned in favour of rivalry. Nor was this situation changed when the Stadtholder died suddenly in 1650 at the age of twenty-four, and the House of Orange was presently represented by a baby, born after the father's death, who afterwards became our William III.

At the Courts of France and Spain as well as of the Stadtholder, the execution of Charles had caused much indignation. The foreign Governments unanimously declined to recognise the Commonwealth or to admit its envoys: and the assassination of the English Ambassador or Agent both at Madrid and at the Hague escaped censure. The Stadtholder's death at the end of 1650 was followed by an attempt to negotiate a close alliance with the new Dutch Government; but the attempt failed.

The Navigation Act, 1651.

Immediately after the Battle of Worcester, England struck a heavy blow at the rivalry of the Dutch merchant fleet by passing the famous Navigation Act. At that time, the Dutch had, what Great Britain has now, the greater part of the world's carrying trade: the merchants of all countries had their goods conveyed in Dutch vessels. The Navigation Act refused admission to English ports for all goods which were not carried on English vessels, or on vessels belonging to the country from which the goods came; and it required English goods to be exported only by English vessels. It is probable that without this artificial help, the carrying trade would have passed from the Dutch to the English in the course of the next fifty years: but the Act caused immediate injury to the Dutch and immediate advantage to the English carrying trade, though of course it raised the price of imported goods. Against the Dutch, however, the weapon was effective; for they, depending (as England did not) entirely on foreign trade for prosperity, would have suffered ten-fold more by closing their own harbours to English ships.

The Dutch War, 1652—4.

The corresponding stroke on the part of the Dutch was a treaty with Denmark, calculated to check the English trade with the Baltic—a serious matter, as our shipping material was largely drawn from those regions. To this commercial

strife was added, as an incentive to hostilities, the sensitiveness of the English on the subject of their traditional claim to dominate the narrow seas and to have the flag saluted—a point of honour which the new government, insisting on its own recognition by foreign Powers, could by no means afford to pass by. Hence in 1652, the commercial war developed into actual hostilities; the Cavalier privateering squadron having just been successfully cleared off the seas. Vane and Blake had by this time created a fighting fleet out of all proportion to the English mercantile navy (which was far smaller than that of the Dutch); and this, under the command of Blake, Deane, and Monk, soon proved itself the match, and perhaps on the whole the master, of the splendid fleets handled by the great Van Tromp or De Ruyter. It would be hard to say that either side had the better in the fighting: but the balance of advantage lay heavily with the English, because the losses inflicted on the Dutch mercantile navy and on their commerce were far heavier, and far more severely felt.

The Rump, the Army, and the Nation.

In the meantime, the problem of establishing a good working form of Government was not finding any satisfactory solution. The Council of State was doing its administrative work well; but the supreme authority was the remnant, known as the Rump, of the Long Parliament; which had been elected in 1640, and had by this time entirely ceased to be a representative body. Outside, there was the army, by no means anxious to usurp the functions of Government, and honestly desirous of procuring a Parliament of Representatives—but not prepared to accept as Representative a body in which ideas opposed to its own were likely to predominate. Outside the army again there was the nation at large—of which the majority was more afraid of so un-English a thing as a military rule than of an absolute monarch or an absolute Parliament, and cared little about liberty of conscience; while it was unanimous in one thing, its dislike of the Rump. Whereas most of the Rump were unanimous in their confidence in themselves as the only fit and proper persons to govern. And until the Rump chose to dissolve itself, there was no way of getting rid of it except by force.

1653. A deadlock.

The Rump went its own way obstinately. Pressed to fix a term to its own existence, it named a date three years off. Pressed to devise a plan for the election of a new Parliament which should be free, except for the exclusion of Royalists, it proposed in 1653 that the present members should all retain their seats without re-election, and that they should have the power of

rejecting any new members sent up whom they regarded as unsuitable. The proposal was manifestly monstrous. Cromwell, whose honest desire was to secure freedom of conscience and a free Parliament within the limits which seemed necessary to secure loyalty to the Commonwealth, urged that a committee should be appointed which should formulate a scheme to that end, and that the Bill in which the Rump had worked out its own plan should not be proceeded with in the meanwhile. On April 19th, Vane, one of the best and ablest men in the Parliament and in the Council of State, promised—as Cromwell believed—that the Bill should be held over.

The Rump expelled.

The next morning, Cromwell was startled by the news that the House was sitting and was hurrying the Bill through. In hot haste he went down to it, at the head of a troop of soldiers who remained outside while he entered. There was only one thing to be done. For a time he restrained himself with difficulty. At last, when the question whether the Bill should be passed was about to be put, he sprang up and opened the flood-gates of his indignation: stamping up and down the floor of the House, storming at individual members, and at the whole Assembly. Finally he announced that the thing must end, and he would end it. At his word, the soldiers entered and cleared the members out. "What shall we do with this bauble?" he said, pointing to the Mace, the symbol of Parliamentary authority: "take it away." So vanished the Long Parliament which had outlived its use—abolished by the act and on the sole responsibility of the champion of Parliamentary rights.

The ejection of the Long Parliament effectually suppressed the particular solution of the problem of government which that Parliament had put forward; but provided no other solution in its place. No authority remained even for carrying on government at all, except the Council of State and the Lord-General, Cromwell, who was the duly constituted chief of the army. He did not want a military dictatorship; but, for the time being, he was simply a military dictator. He set himself to try a new scheme of representation to meet the emergency. The Congregational Churches were invited to

Barebones Parliament.

send in lists of fit and godly persons among their own number; and from this list Cromwell, assisted by a committee mainly of officers, selected some hundred and forty, who were by his authority confirmed as the supreme authority of the nation. The experiment was a complete failure. The Assembly, which was generally and derisively known as the "Barebones Parliament," one of its members having the misfortune to be named "Praise God Barebone," consisted chiefly of pious and well-intentioned

but utterly unpractical persons. The minority, who saw that there was no hope of this machine working, stole a march on the majority, met, and dissolved the House. It fell once more to the army officers to devise a machine which would work. The scheme which they put forward and induced Cromwell to accept was called the Instrument of Government. The General was to be Lord Protector, acting with the advice of a permanent Council; Parliament was to be summoned at least once in three years, and was not to be dissolved till it had sat for five months. In December, 1653, the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell began.

The Instrument of Government.

§ 3. *The Protectorate of Cromwell*, 1653—1658.

Oliver Cromwell occupies so singular and so striking a position in the history not only of England but of Great Britain, that his character and aims demand a more detailed examination than those of most other statesmen; and this is the more necessary because they are easily misunderstood. It is no very long time since it would have been found that most of the popular descriptions of the Protector presented him as a very able, ambitious, and unscrupulous person; whose one motive was a desire for personal power, which he veiled under a hypocritical cloak of religious profession. Such a picture is very far removed from the truth. In the Parliament which met in 1640, he was a person of recognised weight and influence, and a determined opponent of the King's party, but was hardly in the front rank of the leaders. What brought him to the front was his organisation of the army of the Eastern Counties, and his brilliant success as a cavalry commander in the field, from Marston to Naseby—a success which won him the confidence of the whole army. That confidence was confirmed by his conduct of the campaign in the second Civil war, when he was in full command—not, as at Marston Moor and Naseby, a subordinate. Neither in Parliament nor with the army did he in any way intrigue to supplant other leaders; and when in 1650 he took the place of Fairfax, it was only because Fairfax himself refused to meddle with Scotland. He persistently opposed the subjection of religion to any single exclusive form of Church government, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian: equally persistently, all his efforts till 1648 were devoted to bringing about a settlement which should replace Charles on the throne, while securing guarantees for liberty of conscience and against arbitrary government. But in 1648 the conduct of Charles convinced him that the attempt was hopeless; because the King would regard no pledges and no guarantees as binding, while it was equally clear that

The Lord Protector.

the Parliament would not allow liberty of conscience. It was only then that he joined hands with the army in demanding the trial of the King and in "purging" the Parliament, while Fairfax stood aloof. Even after Worcester, it was only the hopeless impracticability of the House which drove him at last to assume, as the only alternative, a military dictatorship in virtue of his position at the head of the army; and it was the army itself which, after the "Barebones" experiment, insisted that anarchy, for which he himself would be responsible, was inevitable if he refused to accept the position of Head of the State with limitations to his powers, assigned to him by the Instrument of Government. In short, he became Protector, not because he sought the position, but because in no other way could the government of the Commonwealth be carried on. The practical question was not that of establishing an ideal form of government for a well-ordered State, but of setting up something which would bring present order out of present chaos.

The new Constitution.

In effect, what happened in December, 1653, was, that Cromwell joined with a committee of army officers in creating a new Constitution by written decree. The Protector, the Council, and the Parliament, derived their powers from that decree and from nothing else. When Parliament was not sitting, the Protector would be restrained by the Council, with whose assent he might issue "Ordinances." But when Parliament met, it might annul them, and, while it sat, its powers of legislation and taxation were to be supreme, except that it could not alter the new Constitution. It was however impossible to escape the fact that, since Cromwell was chief of the army, he would, in the last resort, be able to override persistent opposition by force.

Such a constitution as was thus established had not the elements of permanence; because in the long run it was bound to mean government not by consent but by force. When Cromwell himself went, the whole fabric collapsed; but for the time, unfortunately, the one thing perfectly clear was, that among the warring factions government by consent was unattainable.

The new Parliament was to meet in September, and Oliver had nine months before him to get the machine in order. During that interval, we can see from events the largeness of his political conceptions, as well as their limitations. The Dutch war was brought to a conclusion; but of that we shall speak in the next section.

Scotland and Ireland incorporated.

The arrangements in Scotland which he had set on foot after Dunbar were brought to completion, and Scotland was incorporated as one State with the English commonwealth; free trade between the two countries

was established; and the Scots, instead of their separate national parliament, were to have their representatives at Westminster. Similarly the Irish parliament was abolished, and Irish representatives were to sit at Westminster—but representing only the military and other Protestant colonists, the bulk of whom had been planted in Ulster and elsewhere in possession of the vast estates confiscated from Catholics and Royalists after Cromwell's campaign of 1649. The Protector had grasped the idea of forming the three countries into one solid State, therein anticipating the policy of fifty and a hundred and fifty years later; but it did not strike him that the problem of making the State a solid one depended at the same time on recognising the existence of the three distinct nationalities, and on the consent of each of the three to the incorporation.

Religious Settlement.

Next we see his wishes as to the religious settlement: toleration within limits, and the maintenance of religion out of the public funds. The tithes and other sources of the Church's income were to be retained, mainly for the support of "ministers," but in part for education. But while toleration was extended to the Nonconformist sects which Elizabeth would have suppressed, including the Presbyterians who would have tolerated none but themselves, it still, as a matter of course, did not reach to the Roman Catholics; while Prelacy or Anglicanism was treated very much as Catholicism was treated in Elizabeth's reign. It was subjected to the terrors of penal laws, under which its adherents might at any moment find themselves attacked, but which ordinarily were not enforced. All ministers had to pass a court of "Triers," who must be satisfied that they were "godly" persons and not disaffected; but there were no specific doctrinal tests, and it mattered nothing whether a man were a Presbyterian, an Independent, a Baptist, or a Fifth Monarchy[1] man—or whether he had received ecclesiastical ordination.

First Protectorate Parliament, 1654–5.

When Parliament met on the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, some modifications had been made in the old electoral body, and the known Cavaliers had been practically disfranchised, that is, deprived of their votes. But those who assembled were more anxious to assert their

[1] Fifth Monarchy Men were people who supposed that the world had been ruled by four great empires, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman; and that the last was now to give place to the fifth monarchy, of Christ; till Whose second coming, the Saints should reign on earth as His vice-gerents—the "saints" meaning the "elect" who were still living.

own rights and to limit those of the Protector than to attend to government business. A hundred of them, who refused to pledge themselves to maintain the Instrument of Government—from which, as things stood, their power was derived—were excluded. But the rest continued to seek to amend the Constitution, besides threatening to introduce a new definition of "heresy" and then to put it down; so, on the day when five *lunar* months had elapsed, Cromwell held himself free to dissolve them, and did so (Jan. 1655). The Instrument of Government did not require him to call another for a long while, and in the interval he held matters practically in his own hands.

The Major-Generals, 1655.

A futile insurrection at Salisbury, headed by a gentleman named Penruddock, in March, caused Cromwell to take sterner measures than heretofore. He divided England into ten districts, each with a Major-General as governor: the money being provided by heavy taxation of Cavaliers. The ordinary methods were really superseded by an administration which, though firm and just, and under excellent discipline, was military, and therefore repugnant to the nation. At the end of the year he made stricter ordinances against Prelacy. Meantime, however, he was pursuing a foreign policy which entailed heavy expenditure, and in September, 1656, he called his second Parliament. The process of excluding antagonistic elements was more rigid. The House worked better than its predecessor with the Protector. The necessary money was voted, and on the other hand the Major-Generals were withdrawn. But sundry plots against Cromwell's life pointed to the necessity of revising a Constitution which could only work while he was personally at the head of affairs. In March, 1657, Parliament propounded in the "Humble Petition and Advice" a new Constitution. Oliver was to have the title of King; there was to be a new Second Chamber or House of Peers, of seventy members, to be nominated by Cromwell, subject to the approval of the Commons: Oliver was to surrender the power of excluding members of the Commons: toleration was to be extended to every one but Papists and Socinians. These were the principal changes. Cromwell, probably from choice, certainly also in deference to the sentiment of the army, declined to be made king, but received the power of naming his successor. With this modification, the new Constitution was adopted in June. The session closed; but when the House met again in January, the excluded members were admitted in accordance with the new rule; while a number of Cromwell's best

Second Protectorate Parliament, 1656—8.

supporters were now in the other chamber. The Commons promptly began measures to amend the new Constitution so as to increase their own powers; whereupon the Protector dissolved them.

§ 4. *Cromwell and foreign affairs*, 1654—1658.

Cromwell and the Commonwealth men did not succeed in constructing, in place of the old Constitution, anything more than a political system capable of carrying on an emergency government; but the rule under that system, though of necessity pressing harshly on Cavaliers and Episcopalians, was generally orderly and just if repressive, despite its arbitrary character. At the same time, it made itself felt abroad as the most powerful Government England had known since the days of Elizabeth's triumph. Moreover it was the first Government which interested itself in the Britain which was growing up beyond the seas.

Motives of Foreign Policy.

There were three classes of motives by which states, generally speaking, were moved to make wars and alliances—the commercial, the religious, and the dynastic. In the Dutch war, commercial rivalry had counted for more than community of religious interests. In France the first consideration was the dynastic one, the opposition between the Bourbon Royal House of France and the Habsburg Royal Houses of Spain and of Austria. With Cromwell, the religious motive was the strongest: his ideal was a League of the Protestant Powers which should prevent aggression on the part of the Catholic Powers, and at the same time compel the latter to grant toleration to their Protestant subjects. So we find that in the first nine months of the Protectorate, while Oliver was working unhampered, the Dutch war was brought to an end on terms entirely favourable to England, and commercial treaties were entered on with two other leading Protestant Powers, Sweden and Denmark. Also there is a commercial treaty with Portugal, which, after sixty years under the Spanish crown (1580—1640), had recently made itself independent again under the House of Braganza.

French or Spanish alliance? 1654.

The Protestant League which Cromwell wanted never got itself formed: the fact being that, after the Peace of Westphalia, the pressure from the Catholic Powers was not strong enough to force the others to reconcile their differences on other scores for the sake of united action. But apart from the Protestant League, there was the question, what

part—if any—should England take in the quarrel going on between France and Spain? That quarrel was now in a curious phase, for the French Huguenots were in revolt and had allied themselves with the fanatically Catholic Spanish Power. Now, in the Dutch war, England, by 1654, had vindicated her position as a Naval Power; and all observers were aware that in the course of the Civil War she had built up such an army as she had never before possessed. Hence France and Spain were each anxious to obtain the English alliance. For Cromwell, the choice would be decided by the answer to another question—which alliance, if either, would promote the cause of Protestantism?

At first sight, the conjunction of Spain with the Huguenots suggested that theirs was the side to take. But when Cromwell's ambassador required that English sailors should be free to exercise their own religion in Spanish ports, untroubled by the Inquisition, and coupled this with the commercial demand for open trade in the Spanish-American seas—the time-honoured demands of Elizabeth—Spain scouted the idea. On the other hand, the French Government was not fanatically Catholic; the Huguenots enjoyed a considerable share of toleration, and factiousness had a good deal to do with the revolt. A peaceful intervention might pacify the feud and further the Protestant cause.

1654—7. Thus at the end of 1654 Cromwell had taken sides neither with Spain nor with France. But his proceedings at that time and in 1655 show that his confidence in Blake's navy, in his own army, and—be it added—in the favour of the Lord of Hosts to which he attributed his own military triumphs, made him quite ready to take his chance of provoking either France or Spain or both to declare war against England. In accordance with the doctrine and practice not of Elizabeth and Burghley but of Walsingham, Drake, and Raleigh, he despatched an expedition to San Domingo to assert English rights and to challenge those of Spain in the West Indies, at the end of 1654. In 1655, when the Duke of Savoy, with some countenance from the French Government, fell upon the Protestant Vaudois or Waldenses—the event referred to in John Milton's famous sonnet

> "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered Saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine Mountains cold"—

he threatened armed intervention. In this case, his action was successful, and hastened a treaty with France in October (1655). In the other case, Penn and Venables, the English commanders, met

with a series of disasters at San Domingo, but found more compensation than was recognised at the time in taking possession of Jamaica; with the further effect, however, that Spain declared war on England at the same time that the French and Cromwell were coming to terms, which resulted in an Anglo-French alliance (1657).

French alliance, 1657.

In the meantime, Blake with his fleet had visited the Mediterranean, and given a lesson to the pirates of Algiers and Tunis. After the declaration of war, he turned his attention to Spain, blockading her coasts. In September (1656), one of his captains secured a prize worth half a million. Next year, in April, he sailed into the harbour of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, silencing the land batteries, and without the loss of a ship sunk every vessel of the Spanish treasure fleet. Death however claimed the great admiral as he was returning to England three months afterwards.

Blake, 1654—7.

Just before Blake's action at Teneriffe, the French treaty ripened into an active alliance, of which the immediate object was to be an attack on the Spanish Netherlands, and Dunkirk was to be England's prize; Cromwell's aim being the re-establishment of the footing on the Continent which had been lost with Calais a hundred years before. Six thousand English soldiers joined the great French General Turenne. In June, 1658, the Battle of the Dunes, in which the most brilliant service was rendered by the English contingent, decided the war between France and Spain. Dunkirk surrendered and was handed over to the English, and peace very soon followed. As it happened, the result was that France achieved an immense predominance in Europe; but had Cromwell lived to give effect to his own policy, the event would assuredly have been altogether different. His death left the French king, Louis XIV., free to work out a policy of Catholic aggression on which he would hardly have ventured, and of which he would scarcely have dreamed, while Cromwell was alive.

1658. Battle of the Dunes.

§ 5. *The end of the Commonwealth*, 1658—1660.

Had Cromwell been forty-four instead of fifty-four when he became Protector, it is impossible to guess what he might have lived to achieve. But his actual supremacy lasted somewhat less than five years, seeing that death took him on the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester (Sept. 3, 1658). Time was not given him to develope or consolidate the work whereby he had in those five years created,

Death of Cromwell, Sept. 1658.

out of a country distracted by civil broils, the most formidable Power in the European system: and there was no man left to take his place. The work perished with him, but the ideas of which it was the outcome have borne their fruit.

Richard Cromwell, 1658—9.

Cromwell ruled as Protector, not only because he was the civil head of the State and Lord-General, but because his mastery of the army was unchallenged. His son Richard was nominated as his successor in the Protectorate; but Richard was a perfectly commonplace person, unknown to the army, carrying no authority. Parliament proposed to make him Lord-General, which was merely another way of placing the military authority in subordination to the civil. The army officers, of whom Lambert was the most active though they had no recognised head, meant to reverse that position. A few months after his appointment, Richard snuffed himself out, by first dissolving Parliament (May, 1559), under pressure from the officers, and then resigning.

The Rump and the Army, 1659.

Then Lambert reinstated the Rump, which Oliver had ejected seven years before. The Rump was no more inclined to place itself at the service of Lambert than of Oliver. There was a brief Royalist insurrection in the north, which Lambert suppressed at Winnington Bridge; then he came back, and once more ejected the Rump (Oct.). But the officers had no organised scheme, nor had they the confidence of the troops, and, at the end of December, the Rump was once more in session.

General Monk, 1659—60.

In fact, what was imperatively needed was a man of sufficient force to take control into his own hands, make up his mind to a definite programme, and carry it out. That man was found in George Monk, who was in command of the army in Scotland when Oliver died. If Richard Cromwell had asserted himself, Monk would have been loyal to him. But there was no one else to be loyal to. On his collapse, Monk, cold, cautious, resolute, enigmatic, decided to act. He had no intention or desire to follow in Oliver's footsteps; but he could rely on his own army. In January he was marching through the north of England. He held a consultation with Fairfax at York, and marched to London. Arrived there, he would commit himself to nothing for the moment, beyond insisting that the Rump should dissolve itself, and a free Parliament should be called. The Rump proving recalcitrant, he settled it

1660. The last of the Long Parliament.

by admitting the excluded members of the Long Parliament, the victims of Pride's Purge. These were the Presbyterians who from first to last had been in opposition to a military rule, and to the overthrow of the

monarchy. They outvoted the Rump, and at last the Long Parliament dissolved itself. In May a new Parliament—known to history as the "Convention" Parliament—met. The Royalists, disfranchised under Oliver, voted again; and the Houses—for the House of Peers met again as in the old days—were overwhelmingly in favour of a Restoration. Charles was invited to "enjoy his own again," if he would promise a complete amnesty—that is, that no one should suffer for the part he had played in recent years—the confirmation in possession of the present holders of estates which had been confiscated and re-apportioned, and the payment of arrears due to the army: with liberty of conscience, so far as that did not interfere with civil order. By the Declaration of Breda, Charles accepted the terms, with saving clauses "subject to such exceptions as Parliament might hereafter make": and on May 25, 1660, he landed at Dover. The Stuart was once more the accepted King of England.

The "Convention" Parliament.

The Restoration.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHARLES II.: 1660—1685.

§ 1. *The Restoration: the Convention and Cavalier Parliaments: Ministry of Clarendon:* 1660—1667.

1660. The Restoration Land Settlement.

The Restoration was a National act. Charles recovered the throne not by foreign aid, nor by the victory of Cavaliers over Roundheads, nor by election of the army; but because the great majority of the nation was more averse to military rule than to any other form of government or misgovernment. The immediate settlement of affairs was naturally the work of the same assembly which had expressed the will of the nation in recalling Charles. It declined accordingly to make that settlement on partisan lines. The army was paid off, disbanded, and went quietly home. The Cavaliers who, under stress of the Commonwealth Government, had sold their lands, did not have them restored—the purchasers were properly entitled to hold what they had bought. But the lands which government had confiscated and then sold were on a different footing. It was held that the confiscation, and by consequence the sale, were illegal; such lands were therefore resumed. An act of "indemnity and oblivion"—sarcastically described as indemnity for the King's enemies and oblivion for his friends—was a plain necessity when the King's recall was due quite as much to the one party as to the other.

The Regicides.

In one point, however, Cavalier feeling was allowed to predominate. In spite of the Declaration of Breda, King and Parliament refused amnesty to the actual regicides—that is, to those who had sat in the High Court and signed the doom of Charles I. Seeing that the proceedings of that court had never been either warranted by popular approval or sanctioned by law, this was

natural enough; but it is impossible to justify the spite which added Sir Harry Vane (no regicide) to the list of victims, and dragged from their graves, to be publicly gibbeted, the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw.

The King's Revenue.

One of the vexed questions of fifty years was settled on the lines originally suggested by Robert Cecil: the old Feudal dues were finally abolished, and in their place an annual revenue was settled on the King for life—sufficient for the King as head of the State, but not sufficient for the maintenance of an army or other expenditure of an exceptional kind; although Charles succeeded in rescuing, from the general disbanding of Monk's army, the troops which were formed into three regiments of Guards.

Lord Clarendon.

The settlement, however, of one subject of great importance—religion—was successfully evaded. Its postponement threw it into the hands of the new Parliament summoned for 1661—the "Cavalier Parliament," which remained undissolved for eighteen years. This Parliament, elected in the full tide of reaction, was managed for five years by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. Hyde was the man who had once been a leader of the constitutional Opposition to Charles I.; who, with Falkland, had joined the King at the time of the Grand Remonstrance, had remained his most capable adviser, and continued to be the virtual head of the Royalist Council during the Stuart exile. He now became Chancellor, and father-in-law of the King's brother and heir-presumptive, James, Duke of York. From the moment of the Restoration, the personality of Clarendon makes itself felt: primarily as restraining the natural tendency of the Royalists to adopt a sweeping partisan policy which would have revived the civil war. His constitutional theory is a balance of the powers of King and Parliament; his policy promptly displays itself as intensely Anglican in religious matters, because he has an intensely Anglican Parliament at his back.

The King.

The personality of the King does not make itself so immediately felt. Charles had a difficult game to play. In the first place, he was quite determined to risk neither his crown nor his head: therefore he was resolved not to come in collision with his Parliament. But in the next place he wished to make himself independent of Parliament, and in the third place to re-establish Catholicism. Fourthly, he was a pleasure-loving sensualist, who, even for political ends, would not play the Puritan. He was exceedingly clever, absolutely selfish and unscrupulous, totally devoid of patriotism. He perceived from the outset that it was only by the assistance of the King of France, his cousin, that he could attain his

ends: and that he must somehow get more money than Parliament would give him in the ordinary course.

Now Cromwell had taken up the French alliance, and by means of it had acquired Dunkirk, with the object of pursuing an aggressive Protestant policy in Europe. The traditional national feeling that Spain was the enemy was still vigorous. The maintenance of the French alliance was therefore a safe policy for Charles, suggesting no evil suspicions.

In 1661, then, the country returned a new Parliament, enthusiastically loyal and enthusiastically Anglican. Several years were to pass before Charles understood that Anglican sentiment was no less hostile to "Popery" than was Nonconformist sentiment. The outcome in the first instance was the series of acts known as the Clarendon Code, by which the triumphant Church party took their revenge on the whole Nonconformist section, without making any difference between Presbyterians and Sectaries. The attack opened in 1661. After declarations affirming that all armed resistance to the King was unlawful, and ordering the Solemn League and Covenant to be publicly burnt, the Corporation Act was passed (Dec.). By it all holders of office in towns were required to have taken the Sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church within a year, to renounce the Covenant, and to swear adherence to the doctrine of Passive Obedience. The clergy were next dealt with. There were great numbers of Episcopalian clergy who had been ejected under the Commonwealth, whose places had been taken by Presbyterians, Independents, and others. A compromise which would have satisfied most of the Presbyterians had been evaded in 1660. The question had been referred to a conference held at the Savoy Palace between ministers of the two parties, which had only embittered their opposition. Now the Act of Uniformity (May, 1662) was passed, excluding from the Church all who had not received or would not receive Episcopal ordination, abjure the Covenant, and accept the Prayer-book without reservation. On St Bartholomew's Day, 1662—so much time was granted the ministers to conform to the conditions—all who had not conformed were ejected.

1661. The Cavalier Parliament.

The Clarendon Code, 1661—5.

These measures were perhaps legitimate for a victorious party which had been harshly enough treated in the day of adversity; though they savoured more of retaliation than of abstract justice. But in 1664 came the Conventicle Act, which forbade any gathering of more than five persons for worship or any other purpose of religion,

except under the Anglican rites; a third offence being punished by transportation, while any Justice of the Peace was competent to pass judgment. Even this did not satisfy the spirit of vindictiveness. When, on the outbreak of the great Plague of London in 1665, the ejected Nonconformist ministers attended the sick and dying with a devotion which their conforming brethren did not display, they were rewarded by the Five Mile Act; which forbade all the ejected clergy to preach or to teach in schools within five miles of any corporate town, or of any place where they had discharged ministerial duties.

It must be remembered that these things were the doing not of the King but of the overwhelmingly Anglican Cavalier Parliament. Charles personally favoured toleration, as a means to releasing the Catholics from their disabilities. He was alive to the fact that Protestant feeling would in no case endure a simultaneous relaxation of the laws against Catholics and increased severity towards Protestant Nonconformists.

Scotland.

We must note also that a similar process, of a more virulent character, was going on in Scotland. With the Restoration the temporary union of the nations under the Commonwealth came to an end; but the government passed practically into the hands not of the Scots Parliament but of the Scottish Privy Council—in effect, Middleton, Lauderdale, and Sharp, who, originally a Presbyterian minister, changed his coat and became Archbishop of St Andrews. The Episcopalian system was restored and enforced with great severity, while Argyle met with the same fate as Sir Harry Vane.

The Portuguese Marriage.

In the meantime, Charles was carrying out his own foreign policy or allowing the unconscious Clarendon to carry it out for him. By his marriage with Catherine of Braganza a blow was struck at Spain, since the practical outcome was to secure the independence of Portugal. Incidentally, the bride's dower was extremely convenient, and of great value in the later expansion of the Empire: since a part of it was the Indian settlement of Bombay, which the King transferred to the East India Company—a transaction by which both parties profited. The value to Britain, as a maritime Power, of the Portuguese alliance, became evident in later years. Dunkirk, on the other hand, an acquisition which was both expensive and useless now that the Cromwellian policy of continental aggressiveness was laid aside, was sold to the French for a substantial sum. The nation liked this little enough, since there is always a strong prejudice against ceding any territory which has once been acquired; yet the arguments in favour of giving

up Dunkirk were very strong. The great gain however in both these cases fell at the time to France—indirectly, by weakening Spain; directly, by giving her a fresh base for attacking the Spanish Netherlands. It was not till a Bourbon sat on the throne of Spain that France realised her error in having helped to make Portugal independent.

England and Holland.

Not less important to the vast schemes of aggression which Louis XIV. was maturing was the growing ill-feeling between England and the Dutch Republic. The rule of the "Grand Pensionary," De Witt—antagonistic to the House of Orange and to William, the young nephew of the King of England—was obnoxious to Charles; the commercial rivalry between England and Holland was severe; Louis wanted the Dutch power broken, though it was not yet time for him to assume a hostile attitude. So the friction between Dutch and English seamen and colonists was encouraged, till in 1665 war was declared. As in the earlier war of the Commonwealth, the struggle was one between two navies almost equally matched; in which the superior genius of the great Dutchman De Ruyter was counterbalanced by the superior discipline of the English captains. There were three great engagements. At the battle of Lowestoft, 1665, the victory was definitely with the English. In June, next year, Monk with fewer ships engaged De Ruyter in the great "Four days battle" of the Straits of Dover. This time, the Dutch were victorious; not because Monk was a mere soldier ignorant of naval tactics, as is sometimes stated, but because, though he handled his fleet with great skill, De Ruyter's skill was still greater. The defeat might have been a grave disaster, if Monk had not been reinforced at the end by a fleet under Prince Rupert. As it was, although the fight had been one of the hottest on record, it was so little decisive that within two months the English fleet again definitely defeated the Dutch fleet off the North Foreland. But supplies were running short. The great visitation of the Plague in 1665, and the great Fire of London in September, 1666, increased the financial pressure; Charles wanted the money that was forthcoming for his own pleasures; in 1667 a number of ships were laid up in dock, and De Ruyter seized his opportunity to make a sudden descent on the Thames and the Medway, at a moment when negotiations for peace were actually going forward in Holland. The thing was shameful and ignominious; but it was not the outcome of incompetence either of admirals or sailors, who had fairly proved themselves a match, if not more than a match, for the Dutch. And the Dutch were so well aware of the unsubstantial

The Dutch War, 1665—7.

nature of their apparent triumph that, at the peace of Breda, which was signed in July, the balance of advantages secured fell to England. The most notable feature here was the cession to England of the Dutch colonies in North America, which formed a wedge between Virginia on the south and the New England colonies on the north. The chief settlement was now re-named New York, after the Duke.

Fall of Clarendon, 1667.

The war had one important constitutional effect. Parliament voted money freely for carrying it on, and then—to its intense disgust—saw the funds squandered on the pleasures of the King and the court. Hence it insisted successfully on the principle of the supervision of expenditure by Parliament, and on the "appropriation of supplies"—that is, the right of voting money for particular purposes, and of seeing that it was spent for those purposes and not for others. For his opposition to this, Clarendon was disliked by the Commons; at the same time he was personally unpopular with the court; there was a superstitious feeling abroad that the Plague, the Fire, and the Dutch in the Medway were all the Judgments of God on the Popish tendencies which were uneasily suspected. Hence it was easy for Charles to make him the scape-goat. Clarendon fell; his impeachment was moved, and he fled to France, taking no further part in public affairs.

§ 2. *The Cabal*, 1667—1673.

The Cabal.

The next phase is that of the Cabal administration. The word Cabal had recently been coming into use, in the sense of a small group of associated politicians. It so happened that the group now associated at the head of the government were men whose initials spelt the word Cabal—Sir Thomas Clifford, Lord Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley, and Lauderdale. They represented no policy: they had different aims. Clifford and Arlington were Catholics: the dissipated Buckingham chose to ally himself with the Puritans: Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, had sat in the Barebone Parliament: Lauderdale was chiefly concerned with Scotland. The man who had a policy was Charles; but it was a policy that he could only pursue secretly; it was concealed even from the ministers.

The Triple Alliance, 1668.

The first consequence of Clarendon's fall was apparently a complete reversal of foreign policy. Some few men, notably the able and admirable diplomatist, Sir William Temple, were already recognising that the power and ambitions

of Louis XIV. were becoming a menace to Europe, and required to be met by a solid alliance between the two joint naval Powers, England and Holland—although perhaps the bulk of the nation were still more troubled with jealousy of Holland's commercial rivalry and with a desire to wipe out the disgrace of the Dutch descent on the Medway. Temple however succeeded in getting his policy of the Dutch alliance carried through, and negotiated with Holland and Sweden the Triple Alliance (Jan. 1668); a measure which served as an immediate check on the aggression of Louis against the Spanish Provinces, which lay all along the eastern borders of France.

The Treaty of Dover, 1671.

The reason why Charles assented to this policy was, that he counted on its making a reconciliation between France and Holland impossible, while he had every intention of deserting the alliance and privately making his own terms with France. For his own policy absolutely required support and especially money from Louis, for the maintenance of an army and the restoration of Catholicism. Two years after the Triple Alliance was formed, he had—with the connivance of the Catholics Clifford and Arlington—made a private treaty with Louis. The Netherlands were to be partitioned between the contracting monarchs, and Catholicism was to be established in England by the aid of French money and, if necessary, of French troops. Such was the secret Treaty of Dover. In 1671 a fresh treaty was made to satisfy—and to deceive—Ashley and Buckingham. It contained the agreement for the destruction of Holland, the commercial rival; but said nothing of the Catholic restoration.

In the meantime, Parliament was only waxing more bigoted in its persecution of Nonconformity and its zeal against Catholicism. In 1672, the Houses having been prorogued, after supplies had been granted, to carry out, as was supposed, the policy of the Triple Alliance, the mask was dropped. A sudden joint attack by England and France was made on the Dutch. Additional funds were obtained by what was known as the Stop of the Exchequer. At that time, merchants deposited large sums with the goldsmiths, as they now do with bankers: the goldsmiths had lent large sums to Government. It was announced that the Government's repayment of the loan would be deferred. Merchants demanded their money from the goldsmiths who could not repay them: it is easy to see how the whole trading community suffered. On the sea, the general law, under which the united fleets of different nations lose by lack of concert all the advantage of superior numbers, came into full play. Moreover even

The Second Dutch War, 1672—3.

since 1666 the discipline of the English navy had fallen grievously. Hence the Dutch fleets more than held their own at Southwold or Sole Bay, and in later engagements. On land, as the French armies advanced, the government of De Witt was overthrown, young William of Orange was proclaimed Stadtholder—and William opened the dykes which laid the country under water. Thus Holland was saved. In 1673 the Habsburg monarchies were in alliance with her. The coalition of Europe against France was already in sight.

The project of destroying Holland was checked; but this mattered the less to Charles, since the war had restored his nephew to the leadership there. The project for restoring Catholicism prospered no better. The first step necessary was the extension of toleration to Protestant Nonconformists and Catholics alike. No such measure could be expected from the Cavalier Parliament, and Charles attempted the experiment of issuing (1672) a Declaration of Indulgence while the Houses were prorogued; on the theory that the Crown had the suspending power, *i.e.* could, without an Act of Parliament, suspend the penalties against Nonconformity. The result was that when Parliament met in 1673 it insisted on the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence, and proceeded to pass the Test Act; which required everyone holding office under the Crown to take the Sacrament according to the Anglican rite, and to abjure Transubstantiation. Charles realised, in time to escape his own ruin, that the national sentiment against "Popery" could not be allayed either by honest argument or by cajolery. The Dissenters themselves preferred persecution for dissent to toleration for Catholicism. The immediate effect of the Test Act was to drive Clifford and James, the Duke of York—who had recently declared himself a Catholic—from office, and to send Ashley (now known as Lord Shaftesbury) and Buckingham into active opposition. Shaftesbury, in fact, was beginning to be more than suspicious of the King's Catholicising designs. Peace was made with the Dutch early in 1674 at the Treaty of Westminster. The Cabal was at an end; a new minister appears on the scene in the person of Thomas Osborne, better known under the name of Lord Danby.

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672.

The Test Act, 1673.

§ 3. *Danby, the Popish Terror, and the Reaction*, 1674—1681.

1674. Charles and Danby.

The changes in foreign policy between 1667 and 1674 are confusing enough; they do not become easier to follow as the reign progresses. The key is to be found in the two constant facts, that formal support from Louis was always the absolute necessity for Charles, who was persistently engaged in misleading or surreptitiously thwarting ministers who were not in his own plot. Thus he now used Danby, because Danby brought with him the high Cavaliers—the ultra-royalists. Moreover he organised the practice, carried to perfection by his successors, of securing Parliamentary majorities by the lavish bestowal of bribes—in the form sometimes of appointments, sometimes of hard cash: which won the House in these years the name of the "Pension Parliament." On the other hand, Danby was hostile to France; and it would have been difficult to avoid an active and warlike reversion to the policy of the Triple Alliance, if the Opposition had not been afraid to grant the necessary supplies—lest the King should divert them to other purposes. Charles himself was comfortably established as Louis's pensioner, which made it the easier for him to do without Parliamentary grants, and to effect another prorogation from the end of 1675 to the beginning of 1677. When the Houses met again, Shaftesbury attempted to force a dissolution, reckoning that a new Parliament would break the Cavalier ascendency: but his action gave a handle against him and he was committed to the Tower.

In this year, however, occurred one event which was presently to bear fruit. The King had no legitimate children. The heir-presumptive was his Catholic brother, James, Duke of York. James had two children, both daughters, and both Protestants. The next heir, after them, was William of Orange, whose mother had been Mary, the eldest sister of Charles and James.

The Orange Marriage, 1677.

Danby now succeeded in bringing about a marriage between William, and Mary the elder daughter of James. There was every probability that they would some day succeed to the throne, uniting England and Holland in close league against French or Catholic aggression. When Shaftesbury came out of the Tower, an unexpected instrument appeared for the overthrow of the administration. The whole country was already in a fever of suspicion as to Romanising designs on the part of the Government, when one Titus Oates came forward, declaring

The Popish Plot, 1678.

that he had discovered a Popish plot to murder the King, and to set the Duke of York on the throne, and smite Protestants with fire and sword. We were to have an

English St Bartholomew, followed up by the Inquisition. That was the general idea, and of course the thing was to be accomplished by French assistance. Descending to particulars, Oates procured warrants against a considerable number of Jesuits, and achieved a great triumph when, at his instigation, the papers of the Duke of York's Jesuit secretary, Coleman, were seized, and were found to be full of the idea of the conversion of England, through James, by the assistance of Louis. Shaftesbury and his friends with utter unscrupulousness fanned the flame for party purposes: a loathsome breed of informers sprang up. No witness was too base, no lie too foul, to be believed against anyone who could be charged with being a papist.

From the outset, the people were possessed with a perfect panic —especially when an excellent and popular magistrate, Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, with whom Oates had placed written depositions, was found murdered. High Cavaliers, however sturdy their Protestantism, were generally suspected. By a special irony of fate, Danby, who hated France and was hated by Louis, had been inveigled into drawing up a bond between Louis and Charles, arranging for a pension for the King of England. Louis, considering that Charles had played him false in allowing his niece to marry the Dutch Stadtholder, cooperated with the opposition to make the bond public, and so to ruin Danby, as the responsible party —a step which resulted in the establishment of the great modern doctrine that, whatever the King may have said or done, the responsibility for the actions of Government lies on the ministers, who cannot shelter themselves by pleading the King's orders. But the impeachment of Danby forced the King's hand. In the existing state of public feeling, the only chance of saving the minister's life was to postpone his trial by a dissolution. To save him, Charles dissolved the Cavalier Parliament when it had sat for eighteen years (Jan. 1679).

The Fall of Danby.

For two years England was ridden by the nightmare of the Plot, the foul invention of a perjured scoundrel. The torrent of public sentiment was far too fierce for anyone to struggle against it openly; all that Charles dared do was to play for time, which he did with consummate skill. The Opposition were not equally clever. They swept the country at the elections, but split among themselves over the policy that was to be pursued. The bulk of the party favoured Shaftesbury's scheme, which was to exclude James from the succession to the throne; while the others merely wished to have his hands completely tied,

Policy of Shaftesbury.

But the true policy for the party would have been to ally themselves with William and Mary, and to nominate them as the successors; instead of which, Shaftesbury, wanting a tool, intended the popular Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles, to succeed.

A well-meant scheme for conciliation was devised by Sir William Temple, through the development of the Privy Council into a sort of intermediary between the King and Parliament: but neither the King nor the members of the Council had the slightest intention of treating it as a serious institution, and it soon collapsed. The one thing which this Parliament of 1679 did effect was the passage of the Habeas Corpus Act; which gave reality to what had been for centuries recognised as a vital principle of English law—the right of an accused person to early trial. What the Act did was to provide for the immediate issue, on demand, of the Writ of Habeas Corpus, which secured the prisoner against unreasonable delay; whereas before this it had been possible to interpose such difficulties in the way of procuring the Writ as to make the law practically a dead letter. Parliament failed however to pass Shaftesbury's Exclusion Bill, barring James from the succession; before it could get through the Houses, Charles dissolved Parliament (July).

Habeas Corpus, 1679.

At this juncture, Charles was seized with what was supposed to be a mortal illness. The alarm lasted long enough to awaken the country to the fact that at this moment his death could hardly fail to be the signal for a civil war, since the only hope of the Shaftesbury faction would lie in Monmouth's accession. The event did much to restore the personal popularity of Charles, and strengthened his hands considerably. On the other hand, Monmouth's popularity also increased, while that of James sank still lower. Recently the persecution of the Scottish Covenanters had reached such a pitch that some of them met and murdered Archbishop Sharp under circumstances of great brutality; after which they assembled in arms, and routed the troopers of John Graham, the famous Claverhouse, afterwards Viscount Dundee, at Drumclog. Monmouth had then been sent to Scotland, where his pacific action had been much applauded. Now, when the King recovered, Monmouth was virtually banished to Holland, while James took his place in Scotland, and was held responsible for the severe persecution which followed. Thus it became more than ever imperative for moderate men to be ready to counteract Shaftesbury and his following.

The Dukes of York and Monmouth.

A new Parliament was summoned; but Charles was audacious

enough to take the risk of at once proroguing it—trusting to time to fight on his side. It did not actually meet till October, 1680. The numerous petitions which poured in, praying that Parliament might meet, and the counter-addresses expressing abhorrence of the demand, gave the two parties the temporary titles of "Petitioners" and "Abhorrers"; which very soon were replaced by the opprobrious nick-names of Whig and Tory—the Scottish Covenanters being already known as Whigamores, and a certain class of Irish outlaws as Tories. The names caught the popular fancy, and have never disappeared from political slang. When the Houses did meet, the Commons at once passed their Exclusion Bill: but Lord Halifax succeeded in getting the measure thrown out by the Lords. The enraged Commons refused to pass any money Bills, and proceeded to attack Halifax. Charles saw that he must submit or dissolve: he dissolved. Two months later (March, 1681) his fourth Parliament met—unconscious that the King was at last in possession of a winning card. It was assembled at Oxford—not London; Charles had his own reasons for wishing to be out of reach of the fanatically anti-papist Londoners. For at last he had secured from Louis the supplies which would make him independent of Parliament altogether. Even so, he offered a compromise which, while it gave James the Crown, would make him an exile with the Prince of Orange as regent. But Shaftesbury would have the unqualified Exclusion Bill, and nothing less. Everyone knew that the Bill meant, not William and Mary, but Monmouth. Now Charles knew that he could count on the balance swinging to his side. Once more he dissolved Parliament—and the Shaftesbury Whigs suddenly realised that they were hoist with their own petard. Charles had won: and his victory was complete, decisive, and final.

Whigs and Tories.

The King wins, 1681.

§ 4. *The victory of Absolutism*, 1681—1685.

The succession was secured to James. Charles, for the four remaining years of his life, ruled without a Parliament. He was already possessed of a small standing army. Now he strengthened his position by filling every post with Tories who enthusiastically proclaimed the doctrines of Divine Right and Passive Obedience. Further, he attacked the Charters, first of London and then of one after another of the boroughs, cancelling them on the ground of irregularities, and replacing them with new Charters which enabled him to secure local control everywhere for

Charles absolute.

his partisans. Despotism seemed to have triumphed, though the price the King paid was complete subjection to his paymaster at Versailles. The Opposition had been shattered by its own violence; it could do nothing now but concoct more schemes of violence—for Monmouth stood in the way of any concert with William of Orange. Shaftesbury plotted insurrection; but England became too dangerous for him, and he had to flee to Holland, where he died in 1683. Meanwhile, a wilder plot than his own was being hatched—the chief conspirator being an old Cromwellian Colonel named Rumbold—for the assassination of Charles and James, which was to take place at the Rye House (between London and Newmarket), whence the plot took its name. The plot was discovered, and the opportunity was seized to implicate some of the Whig leaders, who were probably quite innocent of it. Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney, a professed Republican, were condemned, and executed; in default of the two witnesses required by the Treason Statutes, Sidney's private papers were accepted as evidence by the Judges, though they did not prove treason at all. The Earl of Essex, while a prisoner in the Tower on the same charge, cut his own throat.

The Rye House Plot, 1683.

The plot and its discovery clinched the power of the King. He could afford completely to disregard the Test Act, and restore James to office. Halifax, who gloried in his title of "the Trimmer"—he was always to be found supporting the side which for the time was undermost—opposed him; Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, and the crafty Earl of Sunderland, held the foremost place in the Royal counsels. But the hour of triumph was short. In February, 1685, Charles died—having privately, in his last moments, been received into that Church of which he had been a secret adherent most of his life.

Death of Charles II.

Charles II. is the most unedifying monarch who ever sat on the throne of England; because, from his own point of view, he was a success. He steered his way through shoals and quicksands with infinite cleverness—and unparalleled infamy. No other King deliberately sold himself to a foreign Power for cash. With an abundance of indolent good-nature, he was perfectly heartless; with acute political instincts, he was devoid of patriotism. For a thoroughly selfish end, he could be magnificently audacious; when he saw innocent men, whom he knew to be innocent, brought to ruin and death by the great lie of the Popish plot, which his shrewdness detected at the outset, he dared not raise a finger to save them. He made one huge miscalculation, when he fancied he

His character.

could restore Catholicism by the aid of Louis; but he discovered his blunder in time to evade its consequences. For sheer cleverness, the only English monarch who could dispute the palm with him was Elizabeth. His cleverness gives the measure of his iniquity. Under Elizabeth, England reached the height of her glory; under Charles, though the country knew it not, she reached the depths of national dishonour.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JAMES II.: 1685—1688.

§ 1. *The Road to Ruin*, 1685—1688.

Policy of James II.

Twelve years before his death, Charles had realised the hopelessness of striving for that restoration of Catholicism which was his favourite project. He never revived it; but his brother James, who had early displayed the courage of his convictions by defying popular sentiment and openly joining the Roman Church, was now ready to stake his crown for the accomplishment of that object. For four years, the old Popish Plot business had been totally discredited, a Tory magistracy had been enforcing the Penal Laws against the Protestant Nonconformists with unprecedented severity, and Tory parsons, in a fervour of loyalty and of triumph over the Whigs, had been preaching the doctrines of Divine Right and Passive Obedience; backed by the Tory squires. James no doubt blundered into the old mistake of imagining that the Tory parsons and squires were at heart favourably inclined to his schemes.

Even James, however, ought to have seen that at the very best, the utmost tact and the most delicate handling were needed to give those schemes effect. Yet his first act was precisely of the kind to arouse the keenest alarm. Before calling a Parliament, he issued a Proclamation for the collection of the revenues which had been granted to his brother for life, but to which he had no constitutional claim until Parliament should renew the grant to him. Still, no present harm seemed to come from that arbitrary proceeding.

The Test Act notwithstanding, he publicly attended Mass: but no one was much disturbed when Oates and his fellows, the fabricators of the Popish Plot, were attacked, and punished with a somewhat sickening savagery. In May Parliament was summoned—an inevitable step, but safe enough, since the break-up of the Whigs

had been made only more decisive by the Rye House Plot, and the towns, with their revised charters, were practically in the hands of the Court party. The House loyally voted him an annual revenue more ample than had been granted to Charles.

The Monmouth Rising, 1685.

Meanwhile a double insurrection was planned by the Whigs in exile. Argyle, to whom the Scottish Covenanters looked as their political chief, landed in Scotland, but failed to raise the country and was soon caught and executed. A few days earlier, Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire and endeavoured to raise the West Country in the cause of Protestantism. With a strange enthusiasm, the country folk rallied to his banner, and fought for him with touching devotion and vain valour at Sedgemoor (July 6th); but there was no sign of a general rising. The wretched Duke was himself taken and very deservedly executed after the most grovelling entreaties for pardon. But the revolt was punished with a cruel vindictiveness which has stamped the "Bloody Assize" as one of the ugliest episodes in English history, and has established the reputation of the Chief Justice, Jeffreys, as the most iniquitous judge that ever disgraced the English bench. Of all the innumerable brutalities committed, the worst were the judicial murders of Alice Lisle and Elizabeth Gaunt, for no worse offence than that of showing common humanity to fugitives from Sedgemoor. A like supremacy of infamy attached to the bloodthirsty troopers of Colonel Kirke's regiment, known as Kirke's Lambs.

Effect of the rebellion.

The alacrity of his Parliament, and the ease with which the insurrections were suppressed, satisfied the deluded King that he could carry matters with a high hand. When he came to the throne he already found a standing army; he now sought to increase it, and, ignoring the Test Act, began to appoint Catholics to commands. When Halifax protested, he was dismissed. But there were limits which even that Parliament would not transgress. Before granting supplies, on meeting in the autumn, the Commons passed a protest against the breaches of the Test Act; it was evident that the Lords would follow their lead. James prorogued the Parliament (Nov.).

The King's own actions would have been sufficient to account for much alarm and restiveness: but James cannot have realised the bearing on political feeling of two events of this year. One was the execution of Monmouth, whose disappearance removed a cause of disunion among the Whigs; there was no longer any sort of doubt that, if they attempted to overthrow the King, it must be in alliance

with William and Mary, who would never have helped them to place Monmouth on the throne. The other was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. in October, 1685. The Edict itself had been the work of Henry IV., a hundred years before. It had secured toleration for the Huguenots in France; hitherto France, though a Catholic country, had stood for religious toleration, not for the extirpation of Protestantism. Now, by the Revocation, for which Louis had been gradually preparing, he proclaimed himself the deadly foe of Protestantism, and made all Protestants the deadly foes of France. Setting on foot a fierce persecution, he took up, in effect, the part which Philip II. had played in the reign of Elizabeth. He revived the passionate conviction that Protestantism would once more have to fight for its life—a conviction which was not a whit modified by the fact that the rest of the Catholic Powers, the Papacy included, were ready to league themselves with the Protestant nations to resist the French King's great schemes of aggression. Had James boldly declared against France, and avowed the principle that Protestants and Catholics might fight shoulder to shoulder, that there was nothing to prevent their friendship, that the enemy was not Rome but France, the consequences might have been very different. But he did not. So the country believed that his object was to do in England what Louis was doing in France, and that he and Louis were in league; and he tried to carry out his Catholic policy, while every day his subjects were growing more feverishly Protestant than ever. He was soon to find that the very army on which he relied was not the less Protestant because the troopers were bloodthirsty.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Throughout 1686 James, with no Parliament to impede him, was carrying out his policy of making Catholic magistrates and appointing Catholic officers to the regiments now encamped at Hounslow, near London. A Catholic Colonel, Hales, challenged for taking up his command in disregard of the Test Act, pleaded the King's authority. A packed bench of judges thereupon decided, that the King was acting within his prerogative in promising immunity from the provisions of the Test Act; which was thus practically made a dead letter. It soon seemed as if the profession of Catholicism would be a condition of holding office, in defiance of Statutes which made it an absolute bar. The Court of High Commission, abolished by Statute, was illegally revived with Jeffreys as President; and its energies were directed not against Nonconformists but against the most orthodox of the

1686. Catholicising measures.

clergy. Rochester, a younger son of the old Lord Clarendon, who at first had been the rival and supplanter of Halifax in the royal counsels, was now in turn dismissed because he remained obstinately Anglican; while Rochester's intriguing rival, Sunderland, who had no similar scruples, turned Catholic and became supreme with James; along with the Jesuit Petre and Richard Talbot, on whom the ancient title of Tyrconnel had been bestowed. Then in 1687 James fell back on the old policy of seeking the support of Protestant dissenters as well as of Romanists. Reviving the claim to the suspending power, he issued a new Declaration of Indulgence whereby great numbers of delinquents under the Conventicle and other Acts were released from prison. The relief was too great to be refused, as the Declaration under Charles had been refused. But at the same time James widened the breach between himself and the High Anglicans, the one body in whom loyalty to the Crown had for forty years outweighed every sentiment except loyalty to the Church, by evicting the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, and replacing them with Catholic priests.

1687. Declaration of Indulgence.

In 1688, his confident infatuation culminated. He was blindly unconscious that there was no single section of the community on whose support he could rely. The strain on the theoretical advocates of Passive Obedience was growing intolerable: the Dissenters suspected, while they accepted, the gift of toleration; the soldiers condemned Papistry with profane oaths; the very Catholics were divided, since the French Jesuits, by whom James was guided, were in antagonism to the Pope himself and the Papal policy. Yet the King held on his course with blind obstinacy. In May, twelve months after his first Declaration of Indulgence, he issued a second; suspending the penal laws, as before, by the Royal authority, but adding clauses which emphasised his "Papistical" intentions. He thereby again alienated the Dissenters. To make matters worse, he ordered the Anglican clergy to read the Declaration to their congregations, though he knew that every Anglican regarded it as a blow at the Established Church.

1688. The Second Declaration.

The Primate, Sancroft, and six of the Bishops, responded by presenting a very moderate and reasonable Petition, requesting that this impossible order might be withdrawn. When the clergy, almost without exception, ignored the order to read the Declaration, James had the seven Bishops prosecuted for publishing a seditious libel. They were arrested, and taken to the Tower. All London turned out to convert their passage to prison into a

The Seven Bishops.

triumphal progress. But almost at the same hour the King's wife. Mary of Modena, bore him a son; his daughter, the wife of William of Orange, was thus no longer his heir; the hopes of a not distant Protestant succession—James himself was fifty-four—vanished. In the shock of disappointment, more than half the country believed that the boy was not the Queen's child at all—that he had been secretly brought into the Palace, that the whole thing was a plot. There were some curious circumstances and some careless informalities attending the birth which gave colour to the popular fiction. To James, however, the birth of his son seemed a sign of Divine approbation. Any hesitation he may have felt before disappeared; he urged on the trial of the Bishops. All England awaited the decision of the Judges with suspended breath. But a conviction would have been a perversion of the law so monstrous that the Judges quailed. When the verdict, "not guilty," was pronounced, the nation fell into a frenzy of joy, and even the camp on Hounslow Heath bellowed applause.

Birth of a son.

§ 2. *The "Glorious Revolution,"* 1688.

It had not needed the trial of the Seven Bishops to make many Tories as well as Whigs realise that the government of James was becoming impossible and intolerable. For some time, leading Englishmen had been privately drawing into closer relations with William of Orange. The great object of William's life was to check the increasing power of the French King; and to that end the alliance of England with Holland had become a necessity. So long as it had seemed possible that James might unite with the Pope and other Catholic Powers in opposition to France, William had no inclination to seek his overthrow; besides, sooner or later his wife Mary's succession to the English throne would secure this object. But it was now perfectly clear not only that James meant to restore Catholicism, in the sense of removing Catholic disabilities, but that he would not separate himself from Louis. Moreover, with the birth of a male heir, the situation was changed.

William of Orange.

William had warned his friends that he could not move unless he had guarantees of sufficient support. Now, the guarantee was given by Danby, the Tory minister of Charles; Russell and Sidney, kinsmen of the victims of the Rye House Plot trials; Devonshire, Shrewsbury, and Lumley; Admiral Herbert, and Compton Bishop of London.

Conditions of Invasion.

But we must also remark that the proposed intervention of William in English affairs required the support of an armed force; for the reason that there was now in England a standing army under the King's control. A revolt no longer meant a contest between the levies the King could raise on his side and the levies that insurgents could raise on theirs—the King possessed an army always ready to move and to strike, besides an army in Scotland. William must land with a force which would engage the whole attention of the King's troops. A mere armed rising in England itself would only make the King more secure and more despotic than ever, if the soldiery were loyal to him.

The force required by William was set free by the miscalculation of Louis XIV., in whose plans of aggression an attack on the Emperor came before an attack on Holland. The opening of a campaign in the Rhine Provinces instead of in the Low Countries secured Holland against an immediate attack; and thus William was able to obtain the use of Dutch troops which could not otherwise have ventured to leave Holland; while at the same time his warlike preparations appeared to be merely defensive measures. Further encouragement came to the Stadtholder, in the form of secret promises of support from two men who were openly in the most intimate confidence of James—Sunderland, and John Churchill, who was the real though not the nominal chief of the army.

So when William was ready, Louis was actually engaged elsewhere, though he threatened to declare war if Holland took any steps against his ally the King of England. James's ships awaited William in the Thames; but a "Protestant wind" blew out of the east and kept them from putting to sea, while it wafted William's fleet down the Channel to Torbay, where he landed (Nov. 5th).

William's Declarations.

In the interval, he had issued Declarations both to Scotland and England. He was coming, not to seize the throne, but to insist on a free Parliament and the remedy of abuses, which were enumerated—like Henry of Lancaster and Richard of York in the fifteenth century. For he had no wish to be involved in a civil war in England; and English Tories had not altogether divested themselves of the doctrine of Non-Resistance, as Archbishop Sancroft, the courageous chief of the Seven Bishops, was presently to show. James on the other hand had been doing his best to ruin his own cause; first by threatening the clergy who had refused to read the Declaration of Indulgence, then by talking of concessions when concession seemed only an admission that he had taken fright.

His Reception.

William was received with welcome; but there was little immediate accession of strength to his army. As he advanced to Exeter, the Royalist forces were gathering at Salisbury. But even their doubtful loyalty had been further shaken by the addition of troops drafted from Ireland, with whom the English would not serve: and Churchill had organised a conspiracy of desertion. While officers and regiments were going over from James to William in the south, news came that Danby was organising an insurrection in the north. The King fell back on London; day by day, reports of fresh desertions reached him, including that of his daughter Anne and her husband Prince George of Denmark. Secretly he hurried his wife and child over to France. William still resolutely kept to his character of arbiter, not conqueror. A free Parliament must be called, and the troops held at such a distance from London as would prevent them from even seeming to overawe the Houses. Even now it seemed that if James would but take counsel he might save his crown; yet he deliberately threw away his chances. Instead of standing his ground, he attempted a sudden flight; with a childish idea of merely creating confusion, he first burned a number of the writs for the new Parliament which was in course of being called, and then, while he fled across the river, flung the Great Seal into the waters.

Flight of James.

Flight was abdication; it removed the scruples of his most scrupulous adherents: it was the one thing most desirable, from William's point of view. Yet fate gave James another chance; he was stopped by some fishermen, just as the Peers in London had declared themselves a sort of Provisional Government, since there was no Parliament to act. While he remained in the country, there were many Tories who would still refuse to withdraw their allegiance. He was still free and unrestrained; he was still King. But he was still—James: and once again, he fled. This time, no one stopped him, and he got to France. He had not been driven from the throne: he had simply deserted it. The reign of the Stuarts was at an end.

§ 3. *The Century. Expansion, commerce, and industry.*

Tudor and Stuart.

For some hundred and twenty years, three generations of Tudor monarchs ruled England, employing able ministers as their advisers or their instruments, careful always that their measures should win the assent of a Parliament which never took upon itself the direction of policy. During the next eighty-five years, three generations of Stuarts sought to emulate the Tudor

Absolutism without troubling themselves about the assent of Parliament; with the result that Parliament for a time turned them off the throne altogether, and learned to believe that the control of policy was its own immemorial right. Nor did it lose that conviction, although the third Stuart succeeded for a short time in making himself free of Parliament by becoming the servitor of a foreign Power. On no other terms was it possible now for a King of England to maintain a prolonged despotism. Sooner or later, the decisive supremacy of Parliament was bound to come, and it came actually with the fall of the last Stuart King.

The Expansion.

While the Constitutional struggle was going on, England was almost unconsciously sowing the seeds of a great empire, made possible by the deeds of the Elizabethans. Sometimes for religion's sake, sometimes for gain, her sons had gone out as settlers in the New World, imbued with the political ideas of English gentry or English Puritans, and had established English States. Others, in search of wealth, had betaken themselves to the east, to establish not States but trading settlements on the fringe of a great Oriental Empire, destined at a distant day to fall under their dominion. In both spheres, during the next century, they were to be challenged by France; in both the victory was to be theirs, mainly because English fleets drove French fleets off the seas.

The Colonial Theory.

The Government sanctioned the commercial settlements on condition that they paid their own way; and granted them privileges for cash. It sanctioned the colonial settlements, on condition that they paid their own way and did not compete with English traders. In the days of the Stuarts, and long after the Stuarts, the Government regarded it as a part of its business to throttle competitors with English traders. Therefore it passed Navigation Acts to bring the carrying trade of the world into the hands of British shippers, and to keep it there, though by so doing they probably diminished the volume of English commerce. So Government checked imports lest they should compete with English produce; with the effect of getting English exports checked in return. It was believed however that English trade gained more than it lost by the process.

Repression of Competition.

England repressed the competition of Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies, as zealously as that of foreign nations. Whether she did or did not herself benefit commercially thereby, they all three suffered: with political as well as commercial consequences. In the case of Scotland, the grievance was so serious that in a few years she would undoubtedly have severed

herself from England, had it not been removed. In the case of the colonies, the grievance was one of the principal factors which prepared them to sever themselves from Britain a hundred years later; it did not have that effect sooner, because until after the middle of the eighteenth century, the colonies needed the support of British armies and British fleets in meeting the aggression of France, whose colonies were on their borders. In the case of Ireland, it only embittered the aversion to the English rule; which she was not strong enough to attempt to shake off, after the first vain effort to defy William of Orange.

Manufacture.

As yet, England had not become a great manufacturing country. Less than one-third of the whole population was congregated in towns. But the manufacture of cloths, especially woollen cloths, had been much increased through the settlement of Flemish weavers in England at the end of the Tudor period; it received a further impulse for similar reasons after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; woollen fabrics were the principal class of goods exported from England. To encourage the manufacture by keeping the price of raw wool as low as possible, the export of wool was deliberately checked by Government. Other manufactures were only pursued on a scale which produced enough goods for the home market, but no surplus for exportation. The machinery which, a hundred years later, enabled a few hands to turn out an immense quantity of work, had not yet been invented; and the requirements of ordinary households were met by the spinning and weaving done in the house or in the neighbourhood.

Agriculture.

In modern times, if every acre outside the towns were under tillage, it would still be quite impossible to feed the population of these islands off the produce of the soil. This however was by no means the case in the seventeenth century: the land under cultivation produced enough to feed the population. The process which was going on all through the Tudor period of converting arable land into pasture had come to an end. The development of new industries gradually absorbed the labour which had been displaced. On the large farms, labourers worked for wages, and the bulk of the produce was sold; but there were also innumerable small holdings, in which the cultivators themselves lived in tolerable comfort on the produce, without having much over to sell. Nowadays, most people live by selling their own labour for wages, or by selling the things they make, or by buying goods from the makers and selling again at a higher price to people who want to use the goods—the "consumers." But in the seventeenth century,

a large proportion still produced for themselves most of the things they needed, and sold the surplus to provide the few things they needed which they could not themselves produce. A hundred years later, the small yeomen could no longer produce that necessary surplus, and disappeared into the ranks of the labourers for wages.

The Mercantile Theory.

Just as the household tried to make itself self-sufficing, so did the nation. In both cases, instead of devoting itself to producing as much as possible of what it could produce best, and buying out of the proceeds the things which it could only produce less well, it expended a part of its energies on making the things it could produce less well in order to avoid having to buy them. It did not realise that in consequence it had less to sell—that money, and goods which can be sold for money, are equivalents. It still believed that money is the only wealth, and that to pay away money for goods diminishes the wealth of the purchaser. Nevertheless, in spite of this misapprehension, it still did already produce enough surplus goods of one kind or another for export, to give it a high place among the commercial nations; and it had won the first place among the carriers of the world's goods, a position wherein its sole rival was Holland.

BOOK IV.

REVOLUTION AND UNION.

1688—1714.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WILLIAM III.: 1689—1702.

§ 1. *The New Era*, 1689—1714.

The New Monarchy.

The flight of James II. at the close of December, 1688, marks the commencement of a new order. Despotism had made its last serious effort in England. The idea of it indeed was not yet dead; like the fabled Titans imprisoned beneath volcanoes, it produced occasional convulsions, and was a constant source of alarm for sixty years; not, however, because kings or queens aimed at becoming despotic, but because the exiled family struggled to recover its throne. Within these islands, the definite supremacy of Parliament was therefore accepted on all hands. The popular Absolutism of the Tudors had passed away long before; Absolutism by Divine Right was sent toppling when James left his throne vacant. No one could regard William or Mary as monarchs by Divine Right; by the time Anne came to the throne, no very great number of responsible persons doubted (as they still did in 1688) that her half-brother was by birth the legitimate heir; and the whole principle of Divine Right was finally wiped out when the House of Hanover was established on the throne. The year 1714 confirmed the Revolution of 1688. Thus the two reigns between those years constitute a period, a compartment in our Constitutional History, by themselves.

An era of Wars.

But not only in Constitutional History. Just a hundred years before, Spain had put forth all her might to crush the Island nation, which had emerged triumphantly from

the contest. During the century, foreign wars had been only incidents in a history mainly taken up with the Constitutional struggle. We had fought now with France, now with Spain, now with Holland; none of the wars had been long continued. With the Revolution, we entered on a series of great wars. The first went on for five and twenty years, with only a brief interval. During the next five and twenty years, there was generally peace; then for another five and twenty years, generally war. In the middle of the next thirty years there was another big war; and after that, war with little intermission for more than twenty years. That is to say, for a century and a quarter we were at war for three-fifths of the time. And in every case, whether the war began as a French war or not, France was fighting against us before the end of it. The Revolution brought us into direct and perpetual antagonism with France—a state of things which had not prevailed since we ceased to hold French territory in the fifteenth century. The wars of William and Marlborough, and the policy of Louis XIV., whose death followed very shortly after their close, fixed the character of the conflict, and ensured that England would fight France on even terms. Thus in our foreign relations, these twenty-six years form a definite compartment of time.

The Union.

Again: hitherto England and Scotland had developed each on her own lines; though in close association since the union of the crowns, they were still separate States. England could not fix the succession for Scotland, nor Scotland for England. But, during this period, the two were voluntarily incorporated into the single State of Great Britain. Affairs were working towards this consummation in the reign of William, though it was not achieved till that of Anne. After the Treaty of Union in 1707, we have to do no longer with the Policy, the Parliament, the Fleets and Armies, of England, but with those of Great Britain. The British Empire comes into being in this period. England and Scotland cease to be separate; each surrenders independence, for the sake of Imperial Unity.

The new Finance.

Once more: in this period is established the new system of National Finance based on National Credit; the National Debt is created. The Government begins to borrow great sums of money on which it guarantees interest but does not promise repayment of the principal; on this system, emergencies demanding a very heavy expenditure no longer have to be met entirely and immediately, or almost immediately, by taxation. On the other hand, every one who contributes to the loans to Government—in other words, every one who holds Government Stock—is necessarily keenly interested in the stability of Government itself;

since there is always the possibility that a fresh Revolution will bring in a Government which may decline to be responsible for the debts contracted by that which it has overthrown. Thus the new Finance is a guarantee against any violent subversion of the existing order from within.

Toleration.

Finally, for Great Britain, though not for Ireland, the period sees the establishment of Religious Toleration. The Toleration is not complete, indeed, since various political disabilities survive, especially for the Catholics; but persecution disappears, so far at least that no one suffers in purse or person at the hands of the law, for worshipping God in the fashion which he judges best, as his own conscience may dictate.

§ 2. *William and Mary; and the English Whigs and Tories,* 1688—1690.

Accession of William and Mary.

The flight of James left England without a King or a Government. William promptly called together an Assembly of the Peers, of Commoners who had sat in the Parliaments of Charles II., and of sundry members of the governing body of London. This Assembly in turn invited him to assume control provisionally, and to summon forthwith a Convention like the Convention Parliament which had recalled Charles II. in 1660. The first business of the Convention was to establish somebody on the vacant throne, after settling the terms on which the new occupant should be placed there. Tories had joined with Whigs in bringing William over, and the thing was not to be controlled by one party. Something like national unanimity was necessary.

The uncompromising advocates of Divine Right would have had James still recognised as King while William should be appointed Regent. Seeing this to be out of the question, the High Tories would have made Mary Queen alone: but Mary would not be Queen unless her husband were King, nor would he accept the position of being merely her minister. Both Whigs and Tories knew that unless William were made head of the State, chaos would follow; and that he would leave them to that chaos, unless they gave him the crown and sceptre. The terms on which they offered him the crown were drawn up in the Declaration of Right, affirming all the principles for which Parliament had struggled since the days before the Petition of Right, sixty years ago. On their acceptance of the Declaration, William and Mary were formally made King and Queen by the Convention, the royal office continuing to the survivor.

The Convention was then converted into a Parliament; and the Declaration of Right was made law in the Bill of Rights which was passed in the autumn. This final Charter of national liberties stamped as illegal the suspending power claimed by James as a royal prerogative, Courts such as the revived Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, and the levying of taxes and maintenance of a standing army in time of peace without consent of Parliament. It claimed the right of frequent Parliaments, freedom of election to Parliament, freedom of speech in Parliament, freedom for subjects to petition the King (ignored in the proceedings against the seven bishops). Finally an accompanying Act of Succession declared that any one who was a Papist or married to a Papist was by that fact rendered incapable of occupying the throne: and fixed the succession first on the heirs of Mary, then on Anne and her heirs, and then on the heirs of William if he should survive his wife and marry again. In noting this last provision, it must be remembered that if James and his offspring by Mary of Modena were excluded from the throne, William actually stood next after Mary and Anne as being the son of the eldest daughter of Charles I.

The Bill of Rights, 1689.

On Feb. 13, 1689, William III., Stadtholder of Holland, became also William III., King of England. In Scotland, he was not proclaimed till April, and Ireland held out for James for some time longer. But the new King's difficulties began in England forthwith. Of the seven bishops whom James had attacked, six nevertheless clung fast to their doctrines of Divine Right and Passive Obedience, refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; some hundreds of the clergy followed suit; and the non-jurors, as they were called, remained the centre of the highest and purest form of the old loyalty—not without a flavour of martyrdom, since they were inevitably deprived of their benefices. On the other hand, William would not be made the tool of a party; and annoyed the Whigs, who looked on the Revolution as a triumph for themselves, by distributing offices with impartiality between Whigs and Tories; while it was obvious that the only men in whom he had real confidence were his own Dutch friends. Seeing that some at least of those mainly responsible for bringing him to England had notoriously been guilty not only of political treason but of personal treachery, he had every justification for his distrust; but it did not make him popular.

The Non-jurors.

Then the English soldiers became jealous of the Dutch troops, and a regiment mutinied. The result of this was that almost by an accident, the existence of a standing army became bound up with the annual calling of Parliament. A Mutiny

Mutiny Act.

Act was passed, for one year. If it lapsed without renewal, the soldiers would at once become mere private citizens, subject to no military obligations or regulations. It would so lapse, unless Parliament was called within the year to renew it—so that it became for ever impossible for the crown to use the standing army as a means for ruling without Parliament.

Toleration Act.

On the other hand, the violence of religious animosities was alleviated by a Toleration Act, which liberated the Protestant dissenters from the penal laws; though the attempt to include some of them within the pale of the Church by a Comprehension Act was frustrated, mainly by the hostility of the clergy. In fact the sympathies of the clerical body at large remained with the doctrines of the non-jurors, though the higher appointments were consistently filled with those who now became known as Low Churchmen, whose sympathies were all on the side of toleration.

William and Louis XIV.

William's grand object was a combination of England with Holland which should present a solid barrier to the aggression of the French King, who had fulfilled his threat of declaring war against Holland. In this William might have failed, if Louis had not openly espoused the cause of the exiled James, supplying him not only with an asylum but with men and money. Unless England was prepared to restore the Stuart at the dictation of the Bourbon, she must declare war against France in alliance with Holland. It was well for William that Louis had challenged all Europe at once and could not concentrate his forces against the two naval Powers. For some time the real battlefield between England and France was Ireland. There almost the whole Celtic and Catholic population was united under Tyrconnel against the Scottish and English Protestant minority, who were practically swept off the face of the land and cooped up in the two fortified towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen; while the Catholic Assembly in Dublin was declaring its independence and its loyalty to James, and passing measures of wholesale confiscation and attainder.

Scotland too had to settle affairs on her own account. But before following the course of events in the two sister nations—which present the military aspects of William's immediate task—it will be convenient to complete the narrative of the first stage of the settlement of affairs in England.

Whigs and Tories.

In October, the English Parliament met, and the Whigs displayed their vindictiveness by bringing forward an immense list of exceptions to the Act of Indemnity by which William sought to conciliate the Tories. They attacked Danby and Halifax;

and introduced a Corporation Bill (as an act of retaliation for the confiscation of the town charters); which was to disable every one concerned in that confiscation—in other words, very nearly every Tory—from holding office. Partisan legislation was entirely against William's principles, and he threatened to leave the country if these proposals were carried. They were thrown out; and in January, 1690, the King dissolved the Parliament, and called a new one.

The new Parliament proved to be strongly Tory, though not Jacobite. It settled the Royal Revenue by no means to the King's liking; granting him in permanence much less than had been given to Charles and James, but making an additional grant for four years only. The indemnity question he settled himself by proposing an Act of Grace—duly carried—which granted free pardon to all but a few particularly obnoxious offenders.

At last, in June, 1690, he was free to proceed to Ireland, where his presence was imperatively demanded.

§ 3. *Establishment of William and Mary in Ireland and Scotland*, 1688—1692.

Ireland: 1689. Siege of Londonderry.

The Protestants in the north of Ireland had hard work in holding their ground during 1689—William being still too fully occupied in England to conduct a campaign there. The hopes of James lay in Ireland, where, on his appearance in March, 1689, he could still claim to be the *de facto* King. Still, the principal Protestant stronghold at Londonderry held out with magnificent resolution through a protracted siege, till the garrison was on the verge of starvation; then some English ships succeeded in breaking the boom across the Foyle, and throwing in supplies, thereby rendering the task of the besiegers hopeless (July). About the same time, the inhabitants of Enniskillen inflicted a complete defeat on a force which had been sent against them, at Newton Butler; and these two successes saved Ireland for the time from falling completely into the hands of the Jacobites. In the autumn, William was able to send over a force under Schomberg, a former Marshal of the French army; who, being a Huguenot, had been driven from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He, however, was unable to do more than stand on the defensive: and the arms of England suffered a naval reverse, when Admiral Herbert (Lord Torrington) attacked and was repulsed by a French fleet off Bantry Bay. Through the winter and spring, there were no vigorous operations on either side; but it is remarkable that Louis, whose fleet at this time was probably stronger than

that of the English and Dutch together, made no attempt to sever the communications between England and Ireland. William and his troops landed at Carrickfergus early in June, unmolested; while Torrington, in command of the allied fleets, was left to guard the channel.

1690.

Then the French took the sea. On June 30th, in obedience to private orders, Torrington attacked a somewhat superior French fleet under Tourville; but, at the battle of Beachy Head, suffered a defeat the most complete ever inflicted on the English by the French at sea. He allowed the Dutch, who formed the van, to be cut off from the rest of the fleet, and they were only withdrawn with great difficulty and great loss, while the French losses were infinitesimal. Happily Tourville did not follow up the rout, and most of the ships got back to harbour. Just as, after the great four days' battle in which De Ruyter defeated Monk, the English navy had been able to take the seas again in full force after a brief interval, so it proved now. The defeat was decisive of nothing practical.

Battle of Beachy Head.

Very different, fortunately, was the effect of William's operations in Ireland. The day after Beachy Head, the armies of James and William met at the river Boyne. After a prolonged struggle, in which old Schomberg was killed, the English and Dutch routed the Irish and French. James hastily betook himself to France, to entreat Louis for further aid. Whatever chance remained for his cause after the defeat was ruined by his flight. The remaining campaigns in Ireland were campaigns of subjugation. In the course of conquest, William in person received a severe check at the brilliant defence of Limerick by Sarsfield—a siege not less memorable than that of Londonderry. Himself withdrawing to England, he left the subjugation of the south of Ireland to Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, who accomplished the task quickly. In the next year, the Dutch general Ginckel won a decisive victory over Tyrconnel and the French general St Ruth, at Aughrim; and then, under the Capitulation of Limerick, Sarsfield and many thousands of Irish loyalists were allowed to retire with honour from the country —to form the famous Irish Brigade, which was to render unequalled service in the armies of Louis.

The Boyne, and after.

The Capitulation provided also for a general amnesty, and for the preservation to the Catholics of all rights and privileges which they had enjoyed under Charles II. But they remained without representation in the Irish Parliament; and when that Protestant assembly met in 1695,

The Protestant ascendency.

it proceeded to tear up the treaty, and to pass the iniquitous Penal Code. The Code made the Celtic and Catholic population the subjects of an oppressive Protestant minority who held the whole ruling power in their own hands: while every kind of industry was strangled, by restrictions imposed by the English Parliament in the interests of English commerce. But resistance was dead. When the Stuarts later on tried to recover the throne, they got no help in Ireland.

Scotland: Killiecrankie, 1689.

In Scotland as well as in Ireland, a sharp contest was going on during the spring and summer of 1689. It must be remembered that Scotland, as yet a separate nation, was under no obligation to accept England's arrangements. She was free to hold by James and reject William if she chose. Presbyterian Scotland threw off the burden of Episcopacy and the Stuart monarchy, and offered the crown to William; accepting a Presbyterian establishment and toleration instead of the counter-persecution of Prelatists which she at first demanded. But in Scotland there was one brilliant Jacobite leader—John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, the "Bonny Dundee" of the song, the familiar figure of *Old Mortality*—and half the Highland clans, Jacobite or not, were ready to answer any call to fight against the Campbells. Dundee raised the Highlands; and ambushed the troops sent against him at the pass of Killiecrankie, sweeping them away before his resistless charge. But Dundee fell in the moment of victory; the clans, now leaderless, scattered. The rout of Killiecrankie ruined the cause not of the vanquished but of the victors. Mackay, a capable officer in spite of his defeat, was no very long time in putting down what was left of the insurrection.

Glencoe, 1691—2.

The government of Scotland was now managed mainly by the Dalrymples, Lord Stair and his son, and Lord Melville. Insurrection was suppressed, but disaffection did not disappear; so an order was issued that all the clans should take the oath of allegiance before a magistrate, by the last day of 1691. A small clan, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, did not present themselves till the last day, when they appeared before the military governor of Fort William (a military post recently established by General Mackay) who was not a magistrate; hence they were some days behindhand. The Master of Stair (Lord Stair's eldest son) took advantage of this to wreak an old grudge. He obtained from William an order for the extirpation of the Macdonalds, as a brood of irreconcilable brigands. A troop of soldiers was sent to Glencoe, with no profession of hostility; they were welcomed hospitably as guests; in the night, they rose up and slaughtered

their hosts. The massacre of Glencoe was never forgotten nor forgiven, and did much to render Highland sentiment irreconcilably Jacobite.

§ 4. *The War with France, to the Treaty of Ryswick. Jacobite Plots, Party Government, and the new Finance.* 1692—1697.

1692. The Grand Alliance.

After the battle of the Boyne and the desertion of Ireland as well as of England by James, there was no great likelihood of a successful insurrection within the British Isles, though there was plotting in plenty. William at last felt himself free to fight Louis on the continent; where the French had on the whole been gaining ground. Early in 1691, William successfully drew together the Grand Alliance, uniting Spain, the Empire, Savoy, Holland, and England against Louis; who was quite evidently aiming at becoming the Dictator of Europe. Even now the French were the attacking party. In 1692 the great war was in full play.

The French Navy.

Two striking features come into prominence. Since early in the sixties, Louis's great minister Colbert had steadily and persistently carried out a policy designed to render France the first naval power in the world. Then Louis had preferred to Colbert a great military minister, Louvois; whose mind was on armies rather than fleets and on the Empire rather than England or Holland. Hence, although Colbert had so far succeeded that in 1689 the preponderance of naval power lay, for the only time in history, with France, it passed almost immediately to the allies and in a very short time to England. On land, the best French general and the best armies were engaged in the Low Countries; where all William's skill could not save him from a series of defeats, while all Luxembourg's skill did not enable him to extract much profit from his victories.

La Hogue (May).

The change in the balance of naval power came in 1692. William was now in the Low Countries, commanding the Anglo-Dutch army; Louis designed to transport an invading army to England. After Beachy Head, Torrington had been removed and Russell was at the head of the English navy: but Russell—like half the leading men in the country—had been intriguing with James. James, however, whose strange perversity never failed to drive him into taking the worst course which ingenuity could devise, issued a proclamation which made it quite certain that every waverer would act against him. Instead of suppressing this document, the English Government scattered it

broadcast, with a few comments. If the navy had hesitated before, it did so no longer. Tourville took the seas with a great French fleet, with orders to fight under any circumstances. When the ships sighted each other, Tourville obeyed his orders, against his own judgment and that of all his officers. He was defeated and his fleet was scattered. Fifteen of his best ships grounded themselves under the guns of La Hogue; and, under those guns, the English, commanded by Rooke, attacked them in a flotilla of small boats, and the ships were destroyed (May, 1692). It was such a disaster as England or Holland might have recovered from, but not France. From that moment her temporary supremacy left her: although, just a year later, the French fleet, lying in wait in the Mediterranean, captured the treasure-laden Smyrna merchant-fleet, which was sailing with a wholly insufficient guard of men-of-war.

1692–7. The war by land.

Soon after La Hogue, as Luxembourg was marching towards Brussels, William attempted to surprise him at Steinkirk, but was beaten off, though the French found themselves unable to advance; and again in 1693 Luxembourg defeated him at Neerwinden or Landen, with a like result. The next year was marked by the failure of an expedition against Brest. Talmash, the commander, was the one rival feared by Marlborough, who betrayed the plan of attack; though that fact was not known till a much later date. In 1695 the tide turned more definitely in favour of the allies; Luxembourg died, and his successor Villeroi was less equally matched with William, who recovered Namur—the possession of which was always a leading object with both sides.

1697. Treaty of Ryswick.

The combatants, however, were now becoming exhausted, and in 1697 agreed to the peace of Ryswick. This treaty was a practical acknowledgment of defeat by Louis; since he resigned the conquests he had achieved since 1678, and recognised William as King and Anne as heir to the English throne.

Jacobite Plots, 1691–6.

Of actual plots against the King during these years two require to be noted. The first was Preston's plot, at the beginning of 1691, for the restoration of James on condition of his leaving the Protestant religion undisturbed. In this case, the conspirators were treated leniently. The second was Barclay's assassination plot in 1696—very much on the lines of the Rye House plot of 1683, and, like that plot, betrayed by one of the conspirators. This caused the formation of an Association for the defence of the King and the maintenance of the succession, such as had been formed in the reign of Elizabeth after the Throgmorton conspiracy. In this plot, Sir John Fenwick was implicated. He

would have been saved, by the escape from the country of one of the two witnesses required by the Statute of Treasons; but an Act of Attainder was carried, though by a bare majority, and he was executed. But besides such plots, treasonous intrigues were active. Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Godolphin the business man of the ministry, Russell, Danby, and many others tried hard to court James as well as William. The Princess Anne was completely controlled by Marlborough's wife, the famous Sarah Jennings; and there can be little doubt that, whatever Marlborough professed, his real aim was to gain supreme power for himself by getting Anne on the throne. His treason became known to William early in 1692, when he was deprived of all his offices, and Anne was practically banished from court for refusing to part with the countess. In the last days of 1694, however, Queen Mary died of small-pox. Anne being now certain of the succession in the ordinary course, by the Act of Settlement, Marlborough had no further inducement to treason. Mary's death was a cause of general grief, and to William of passionate sorrow; but it removed from his path the greatest danger, by securing Marlborough.

Death of Mary.

Apart, however, from actual treason, the Tory majority, in the Parliament returned in 1690, proved troublesome. They endured William as a necessary evil; their support was given grudgingly, and they made no attempt to act in harmony or to seek for harmony with the Whigs. At last William, acting by the advice of Sunderland—an impossible leader but a shrewd observer, and a crafty political tactician, who, though expressly excluded from the Act of Grace, had been allowed to re-appear in England unmolested—gave up his scheme of acting with ministers taken from both parties, and gradually filled the ministry with Whigs. Thus began the system, which has prevailed ever since, of Party Government—government by an administration consisting of men who, on the leading questions of the day, all profess the same principles, and are associated with the same Parliamentary party: from which it follows in effect that, for the Ministry to remain in power, the party they belong to must command a majority in the House of Commons.

Party Government.

This was a change of the greatest importance in Constitutional Practice. In Constitutional Legislation, a Triennial Bill, which William had previously resisted, was passed in 1694. It enacted that three years should not pass without the calling of a Parliament, and that every Parliament should be dissolved within three years after being first summoned. The

Constitutional Legislation.

"liberty of the subject" was advanced by the refusal of the Commons to renew the licensing laws which had hitherto kept printing under government control (1695); and in the same year a new Treason Act so regulated trials for treason as to prevent such scandals as the judicial murder of Russell and Sidney after the Rye House Plot. Henceforth, prisoners had the right, hitherto denied them, of producing witnesses and examining them on oath, of being represented by council, and of seeing the details of the charges brought against them

Financial Measures.

Of even greater importance were the financial measures, partly described in the first section of this chapter, the credit for which belongs mainly to Charles Montague who presently became Lord Halifax. (The "Trimmer" Halifax was a Saville.)

The National Debt, and the Bank of England.

In order to provide funds for the war, the Land Tax was rearranged in 1692; but even when it was so high as four shillings in the pound on the annual rent, as now freshly assessed, it failed to produce enough. Montague's first plan was to raise a loan, which was neither to be paid off in a given time nor to bear interest perpetually, but to be paid back in the shape of a fixed annuity: the lenders receiving so much a year for life. Then in 1694 he adopted a scheme devised by a Scot named Paterson. A great loan was raised, and the lenders were formed into a banking company, receiving their interest on this loan regularly from the Government. It was the business of the Bank to lend money, and the Government could always borrow from it much more conveniently than by private negotiations; while the Bank's own stability was assured by Government support, as long as Government itself was stable. This was the origin of the National Debt, and of the Bank of England.

Another great financial measure was the restoration, in 1697, of the coinage, which, though it had not been debased, had suffered greatly from the practice of "clipping," so that the coins bore nothing like their professed value. Sir Isaac Newton, the greatest of all names in the realm of Physical Science, was made master of the Mint, and a new coinage was established.

§ 5. *Tory Reaction. The Spanish Succession and the Partition Treaties. Louis unites his enemies. Death of William.* 1698—1702.

A Whig ministry and Parliament were still in power at the Treaty of Ryswick; but the Peace relieved the country from the prevailing sense that it could not afford to hamper William, and the Whigs themselves were prompt to seek popularity by reducing the army. Nevertheless, when a new Parliament was summoned, under the Triennial Act, at the close of 1698, the reaction was victorious and there was a strong Tory majority. England had not realised that another and still greater war was at hand. The Tories reduced the army yet further, and insisted on the dismissal of the Dutch regiments—an affront which almost caused William to resign the crown. They attacked Montague and Russell, and demanded an enquiry into the distribution of forfeited lands in Ireland, by which the King's Dutch servants had profited. They inserted this demand as a clause in the Bill granting the Land-Tax, which, being a money Bill, the Whig House of Lords could only reject or accept unaltered. As rejection would have meant cutting off the supplies, the Lords accepted it. This insertion of a clause which is not properly part of a money Bill was the first instance of what was called "tacking."

1698—9. A Tory Parliament.

Next year, the Tories continued the same course. A dissolution and a new Parliament in 1701 seemed to bring no improvement. The death of the last child of Princess Anne—she had many children, but all died—made a new Act of Settlement necessary: by which the succession, after Anne herself, was fixed on the Electress Sophia of Hanover, the sister of Prince Rupert and granddaughter of James I.—head of the only Protestant branch of the Stuart stock. But the Act imposed restrictions on the future ruler which were imputations on William; since it provided the most jealous safeguards against the monarch's absence from England without consent of Parliament, the employment of foreigners in England, and the involving England in foreign wars in the interest of the monarch's continental dominions. Further, it laid down that the Judges should not be removable at the King's pleasure, but only for proved misconduct. Not only was the House hostile in tone; it proceeded actively to impeach Montague, Russell, Somers, and Bentinck, though this attack ultimately collapsed. Now, however, another reaction was evidently setting in, in the King's favour, a sign of which was the "Kentish Petition," and at the end of June (1701) William ventured to prorogue the Parliament.

Act of Settlement.

Meanwhile, important events had been taking place on the Continent. Immediately after the Treaty of Ryswick, the Powers had found pressing upon them the question, who was to succeed the Spanish King Charles II. when he died? The Spanish dominions included the Burgundian heritage and half Italy, as well as the Spanish colonies. The King was childless. Of his two sisters, the elder had married Louis XIV., and the younger the Emperor Leopold. But each, on marrying, had expressly resigned all rights of succession to the Spanish throne; though, in the second case, the Spanish Cortes or Assembly had not given its sanction. Setting aside the children of these two marriages, the next heir happened to be Leopold himself, whose mother had been a Spanish Princess. Thus the first in descent was the French Dauphin, barred by his mother's renunciation; the second, similarly but not so completely barred, was Leopold's grandson Joseph, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, son of the Bavarian Elector and of a daughter of Leopold: the third was the Emperor himself. But again, renunciation or no renunciation, Europe in general could not allow the vast Spanish dominion to be simply handed over either to the Emperor or to the King of France. Therefore, in October, 1698, England, Holland and France agreed to the first Partition Treaty; dividing the Spanish dominion between Joseph of Bavaria, the Dauphin's younger son Philip, and the Archduke Charles, a younger son of Leopold by a second marriage. Spain herself was not consulted.

The Spanish Succession.

First Partition Treaty, 1698.

This plan however was upset by King Charles of Spain explicitly recognising Joseph as his heir. Since Joseph would succeed neither to the Imperial Crown nor to the Austrian dominions of the Habsburgs, Europe generally was acquiescent. But, when Joseph himself died in 1699, the question became more acute than ever. William proposed a second Partition Treaty. The bulk of the dominions was to go to the Archduke Charles, the two Sicilies and Milan to the French candidate: both being younger sons, who were not likely to succeed to the Austrian or French throne. But again Spain intervened; she had no wish to be partitioned. Also she was angry with William, besides believing that his power was very insecure. So she declared in favour of France. King Charles announced that Philip was his successor; after which he too died; leaving Spain and her territories as a mighty appanage to the House of Bourbon, which had already been with difficulty prevented from dominating Europe.

Succession of Philip, 1700.

Neither the Habsburgs nor William were inclined to acquiesce; but it was doubtful whether Holland and England would plunge into war in support of the Austrian claimant's title.

Such was the position of affairs in Europe and in England in September, 1701. All that William had then succeeded in doing was to form another Grand Alliance with the Emperor, which claimed Milan, Naples and Sicily for him, the Barrier fortresses in the Low Countries (which Louis had just seized without tolerable excuse) for Holland, and the security for the succession for England[1].

The Defiance of Louis XIV., 1701.

But in October Louis once more threw down a challenge which combined the other Powers, and gave William all he could have asked. James II. died: beside his death-bed, Louis recognised his son James Edward, the "Chevalier de St George," as rightful King of England. The effect was instantaneous; the clamour of factions was lost in an all but unanimous explosion of anger. With England divided, William had been paralysed for action; Louis had brought the whole country into line for him. He seized his opportunity, dissolved Parliament, and called a new one; the Whigs and the war party were returned in triumph. A bill was passed, requiring all office-holders to abjure the Stuarts and swear to maintain the Protestant succession. More adherents were added to the Grand Alliance. The great coalition was formed which was destined to bring the "Grand Monarque" to his knees.

Death of William, 1702.

But William's hand was not destined to strike the blow which should humble his antagonist. With infinite patience, against great odds, in despite of faction, of defeat, of broken health, he had carried on his life-long struggle to curb the overweening ambition of the French King. He had saved Holland; he had saved England; now, thanks to his handiwork and to the folly of Louis, Europe was about to save herself. But her leader was to be not William but Marlborough. In February, 1702, as the King was riding, his horse stumbled; to his enfeebled frame, the fall was fatal. On the 8th of March, Anne became Queen of England. Marlborough's hour had arrived.

[1] William and Marlborough saw, what the English and Dutch generally did not see, that it was of vital importance to both the maritime powers, England and Holland, that the Bourbons should not dominate (1) the Netherlands, (2) *both* Italy and Spain, since this would make France absolute mistress of the Mediterranean Sea, where neither England nor Holland as yet had a permanent naval base.

CHAPTER XXX.

ANNE: 1702—1714.

§ 1. *The War of the Spanish Succession; the Marlborough ascendency*, 1702—1709.

Marlborough in power.

The victory at the elections had been one not so much for the Whigs proper as for the war party. There was plenty of support now for the war, among the nominal Tories; and we find Anne—that is to say, Marlborough—reverting to William's earlier methods, and endeavouring to conduct the government by ministries in which both parties were represented. Marlborough himself and his ally Godolphin, the most strenuous supporters of the war, had hitherto been accounted Tories. Thus, when the new reign begins there is a solid Tory ascendency. But by degrees the extreme Tories drop off, being replaced by moderate Whigs, and then the remaining moderate Tories are replaced by pure Whigs. Toryism in fact turns against the war; and Marlborough and Godolphin, to whom the continuance of the war is essential for personal reasons, become bound up with the Whigs. From 1702 to 1709 Marlborough is supreme in the conduct of the war, while the Home administration passes from Tories to Whigs. In 1710, the Whigs and Marlborough fall together.

William was a great commander, who yet rarely won a victory. Marlborough was a still greater commander who, undefeated in the field, was even more decisively supreme in the great strategical movements and combinations which delivered the enemy into his hand. William, though cold and repellent, yet by singleness of aim, weight of character, clear knowledge of affairs, and manifest public spirit, succeeded in maintaining great political combinations. In knowledge of affairs, Marlborough was his equal; he could charm, he could flatter; and he could carry the conviction that his policy

was the best, both for the allies in general, and especially for any particular ally whom he wished to conciliate.

War was declared in May, Marlborough passing over to Holland with his army. And now we must realise what the war meant. On the side of Louis and his grandson was nearly all Spain itself, and also Bavaria, whose Elector had a grudge against the Habsburgs. The war was to be carried on outside the French borders—Louis was in occupation of Brabant and Flanders, in opposition to the Northern Powers; of Bavaria in opposition to the Emperor; and French and Austrians had already opened their struggle for Milan, in the north of Italy. The English sea-power, directed to the domination of the Mediterranean, laid Spain open to attack, and was aided by the adhesion of Portugal to the alliance.

Declaration of War, 1702—3.

Marlborough, in command of the English and Dutch armies in the Low Countries, was much hampered by the control of Dutch politicians. Yet by skilful manœuvring during 1702 and 1703, he worked the French back into what was reckoned the impregnable line of their fortresses in Brabant and Flanders. In 1702 also, the English Admiral Rooke forced his way into Vigo Bay, destroyed several ships of war, and sank the great Spanish treasure-fleet. Next year, the Methuen treaty brought Portugal into the alliance, and unfortunately determined the allies to fight for Spain itself, as well as for the Spanish dominions outside Spain.

In 1703, on the other hand, Louis resolved to make a grand attack on Vienna, which should bring the Allies to their knees. The combination of armies by which this was to be carried out was not effected in that year; but in 1704 it seemed almost certain that the blow would be delivered. Only Marlborough with his English and Dutch army could save Vienna; and neither the Dutch nor the English Government would consent to his leaving the Netherlands unguarded. The Duke—he had received that title in 1703—had to trick both Governments and to mislead the French also, as to his designs. Under colour of a campaign on the Moselle, he moved south; then suddenly flung himself into Bavaria, and hastened to join the great Austrian commander, Prince Eugene of Savoy, in intercepting the French advance towards Vienna. On August 12th, Marlborough and Eugene lay at Dapfheim; the French, under Tallard, were behind the Nebel, a tributary of the Danube, with the great river on their right. Next day the allies advanced, Eugene carrying out what appeared to be the main attack on the French left, while "Salamander" Cutts attacked their right, the enemy's

1704. Blenheim.

PRINCE MAXIMILIAN
PRINCE EUGENE
LUTZINGEN
MARSIN
OBER GLAU
R. Nebel
UNTER GLAU
TALLARD
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
LORD CUTTS
BLENHEIM
R. DANUBE.
CAMB. UNIV. PRESS

BLENHEIM

centre being protected by the stream, and by marshes. But the real design was to pierce the centre itself; the passage of the marsh was effected before its meaning was appreciated or sufficient resistance was brought to bear. By a series of furious charges, the French centre was broken and the French right wing was enveloped and rolled back into the Danube; in the village of Blenheim, 10,000 men were bluffed into surrendering. Vienna was saved, once for all: the French rout was irremediable. Bavaria was evacuated; French aggression in that quarter was at an end. Marlborough lost no time in returning to the Netherlands.

Three weeks before, Admirals Rooke and Cloudesley Shovel had suddenly appeared before Gibraltar and captured it by a sheer surprise. The fortress, commanding the entrance to the Mediterranean, has remained ever since an invaluable possession in the hands of the British.

Gibraltar.

In 1705, Marlborough was again prevented from decisive operations by the Dutch Government; yet without any serious engagement, he succeeded in breaking the French line of fortresses and partly occupying Brabant. Next year, however, being allowed comparative freedom of action, he cleared not only Brabant but half Flanders of the French by a great victory at Ramillies—which he won by deluding the Marshal, Villeroi, into concentrating his troops precisely where the real attack was not to be delivered. In North Italy, Eugene conducted an equally decisive campaign, made possible largely by money supplied from England. Meanwhile the allied forces in Spain had also been achieving superficial successes under Lord Peterborough, but without acquiring any substantial hold on the country. The Catalans—Catalonia is the north-east corner of the peninsula—were the only body of Spaniards who heartily espoused the side of the Archduke Charles.

1706. Ramillies.

1706—7. Spain.

Under these conditions, there seemed little hope for Louis; and he proposed peace—offering to give up Spain and the Barrier Fortresses, and to be content with the Sicilies and Milan. The terms were refused. But in 1707, Marlborough was engaged in diplomacy with Charles XII. of Sweden, who was threatening to intervene; the allies met with no successes, and were badly beaten in Spain, at the battle of Almanza, where the French were commanded by the Duke of Berwick—a natural son of James II., and nephew of Marlborough. Then, in 1708, another joint victory won by Marlborough and Eugene at Oudenarde was followed by the capture of Lille; the island of Minorca, a naval station only second in value to Gibraltar, was captured by

1708. Oudenarde.

Stanhope; and Louis, with France almost ruined, sued for peace on almost any terms. Yet the Allies actually demanded that he should send his armies to assist them in expelling his own grandson from Spain, since they were quite unable to expel him on their own account; on which Louis made the very pertinent comment that, if he must go on fighting in any case, he had better fight his enemies than his own family. The spirit of France was very far from dead; an enthusiastic if starving army took the field under the able General Villars, and met Marlborough at Malplaquet (Sept. 1709). The Duke defeated them, and compelled them to retreat, but not till the victors had lost twice as many men as their stubborn foes.

1709. Malplaquet.

With Malplaquet the period of great victories came to an end. The obstinacy of the Allies, in rejecting a peace on terms infinitely more humiliating to France than anyone dreamed of when the war began, brought its own penalty. Within a few months the Tories and the Peace party were decisively in the ascendant in England; and, when the Peace did arrive, not one of the allies gained nearly as much as might have been secured in 1709, or even in 1706. The Dutch might have insisted on making peace; but the English Whigs, to keep them to the war, undertook to secure them a larger share of the Low Countries than Louis had offered to surrender.

In the meantime, domestic affairs in England had been passing from a composite administration and a Parliament in which the Tories had the upper hand, through a Whig predominance, to a pure Whig administration; which was now on the verge of downfall.

The first group of Tories was quickly purged of those chiefs who were antagonistic to the war; it was not to this end that the party directed its energies, but to a renewal of the contest between High Churchmen on one side and Low or Latitudinarian Churchmen and Dissenters on the other. An "Occasional Conformity" Bill was introduced and carried in the Commons, to put a stop to the practice of habitual Nonconformists attending Anglican services for the occasion so as not to be excluded from office by the letter of the Test Act. The Bill, however, was finally rejected by the Lords in 1703. In this year, the growing self-importance of the Commons was marked by a quarrel over the Aylesbury election, because an action was brought against the Returning Officers and carried to the House of Lords: to the wrath of the Commons, who claimed exclusive jurisdiction in all matters relating to Parliamentary elections. The question however was not explicitly decided. The next year was notable for the disappearance from the ministry of some more of the extreme Tories, two of

Predominance of the Whigs.

whom were replaced by Harley and St John, moderate Tories, each in his own way an adept in the arts of intrigue. It was due largely to them that another attempt to force the Occasional Conformity Bill on the Upper House by tacking it to a money Bill was frustrated. In 1705, when the Triennial Act required a dissolution and a new Parliament, the majority in the Commons became Whig once more. Harley and St John were the only Tories now retained in the Ministry: into which Marlborough introduced his son-in-law Sunderland, a strong Whig, the son of that Earl of Sunderland who had been a minister of James II.

The Whigs triumphant.

The Whigs were now predominant; and while they for their part worked to get the Government entirely into their own hands, Harley in his own fashion was undermining the Marlborough influence with the Queen; supplanting the Duchess Sarah in Anne's affections by means of a less overbearing but more tactful lady, Mrs Masham, who was his own cousin. Both sides met with some success. The Whigs, by threatening to attack the conduct of the war in concert with the extreme Tories, brought Godolphin to accede to their demands; hence in 1708 Harley and St John were driven from the ministry—but Mrs Masham remained at the Queen's ear. The arrogance with which the Whigs pressed their victory, and the dexterity with which the Tory chiefs used their opportunities, were now to give the rein to a strong Tory reaction. Before 1708 however the composite government had carried through a measure of first-rate importance to the future of the nation—the Treaty of Union with Scotland.

§ 2. *The Union of England and Scotland as Great Britain*, 1702—1707.

Relations between England and Scotland.

Scotland was an independent nation, in no way under English dominion, free to go her own way in total disregard of England. For centuries, before 1603, she had been in habitual antagonism to England, and in alliance with France. Whenever England had been at war with France, she had been hampered by the presence of this hostile State on her northern frontier. In the time of Edward III. she had to fight an invading army at Neville's Cross; in that of Henry V. the force which defeated Clarence at Beaugé in France was mainly Scottish; in that of Henry VIII. she again had to fight the invader at Flodden. But for the past hundred years, the King of Scotland

had also been the King of England; direct hostility between the two countries had been impracticable; yet since the Restoration, Scotland had felt the English connexion not as beneficial but as actually injurious. If the King had to choose between the interests of Scotland and the interests of England, the interests of England were sure to win the day.

Commercial restrictions.

Commerce was the main cause of the trouble. Scottish goods were shut out of English markets by heavy customs duties, and out of the colonial markets by the Navigation Acts. English monopolist trading companies, such as the East India Company, could no more prohibit the Scots, than the French or the Dutch, from competing; but England could exercise pressure to injure their trade, just as she could against Dutch or French traders; and with more crushing effect, because Scotland was poor and Holland was rich. Thus in the reign of William, the Scots had endeavoured to establish an East India Company of their own, and had then embarked on a great colonisation scheme on the Isthmus of Darien. Both projects had been ruined, in great part by the action of England. The time had arrived, when Scotland felt that either there must be a Union such as would make the interests of the two countries identical, or else a complete separation. The question of the succession gave her opportunity. Since England persistently refused to concede commercial equality, Scotland would fix for herself on a successor to Queen Anne; who should not be the successor chosen by England. In 1703 the Scottish Parliament passed an Act of Security to this effect, which received the royal assent next year. England threatened to place the north in a state of defence, such as had existed before the union of the crowns; but Scotland would not give way. The alternative to complete separation was a treaty of Union such as Scotland would accept. In 1706 the two countries appointed commissioners to prepare a Treaty.

The Act of Security.

The Treaty of Union, 1707.

The Whigs were wise enough to perceive that English commerce would not suffer by the admission of the Scots to equal privileges. In Scotland, there was an intense and widespread feeling that in any union Scotland would be simply submerged by England, and it was only with great difficulty that the counsels of wisdom prevailed. A treaty was drawn up, adopted by both Parliaments, and received the royal assent; for the complete incorporation of the two countries, as the single State of Great Britain. They were to have one crown, one flag, one Parliament. They were to have the same trading rights. Within her

own borders, each was to retain her own institutions, her own Church, and her own laws. In the United Parliament, Scotland was to have her proportion of representatives in both Houses—forty-five in the Lower and sixteen in the Upper. The proportions in which they were to contribute to the National Exchequer were adjusted, and a substantial sum was paid by England to Scotland as part of the financial adjustment. Great Britain was born, and took her place among the nations. Many years were to pass before Scotland would be satisfied that she had lost less than she had gained; till forty years had gone, half the country was still eager to end the "sad and sorrowful" Union. But, in the long run, the Union brought not only prosperity to Scotland but an immense accession of moral and of military strength to the united nation. The progress of North Britain during the eighteenth century was in marked contrast to the fate of Ireland; which, unable to threaten separation, was at the mercy of her wealthy partner, in whose interests her industries and her commerce went steadily from bad to worse.

§ 3. *The Tory Reaction, the Treaty of Utrecht, and the Crisis*, 1709—1714.

In the hour of the Whig triumph, early in 1709, Louis was for the second time suing for peace. No one knew better than Marlborough that Europe would do wisely in accepting his proposals. But the Whigs were irreconcilable, and the Duke probably looked to a continued career of victory as a means to his own supremacy. At any rate he did not press for peace; and after Malplaquet he made the mistake of asking Anne for a life-appointment as Captain-General. Whatever his own ambitions may have been, the nation still had a lively horror of government by a military dictator and major-generals; it was desperately afraid of a new Cromwell, and the suspicion that Marlborough had that *rôle* in view was one of the main causes of the Tory reaction which was now setting in. The greatest of living generals might well look for his own opportunity of establishing himself as Caesar, when the succession to the crown lay between the exiled Papist son of James II. and a dynasty borrowed from a German Electorate. But if neither of those two alternatives could be accepted by the nation at large with anything better than a chill acquiescence, the third alternative—Caesarism—was utterly intolerable.

The dread of a Cromwell, 1709.

If Malplaquet was fought and won to revive enthusiasm for the war, it failed of its object. But it was not the war, but another incident, in itself trivial, which swept the Whig domination away in a tempest of popular excitement. The High Churchmen had for long been raising the cry that the Church was in danger from Toleration, Latitudinarian Bishops, and Dissent. A Dr Henry Sacheverell now delivered two sermons, attacking the Low Church Bishops, the Dissenters, and the Government, and proclaiming the doctrine of Passive Obedience. In a moment of supreme folly, the Government impeached him (1710). The excitement was as great as that over the Trial of the Seven Bishops. Sacheverell was found guilty, but was condemned to a merely nominal penalty which was universally regarded as a triumph for him. The Queen was notoriously on the High Church side. At last she summoned up the courage to dismiss the Duchess of Marlborough. After that, the dismissal of Sunderland and Godolphin was easy, and that of the Duke a mere question of time. Harley and St John returned to office, and the September elections brought in a strong Tory majority.

Doctor Sacheverell.

The new Government immediately opened secret negotiations for peace; and the case for peace was very greatly strengthened in 1711 by the death of the Emperor Joseph, the eldest son of Leopold, and brother of that Archduke Charles on behalf of whose claim to the Spanish throne the war was going on. Charles being now himself elected Emperor, the situation was changed. The transfer of the whole Spanish dominion to the Empire, reviving the old conditions under Charles V. in the sixteenth century, was no better than its transfer to a Bourbon prince. In the winter of 1711, Marlborough was attacked directly with charges of peculation; it was proved that he had enriched himself enormously through his position, but not that he had actually transgressed the practices which custom in effect made legitimate. The proceedings which brought Bacon into disgrace ninety years before provide a fair parallel. The Duke was ruined, and deprived of his offices; and betook himself out of the country. The small Whig majority in the House of Lords was converted into a minority by the creation of twelve Tory peers. In the summer of 1712, England signed a separate armistice with France; her defection forced the hand of the allies; and though Charles himself did not formally give up the war till the Treaty of Rastadt in 1714, it was practically concluded in March, 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht.

The Tories in power, 1710.

At no time probably after Blenheim, certainly after Ramillies, could Louis have hoped for such terms as were now secured to the Bourbons. Philip and his descendants were excluded entirely from the French succession, but kept Spain and her colonies. Naples, Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands, went to Austria. Holland obtained a strong barrier of fortresses on her frontier. Britain—England no longer—secured her naval position in the Mediterranean by retaining her captures of Gibraltar and Minorca; in America, she acquired Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland (with a reservation of fishing rights to France), and Acadia or Nova Scotia: besides the exclusive right (known as the Assiento) of supplying Spanish America with negro slaves. Moreover Louis recognised Anne and the Hanoverian succession, promised to dismiss the Chevalier, and undertook to dismantle the fortifications of Dunkirk. The terms altogether were such as William III. would have approved, though a later age recognised, what no one realised then, the iniquity of the slave-traffic. Yet a grave blot in the treaty—not in point of policy but in point of honour—was that the Catalans were left unprotected to the tender mercies of a Government which accounted them rebels; and also the allies had every right to be indignant with Great Britain, not for making her own terms, but for doing so in secret without their cognisance.

The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

The country however declined the Commercial Treaty which was to have supplemented the Treaty of Utrecht. The Methuen Treaty (1703) had given an advantage in the English markets to Portuguese wines, and a market for English wool in Portugal. Portugal bought from us more than she sold to us, consequently the Portuguese trade increased the amount of gold in the country. Now, when the Tories proposed something like Free Trade with France, it was believed that we should then buy more from France than we sold to her, and so should diminish the supply of gold. The popular belief was that we should thus diminish a trade which was good for the country, and encourage a trade which was bad for the country. The fact that the goods bought should be worth as much as the gold paid for them, and that the gold received was valuable only because it could be exchanged for goods, had not been generally grasped; so the commercial treaty was rejected.

The Commercial Treaty.

Still, Harley (now Earl of Oxford) and St John (now Lord Bolingbroke) retained their majority in the new Parliament which met in January, 1714. Then for six months there was a ceaseless game of intrigue. Anne was gradually dying:

1714. The Crisis.

the House of Hanover would certainly turn to the Whigs: the Tories were divided, secretly, as to whether they should bring over the Chevalier, after all—though all openly professed adherence to the Act of Settlement. Oxford would not give his party a lead: Bolingbroke intrigued to win the undivided leadership for himself, by the help of that section of the party which was certainly Jacobite; to rally the Anglicans to his side, he forced through a Schism Act, which excluded all Dissenters from the profession of teachers. Mrs Masham worked for him with the Queen against Oxford. On the other hand, the Whigs were now working together, very much on the alert. Each side in fact was preparing for a *coup d'état*. At last, on July 27, came a crisis. Oxford was dismissed: Bolingbroke, in hot haste, constructed a Jacobite ministry. But, on the 30th, the Queen had an apoplectic stroke. While the Cabinet was sitting, two of the greatest Whig peers—Argyle and Somerset—entered to "offer their services" as members of the Privy Council. The plan had been concocted with the President, Shrewsbury, who welcomed them.

The Whig coup d'état.

The Bolingbroke clique was paralysed; it was moved that Shrewsbury should be appointed Lord Treasurer; the Council adjourned to the bedside of the dying queen, who confirmed the appointment. Bolingbroke needed weeks to complete his arrangements; the Whigs only needed hours. The next day, Queen Anne was dead—but George was proclaimed King, and there was no one ready to challenge his succession.

BOOK V.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

1714—1837.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE WHIG SUPREMACY: 1714—1739.

§ 1. *The New Dynasty: The Fifteen and the Stanhope Whigs*, 1714—1720.

The Nadir of Toryism.

The Jacobite intrigues of Bolingbroke and the other Tory leaders discredited the entire party so completely that for half a century no Tory had a chance of becoming a Minister. Many of them were no doubt as anxious to maintain a Protestant succession as the Whigs; but Toryism altogether lay under the suspicion of Jacobitism. When Anne died, the Whigs were completely masters of the situation. Till George should arrive in the country, the government was vested in a body of "Lords Justices" nominated by him, every one of whom was a Whig. When he did arrive, Whigs and only Whigs had access to him. When Parliament was called early in 1715, the majority was overwhelmingly Whig, while several of the peers who had counted as Tories under Anne now dissociated themselves from the party. A direct attack was made on Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond, who had been made commander-in-chief on Marlborough's downfall. Ormond and Bolingbroke fled the country, joined James, and were attainted; Oxford declined to fly, and was presently impeached, but acquitted. Sunderland, Stanhope (he who had won Minorca), Lord Townshend, and Walpole, who had held office in the last Whig ministry, were at the head of the new Government. Marlborough returned, but disappeared into private life, hopelessly incapacitated by brain-disease.

The new dynasty.

The accession of George completed the Revolution, carrying it a stage further. William had come on the scene as the personal saviour of England, to set the example of a great King ruling through a Parliament. George came as a dummy

to fill the throne so that no one else might be seated there. He was to be a figure-head for the State, and nothing more. He was an unmitigated German, who could speak no English; elderly, coarse, without one redeeming feature to make him popular, ruled by German mistresses as coarse and unattractive as himself. But he was bound hand and foot to the chariot-wheels of the Whigs; he could do no harm; and while sentiment might look on him with repulsion, and cast lingering glances on the exiled Stuarts, common-sense counted for more than sentiment, and objected to any more Revolutions; and Protestantism would not swallow the idea of a Catholic King. In a less degree, the same conditions applied throughout the reign of George's son: and the country had been habituated for fifty years to having its destinies guided not by a King but by ministers, before any attempt was made to revive the political power of the crown.

The Orleanist Alliance.

A year had hardly elapsed since the death of Anne, when the death of Louis XIV. placed on the throne of France his great-grandson; a sickly infant, whose legitimate heir-presumptive was his uncle, Philip V. of Spain. Philip was King of Spain in virtue of having renounced the French succession; but the question remained whether he would not—if his opportunity came—repudiate that renunciation. The regency passed into the hands of the next Prince of the Blood Royal, the Duke of Orleans; to whom it was as important to have his own right of succession secured, as against his cousin Philip, as it was to England to maintain the House of Hanover. Thus during the Regency, the French and English Governments were equally interested in maintaining the settlement of the Utrecht Treaty for both nations; Orleans, for support against Philip, was ready to guarantee the Hanoverian succession; and for a time, these dynastic reasons prevented the alliance of the Bourbon kingdoms, and threw France into the arms of England. Later, when Orleans was dead, and the chance of Philip's succession was fading, the Bourbon family alliance revived. But for many years after the death of Louis XIV., France and Britain remain ostensibly in alliance. After five and twenty years of almost ceaseless war, we have five and twenty years of almost unbroken peace.

The Jacobite Rising of 1715.

The understanding with France, however, was deferred until the old French King was dead. While he lived, it looked as if he meant to evade his promises, and the Jacobites were hopeful of recovering the throne by his assistance. But Bolingbroke's cleverness could not counter-balance

the inefficiency of his fellow-plotters. Louis was already dead, when the Earl of Mar raised the standard of insurrection in the Highlands. The Government organisation was more than equal to the task of making the South of England safe. In the North, Lord Derwentwater and a few country gentlemen took up arms for "King James," and were joined at Kelso by a detachment from Mar's army, with Lords Kenmure, Carnwath, and Nithsdale. For the Government, Argyle took the command in Scotland against Mar. Neither Argyle nor Mar was in a hurry to strike. The Jacobites at Kelso paraded the Border, and finally made up their minds to march south, under the command of Thomas Forster: whereupon many of the Highlanders withdrew. The force marched south as far as Preston, but without materially adding to its strength: with General Carpenter and General Wills converging on it from different quarters. On November 13th, the Government commanders surrounded Preston; and though Forster's men were for the most part eager to fight, he capitulated. Wills had expressed his demand for unconditional surrender in terms which Forster supposed to convey a promise of clemency; some 1500 of the rebels surrendered. On the same day Argyle met Mar at Sheriffmuir. In each army, the right wing routed the enemy's left, and both armies retired from the field. Mar fell back; Argyle did not press forward. But the rebellion had neither head nor heart in it. Presently James himself landed in Scotland; but he was a depressing person, and did not improve matters. After a time he retired himself, and was soon followed by one after another of his principal supporters, while the army dissolved. So ended "the Fifteen"—the stupidest of insurrections. Nearly all the leaders had friends at Court, and there was strong resistance to any display of severity. The King behaved like a boor, and the judges took their cue from him; but only two peers were executed and twenty-six commoners hanged, though a few more only escaped by breaking prison. This result was not due to any generosity on the part of the victorious party, but simply to the fact that most of them were much too anxious to keep well with both sides, in case of accidents, to be at all inclined to proceed to extremities.

Its collapse.

The rebellion had one curious result. It was difficult to judge just how much disaffection to the new dynasty prevailed in the country; if the Whig Ministry should be seriously shaken at the next election, due within two years, the consequences might be serious. So a Bill was introduced extending the life of Parliament to seven years instead of only three: which

The Septennial Act, 1716.

was carried, though not without protest. It remained in force till 1911—but it illustrates the fact that to this day any Parliament, with the Royal assent, is legally able to extend its own life as long as it chooses; just as that Parliament did in 1716.

A breach between Townshend and Walpole on one side, and Stanhope and Sunderland on the other, now drove the former out of office, and to some extent into opposition, without really changing the Whig policy. In 1717, the understanding with France ripened into the Triple Alliance—the third partner being Holland—to guarantee the Orleans and Hanoverian successions. Spain, in fact, at this time seemed to be recovering some of her ancient vigour. Philip's queen, Elizabeth Farnese, was extremely hostile to Austria; his able minister, Cardinal Alberoni, was making great efforts to re-create a great navy. He broke the peace with the Emperor by a sudden descent on Sardinia. France and Britain intervened to mediate; the terms they proposed, though accepted, pleased neither Austria nor Spain, and next year (1718) Alberoni renewed the war by an attack on Sicily.

Alberoni, 1717—9.

Thus he wrought his own ruin. Admiral Byng was in the Mediterranean. Britain was not at war with Spain, but there were shrewd suspicions that Alberoni was working for a coalition against her. Byng's fleet went to look for the Spanish fleet, and found it off Cape Passaro in Sicily. He said the Spaniards fired on him; all he wanted was a colourable excuse for doing what he did forthwith. He annihilated the Spanish fleet. With time and training that fleet might have become formidable. As it was, it simply disappeared. With desperate energy, Alberoni built a new one which put to sea next year: it was broken to pieces in a storm. Spain was not fated to renew her rivalry with the ruler of the waves. Alberoni's intrigues made him intolerable to the great Powers: his misfortunes placed him at their mercy: his plans were shattered by storms, and by the stray bullet which killed Charles XII. of Sweden on whose alliance he was counting. Austria joined the Triple Alliance, which became the Quadruple Alliance. Philip soon found himself in hopeless isolation, and was compelled to dismiss his minister as a condition of peace (1719).

The foreign policy of these years, 1716—1720, is marked by the appearance on the scene of Russia, newly organised by Peter the Great, as a Power to be reckoned with in all the international combinations of the future; and we must note also that from this time the statesmen who happen to be in opposition regularly make a point of charging the Government

The Stanhope Whigs.

with truckling to the interests of Hanover and placing them before those of Great Britain.

Meanwhile, at home, Ministers—having passed the Septennial Act—felt safe in displaying their toleration principles by the repeal of the Schism Act of 1714, and of the Occasional Conformity Act, which had at last made its way through both Houses when the Tories were in power in 1711. The dominant Whig section was, however, foiled in an attempt to turn the Upper House into a permanent Oligarchy, and to place political control for ever in the hands of a few families. They tried to limit the number of peers to six more than there were at the time, and confine new peerages to heirs male. The Whigs who were out of office—Townshend, Walpole, and their following—offered a strenuous resistance to Sunderland's Peerage Bill, and it was rejected.

§ 2. *Walpole's Ascendency under George I.*, 1721—1727.

The rule of Stanhope and Sunderland was brought to a sudden end by a great financial catastrophe. With a view to counteracting the Whig corporations of the Bank of England and the East India Company, Harley, in 1711, had encouraged the foundation of the South Sea Company, which for some years carried on a sound but not a gigantic business. In 1720 the Company proposed that they should receive from the Government certain trading privileges, in return for which they would take over a great portion of the National Debt—that is, the holders of Government stock (*i.e.* creditors of the Government) should exchange their stock for shares in the South Sea Company. On the capital thus transferred, Government was to pay to the Company a much lower interest than they had been paying to the individual holders of stock. The idea was that the privileges bestowed on the Company would enable them to carry on a trade so enormous that, in spite of this huge addition to the number of their shareholders—who, of course, brought in no additional money—they would still be able to pay very large dividends. The whole scheme was opposed by Walpole and others, who were convinced that there never would be a trade sufficiently large for the purpose. But at this time, a sort of disease of speculation had fallen not only on England but on Europe in general. People were ready to pour money into the most preposterous schemes, if only they were promised big dividends. Government adopted the South Sea scheme—honestly

The South Sea Bubble.

enough as far as some of its members were concerned, but as concerned others, very dishonestly indeed. The public imagined that huge profits were in store, and rushed to buy shares at any price. Then a number of the really fraudulent companies broke; reaction and panic set in, and the public rushed to sell their shares at any price. The Company collapsed. The people who had sold out before the panic had made their fortunes. Those who still held shares were ruined. The "Stop of the Exchequer" in the reign of Charles II., bad as it was, wrought nothing like the destruction of business caused by the South Sea Bubble. Public indignation descended like a deluge on ministers. But Walpole was free from any suspicion of responsibility; to the Opposition Whigs, to Walpole in particular as the ablest of financiers, the public turned to remedy the disaster. Walpole and Townshend returned to office. Stanhope, the most honest of men, died under the shock; Sunderland, though guiltless, disappeared from public life; others, who were guilty, were not only ruined politically, but forced to disgorge. Out of the wreck, some part of the money invested was repaid; Government resumed its stock which had been converted into South Sea shares; public credit began to recover. From this time (1721), for eighteen years, Walpole was supreme.

Sir Robert Walpole.

Till the close of the reign in June, 1727, when the death of George I. made room for his son, domestic politics provide nothing of interest, except the expulsion from the Walpole-Townshend cabinet of Carteret, and later of Pulteney; two of its ablest members, who did not hesitate, for the purpose of attacking the Government, to combine with Bolingbroke. That clever intriguer had been dismissed by James after the Fifteen, had sworn to have no more to do with "the Pretender," and had received a pardon and returned to England in 1723. But Walpole rejected Bolingbroke's overtures, and there was nothing left for him but to seek alliance with the malcontent Whigs. Abroad, the Franco-British alliance led to the rather curious result that for a time Spain sought the friendship of Austria; whereby a somewhat desultory war was brought about; Britain being content to make naval demonstrations in the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the West Indies, which showed clearly enough that the hostile Powers were quite unable to take the seas against her.

An uneventful period.

Till this time, the accession of a new monarch to the throne has always served as a definite and real historical landmark. The personality, character, and policy, of the King, have been of more importance than the character and

Change in the Royal position.

policy of any of his subjects. After the accession of the House of Hanover, the monarch might or might not exercise a strong influence on policy; but except for a time under George III. he has never controlled it. For nearly two hundred years, the important question has always been, not Who is the King? but Who are the ministers?—and usually, Who is the head of the administration? A king dies, and another succeeds; the change marks nothing. A great minister falls from power or wins ascendency, and the change is of vital importance.

Walpole's policy was not essentially different from that of his predecessors in office; the control remained in his hands when George I. died and George II. became king. The change came when, in 1739, the policy changed against the will of the minister.

Features of the period.

Thus the whole period between 1714 and 1739 has certain primary characteristics: The new dynasty, after the one abortive insurrection of 1715, remains unshaken in spite of Jacobite intrigues; Britain and France remain in unbroken alliance; Britain is not dragged into any foreign war which involves her seriously, while Spain, France and Austria all have their share of fighting. Holland drops out of the rank of the great Powers. France and Spain make no effort, after Alberoni's fall, to build up fleets capable of challenging the naval supremacy established by England during the recent wars; partly because France finds that the British alliance relieves her from any need for naval activity in the contests in which she is involved. In the meanwhile, the commerce and material prosperity of Britain increase enormously; her wealth is used not in fighting costly campaigns but in breeding more wealth; the interests of the whole trading community and of the Hanoverian dynasty are bound together—each would be imperilled by any breach with the other: and the dissenting interest being bound up with the trading interest, practical toleration becomes a matter-of-course.

Domination of Walpole.

To maintain such a policy, it was necessary to have at the helm a very skilful pilot who knew his own mind, and was stronger than any clique which could be formed against him. The settlement of the South Sea catastrophe served in the first place to secure to Walpole the confidence of the trading classes. Within the ministry, he secured complete domination by driving out of office anyone who threatened to be either a rival or a rebel. In the Parliament he held his ground by applying the cynical principle that every member had his price, and could be bought either by cash or by office; and Court favour he preserved by conciliating the mistresses of George I. and the wife of George II.; who

ruled her husband—a fact which Walpole's rivals did not discover till too late. His methods, however, alienated some of the ablest of the Whigs, who in course of time were able to combine for his overthrow.

His policy.

But he was more than a very successful Parliamentary manager. He recognised that Louis XIV. had been beaten largely because his resources were sooner exhausted than those of the Allies; he looked to the accumulation of material wealth as the primary object for the nation, and to peace as the essential condition of accumulating wealth. In William's time, the aggression of France made it politically wise for England to make a stand against Louis; now, the Powers might fight to their heart's content without endangering British interests, and Walpole stood steadily aloof. One other characteristic must be noted: like the Tudors, he kept his finger on the pulse of the nation. Whatever measures he might personally regard as in themselves best, he would attempt to force through nothing which would arouse a dangerous antagonism.

It remains, however, to remark on one very serious effect of Walpole's methods. A nation which becomes wholly absorbed in the pursuit of material wealth loses its moral standards; it becomes callous to generous enthusiasms; public spirit, patriotism, self-sacrifice for a Cause, are chilled; sentiments of honour and generosity are numbed. Throughout the Stuart troubles, the fervour of Puritanism, the zeal for Liberty, and the devotion of Loyalty, had kept the heart of the nation right, even when the politicians at the head of affairs were mere self-seeking intriguers. Under the Walpole *régime*, the nation seemed to have lost all its idealism—though the time was coming when it would shake off its torpor.

§ 3. *Walpole's Ascendency under George II.*, 1727—1739.

King, Queen, and Minister.

When George II. succeeded George I. in 1727, he would have preferred to be rid of Walpole. His choice would have been Carteret—a statesman who enjoyed the intricate game of foreign politics, without having Walpole's determination to preserve peace. George, as Elector of Hanover, was always anxious to side with the Emperor, with whose interests those of Hanover were as a rule closely allied. But he knew that his wife, Caroline of Anspach, was wiser than himself; and he followed her counsels. And she knew that if her judgment and Walpole's differed, the chances were that he would prove to be

in the right. Therefore her counsels were the counsels of Walpole. After a few days of uncertainty, Walpole's position at the head of affairs was as secure as ever.

For twelve years, we can sum up the measure of his success. He kept Britain at peace, when every other country in Europe was usually engaged more or less in one war or another; hence, while every other country was draining its resources, the material wealth of England—the means for war—was increasing by leaps and bounds. And he did this, while constant pressure was brought to bear on him, urging him to war. "Fifty thousand men have been killed this year, and not one Englishman," he said once to Queen Caroline. Also he kept the country internally at rest, as well as prosperous; so that the discontent which gives agitators and revolutionists their opportunity was absent. If no one could feel a fervid enthusiasm for the established Government, no one saw anything practical to be gained by changing it. To avoid popular excitement, to allow prosperity to exercise its own pacifying effect, to "let sleeping dogs lie"—these were the maxims of Robert Walpole

Peace and Wealth.

Hence we owe to him no reforms, no innovations. If the law pressed hardly on any section of the community—as in the case of the Test Act—he would not repeal it, remembering the Sacheverell mobs; but the utmost laxity in administering such laws was encouraged. He introduced an Excise scheme; but, though he had no doubt of the advantages it would confer, he withdrew it when he found that it created an unreasoning alarm. Customs—the taxation of goods on landing or embarkation—was understood. Excise, the inland collection of such taxes, involving the inspection of warehouses and manufactories, was extremely unpopular, though, in regard to liquor, it had been established by Pym to meet the financial strain of the civil war. Walpole proposed, in the case of wine and tobacco, to substitute excise for customs. Thus these articles could have been landed, warehoused, and re-embarked at British ports without paying a duty, but would have had to pay duty on being withdrawn for sale in England. The carrying trade would have been increased, and smuggling diminished. But the measure caused a violent outcry, and Walpole dropped it—though he took care to punish, by expulsion from office, the ministers who had supported the popular clamour. There is no doubt that the measure itself was really a wise one. Walpole understood the principles of commerce much better than most men of his day; and though, for party purposes, he had clamoured

The Excise Bill.

successfully against the Commercial Treaty with France in 1713, he abolished a large number of duties both on imports and exports which were a check on the volume of foreign trade; disregarding the idea that Britain was impoverished by exchanging gold for goods.

The Opposition.

The expulsion from office of Lord Chesterfield—famous as the author of his *Letters to his Son*, and as the "patron" of whom Doctor Johnson, in later years, fell foul—on account of his attitude over the Excise scheme (1733), left Walpole without any man of high ability in his cabinet. Townshend, for long his comrade-in-arms, voluntarily retired in 1730. About 1737, the Whig chiefs who had been sent into opposition—Carteret, Pulteney, and Chesterfield—gathered round Frederick Prince of Wales, a useful figurehead for a group acting against the King and Walpole; and were reinforced by the brilliant abilities of William Pitt, who had just entered Parliament. In that year also, Queen Caroline died. The minister's difficulties were thickening. His peace policy was becoming impossible: in 1739 it broke down. And now we must turn to foreign affairs to see why.

Cardinal Fleury.

The Regent Orleans, who was hostile to Philip of Spain, as we have seen, for dynastic reasons, died in 1723, when Louis XV., being thirteen, was legally of age. Till 1726, practical control fell to the Duke of Bourbon, who was partly responsible for bringing about the Spanish war which was going on when our George I. died. In 1726 Louis took for his minister Cardinal Fleury, a very clever diplomatist and a lover of peace. As lovers of peace, Fleury in France and Walpole in England worked in harmony; the alliance between the countries was maintained, and they acted together to check any real European conflagration. But the policy of Fleury was no longer, like that of Orleans, dictated by any animosity towards the Spanish monarchy; on the contrary, as it became less and less likely that any question could arise of the Bourbon King of Spain claiming succession to the French crown, it became more and more feasible for the French and Spanish Bourbons to recognise the community of their interests, national and dynastic, and to draw into close alliance—the danger foreseen by the Whigs when they attacked the Treaty of Utrecht.

The Family Compact, 1733.

In 1733 the Bourbons entered into a Family Compact. It was a secret compact; but Walpole had knowledge of it. For the united Bourbons, Austria and Great Britain were the enemy. Neither Spain nor Austria was satisfied with the division of the old Habsburg dominion; each wanted more than she had got, and France

also wanted more. The idea was, that Britain under her peace-loving minister would not be dragged into war on behalf of Austria, while the Bourbon Powers were wringing territory from that Power. Then in due time the Bourbons could turn on Britain, who would then look in vain for Austrian support.

The reason for turning on Britain was commercial and colonial. There was no question now of Protestants and Papists. From the days of Elizabeth, the quarrel about trade in the southern seas had subsisted between England and Spain. The Spanish restrictions of trade were a grievance on one side; the English breaches of those restrictions were a grievance on the other. But in comparatively recent years, a rivalry had also grown up in North America between Britain and France. For, while British colonists occupied the whole sea-board from Nova Scotia on the north to the border of Florida on the south, the French colonists occupied Canada at one extremity, and Louisiana at the other. Now the British claimed that they were entitled to extend their territory westward, whereas the French claimed to extend their territory northward from Louisiana and southward from Canada. If the French claim were admitted, the British could not extend at all: if the British claim were admitted, the two French colonies could never join hands. The difficulty could not be adjusted in any way. Some day, either British or French colonists would have to give in.

A struggle approaching.

Nobody perhaps in Europe had realised that the trade rivalry of the British and the French East India Companies in India was on the verge of turning that great country into another battlefield; or that the decisive factor, there as in America, would be control of the sea.

Meanwhile, however, Fleury had no inclination to quarrel with Britain. But whereas Walpole kept out of the War of the Polish succession, which began in 1733, Fleury did not. The throne of Poland was elective; it became vacant. One candidate was Stanislaus, the father of the young Queen of France; the other, Augustus of Saxony, was favoured by Austria. It was no concern of Spain; but the Bourbons saw a chance of injuring Austria. George II. was eager to support the Emperor; Walpole flatly refused. Both sides poured out blood and money, while Britain remained undisturbed. When the diplomacy of Fleury brought the war to an end after two years, the greater profit, under the treaty, went to the Bourbons; but Britain, by her neutrality, had really gained more strength for the coming contest.

Walpole keeps the peace.

The end of the Peace.

A hundred and seventy years before, it had been clear that the day was near when England would have either to submit to the demands of Spain, or to fight. Elizabeth had staved off the fight for twenty years, while the country was making ready. Now the time was coming when Britain would have to submit to the Bourbons, or to fight. Walpole did very much what Elizabeth had done. But behind Elizabeth, there were the sea-dogs. In the eighteenth century, it was Walpole's business to see that the British navy should be fit to do what the sea-dogs had done in the sixteenth. He ought to have organised war; but he did not.

Happily, Fleury made the same error. If the Bourbons were going to fight Britain, the ocean would be the battle-field. But Fleury forgot Colbert, and did not build up a French navy for the struggle. He could not free himself from the tradition of Louis XIV., established by Louvois, which fixed the battle-field on the Continent. He organised war—but not naval war.

Fleury and Walpole each of them believed that he would manage to defeat the other by diplomacy, without war. But the temper of Fleury's Spanish ally carried events out of his control, as the temper of the British people carried them out of Walpole's. The great struggle began prematurely.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE WHIGS AT WAR: 1739—1754.

§ 1. *The War of Jenkins's Ears, and the War of the Austrian Succession*, 1739—1745.

The course of events during the war—which in 1739 began as a direct quarrel between Britain and Spain, developed within two years into a general European conflagration, and was brought to a close, for a time, by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748—is extremely confusing. It is not easy to see what moral justification any of the belligerents had for being at war at all, or why British troops should have been engaged in it. Tacked on to it was a war in a new field altogether, between British and French, in India: and in the middle of it came suddenly the last civil war in Great Britain.

The Anglo-Spanish quarrel.

The reason for the declaration of war with Spain in 1739 is simple enough. The Spaniards in America and the West Indies jealously excluded British merchants from commerce with their dominions; except for the one ship a year, allowed by the Treaty of Utrecht. British ships evaded regulations and defied the Spanish authorities, as they had done since the days of Hawkins and Drake. The Spanish authorities exercised their right of search in a high-handed manner, and were accused of exercising it not only in their own waters, but on the high seas. The climax was reached when a Captain Jenkins declared that he had been thus subjected to violent and illegal treatment, and that his ears had been torn off. Both parties to the quarrel arrived at that pitch of mutual irritation when reason, argument, and conciliation of any kind become perfectly useless. Walpole yielded to the tempest of popular fury, and war was declared.

Declaration of War with Spain, 1739.

Walpole held on to office, with a fixed conviction that unless he

remained at the helm the country would rush straight to ruin. But as a war minister he was hopelessly inefficient. All he did was to send badly-conducted naval armaments to the West Indies and the Spanish Main; one of which captured Portobello while another suffered disaster before Cartagena. No effective blow was struck. The minister's mind was turned not to bringing Spain promptly to terms, but to the other gathering complications.

The Austrian Succession.

In 1740 the Emperor Charles died, and with him ended the direct male Austrian succession. He had foreseen this for years, and had persuaded each of the Powers to guarantee the "Pragmatic Sanction," by which his daughter, Maria Theresa, was to succeed to the Habsburg inheritance. But he had himself succeeded his elder brother, who left daughters; if women could succeed, they manifestly had a prior claim to that of Maria Theresa. Such was the view of the husband of one of them, the Elector of Bavaria, who was also a candidate for the Imperial dignity. Would the Powers who had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction keep their promises, and protect Maria Theresa against the Elector of Bavaria?

War of the Austrian Succession.

At this point appears a new factor in Europe—Prussia. Prussia, or Brandenburg, had not hitherto played a very large part in European politics, but her last ruler had built up an army which was now to show a startling efficiency in the hands of his son Frederic the Great. Frederic cared for nothing but the advancement of his own kingdom. He wanted the great province of Silesia, which belonged to Austria. While Europe was making up its mind, he acted. He marched into Silesia, and invited Maria Theresa to cede it to him as the price of his support against the Bavarian Elector. The price was promptly refused, and Frederic at once allied himself with Bavaria. The Elector was made Emperor. Spain, always scheming to get back Italian duchies from Austria, joined in the attack, in spite of her war with Britain. France, with her eyes on the Austrian Netherlands, supplied "auxiliaries" to help Bavaria, without declaring war. The Elector of Hanover was all on the side of Austria; and the Elector of Hanover was King of Great Britain. If the British Government held aloof, it would be called pusillanimous by the opposition; if it did not, the cry of "Hanoverian" interests would be raised.

Carteret, 1742.

So matters stood at the end of 1741. But by that time the inefficiency of the war-administration was evident; early in 1742 Walpole resigned and was succeeded by Carteret. Carteret was alive to the danger in store from a Bourbon coalition.

He wanted to meet it by supporting Austria, and if possible bringing over Prussia. He persuaded Maria Theresa to buy off Frederic by the cession of Silesia, his persuasions being seconded by Frederic's victories. He subsidised a Hanoverian army, and sent all the British troops possible to Germany. During the latter part of 1742, success attended the Austrians, and remained with them the next year, when King George was present in person with the Anglo-Hanoverian army. In this campaign was fought the battle of Dettingen, at which George, having blundered into a trap, fought his way out with distinguished courage, and won a well-deserved victory. This was the last time that a King of Great Britain took the field in person.

Battle of Dettingen, 1743.

At this stage—July, 1743—the Emperor (the Bavarian Elector) was ready to make peace; and proposals were made which would practically have let George pose as the peace-maker of the Empire. But in Parliament, the Hanoverian outcry was raised: both in Austria and in England, concessions to Bavaria were repudiated. The League of Worms was formed in September to carry on the war, and was answered in April, 1744, by the League of Frankfort between France and Prussia. The curious fiction of French "neutrality" was at last ended; but we may recall how English "auxiliaries" had fought in the Low Countries against Philip II. of Spain, while Spain and England were professedly on amicable terms.

The country was becoming hot against France, because Louis XV. (Fleury died in 1743) was now openly supporting the Stuarts, and making preparations for an invasion to be undertaken by Marshal Saxe (*i.e.* Maurice of Saxony, the *Maréchale de Saxe*), the ablest leader of the French armies. The proposed invasion came to nothing; storms upset the French plans. But the general result was that, in 1744, the war at last took the express form of the Bourbons joined by Frederic on one side against an Anglo-Austrian coalition on the other; the French, however, very soon made it evident that they cared very little for the interests of their Prussian ally.

1744. France declares War.

In the meantime, Henry Pelham and his brother Newcastle had undermined Carteret's position. Pelham was an adept in the arts of conciliation, and Newcastle an adept in the arts of jobbery. In this year they succeeded in driving Carteret from office, mainly on the ground of his "Hanoverian" policy; and established the "Broad-bottom Administration," so called because its members represented so wide a variety of interests that no one was left to conduct an active opposition.

The Pelham Administration.

Ministers very promptly found out that the measures hitherto abused as Hanoverian were now just what a patriotic British policy demanded.

1745. The War in Europe.

The year 1745 saw in the first place the withdrawal of Bavaria from the contest. The Emperor died; his son gave up all claim to the Austrian succession, and instead of demanding the Imperial throne, assented to the candidature of Francis of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa, who duly became Emperor. In the next place, it saw the French arms, guided by Marshal Saxe, overrunning the Austrian Netherlands, and defeating the Duke of Cumberland (the second son of King George) at Fontenoy—a battle in which both sides displayed extraordinary courage. And it witnessed at the end of the year the neutralising of these French successes by the withdrawal of Frederic; who was disgusted to find his allies giving no practical assistance to him or to his aims.

§ 2. *The Forty-five, and the end of the European War*, 1745—1748.

The successes of the French arms in Flanders at the end of 1745 were partly due to the sudden necessity which compelled the withdrawal of the British troops to protect the tottering Government at home. Since the collapse of the rising of 1715 it had been clear enough that the sober judgment of nearly every class in England was opposed to the idea of a Stuart restoration: while the classes in Ireland which would have favoured it were utterly powerless. But in Scotland matters were different. Two-thirds of the Highland clans were Jacobite, and half the Lowlands resented so strongly the Union which had absorbed Scotland into Great Britain, that they were at the best ready to acquiesce in a revolution which would restore national independence in its old form. The commercial advantages gained by the Union had not yet resulted in the very obvious increase of prosperity which was soon to become manifest. In England, as well as in Scotland, Jacobite intriguing had been active enough to give many Jacobite agents a delusive conviction that a great part of the country was ready to rise in arms; while many persons of position, mindful of the possibility that unexpected things might happen, had given guarded intimations of friendliness. Nothing indeed could be done while Walpole kept Great Britain at peace: but now that she was thoroughly

Jacobite prospects.

involved in the European turmoil, it seemed that Jacobitism might have its chance.

Strength of the Hanoverian dynasty.

As a matter of calculated odds, the rising known as the Forty-five never had the shadow of a chance of succeeding. The whole military organisation of Great Britain was in the hands of the Government; and France now had no intention of lending active assistance. She had only thought of such a thing when the outcry against Hanoverian measures had produced an impression that England was really hostile to the Hanoverian dynasty. The proposal of invasion had shown that the outcry was mere clamour for party purposes. Both in England and Scotland the real chiefs of the Jacobites were agreed that an insurrection would be madness. And for the melancholy James it would have been madness. For prince Charles, his son, it proved to be very nearly practicable; for the single reason that fiery enthusiasm may and did give the lie to sober calculation.

The rising of 1745.

On a sudden, in July, 1745, the Jacobite chiefs of the Highland clans were summoned to meet Charles Edward Stuart, who had come to claim the crown for his father. Almost alone and unattended, he had landed on the west coast, in Moidart. The chiefs came together to urge his prompt departure; they left him to rally the clans to his standard. Edinburgh was startled by the news. General Cope marched north, but instead of striking straight at the insurgents, made for Inverness, intending to cut off any further accessions of clansmen. Audacity was the keynote of the "Pretender's" plan. He dashed on Edinburgh itself. Troops were sent from the city to check him; he drove them before him at a run, in what was known as the "Canter of Colt Brigg." The city gates were captured by a stratagem, and the Highlanders marched in. Charles established himself in Holyrood Palace as his father's representative, and held court as Prince of Wales; but in the character rather of the Crown Prince of Scotland than of the heir of England. While his supporters gathered, Cope got himself back by sea from Inverness to Dunbar, and marched on Edinburgh. While Cope lay hard by at Preston Pans, Charles prepared a surprise attack; in the mists of early morning he fell upon the camp, and in ten minutes the Government forces were routed by the desperate charge of the clansmen (Sept. 21st).

The march to Derby and back.

Six weeks later, with an army of no more than 6000 men, Charles started for London. Meanwhile, the Government in England had been organising resistance. General Wade was in the north; but Charles did not want a pitched

battle; he wanted to raise England. Crossing the Border, he evaded Wade, and marched as far south as Derby; London was already in a panic. But the English Jacobites were not rising; the enthusiasm of the Highlanders cooled as they got further and further from their own country. It was obvious that if the Government troops remained loyal and firm, an advance on London must mean sheer destruction. On the other hand, retreat must also mean irretrievable failure. Charles would have taken the risk of victory or annihilation, but the counsels of prudence prevailed. Two months after he left Edinburgh, he was back at Glasgow. Three weeks later—after the new year—he inflicted a severe defeat on the Government troops at Falkirk. But such victories were useless now. Charles had to fall back into the Highlands. In April the Duke of Cumberland was moving against him. On the 16th, the last hope of the Stuarts perished on the bloodstained field of Culloden.

Culloden, 1746.

More than two years were still to elapse before Europe was formally at peace. Philip V. of Spain died, and was succeeded by a pacific son, Ferdinand, who had no liking for the programme of the Family Compact. While Cumberland was engaged in organising the suppression of "The Forty-five," Frederic of Prussia had withdrawn from the war. On the seas, the admirals Anson and Hawke restored the credit of the English fleet, which, though clearly more powerful than any antagonist, had not been allowed to do itself justice in the early years of the war. In America, the British captured from France Louisburg, on the mouth of the St Lawrence. In India, on the other hand, where the rival Companies had orders from home to keep the peace, those orders were disregarded; and the balance of success was with the French, who captured Madras. In 1748, Austria was the sole belligerent who was really anxious to continue the war; and in October a general treaty was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. French and British restored their respective conquests. Frederic kept Silesia. Nothing at all was said about the right of search, which had first kindled the conflagration.

The end of the War, 1746—8.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

§ 8. *Results of the Forty-Five. The Pelham Administration after the War*, 1748—1754.

A period of peace in Europe followed the agreement of Aix-la-Chapelle; though, during those years, British and French in India were still carrying on their struggle (to which we shall turn in the next section) under the guise of "auxiliaries" to native potentates.

The end of Jacobitism.

The war which ended in 1748 was altogether of a very indecisive character, except for two points. On the continent Frederic of Prussia had shown that he was the ablest of living generals, and that his army was the best trained and best handled fighting-machine in Europe. In Great Britain, the menace of another dynastic revolution had been practically done away with for ever, and with it all prospect of England and Scotland becoming separated. The Union, which had been legally in force for forty years, became in the next few years an organic unity. By the middle of the eighteenth century it had ceased to be a matter of vital importance who occupied the throne. No Stuart could have put in practice the Stuart theory of absolutism, or have restored Roman Catholicism as the official religion of the nation. But until the Forty-five, a Stuart restoration by force of arms with or without French assistance was always a possibility; the idea of a foreign war was always complicated by the risk of a civil war breaking in upon it; the enemies of Britain could always increase the difficulties of ministers by espousing the Stuart cause. The Forty-five showed once for all that the sentiment for the exiled House, putting forth its utmost effort, was not strong enough to carry the country.

The pacification of Scotland.

It showed that the one dangerous spot was the Highlands of Scotland, and that they were dangerous only because the old clan system and the despotic jurisdiction of the chiefs prevailed. That jurisdiction was abolished; the Highlanders were disarmed and forbidden to wear the national costume; the chiefs themselves were in exile; and the martial ardour of the clansmen found scope in the multiplication of Highland regiments in the British army. The seeds too of commercial prosperity had been sown by the Union; they were sprouting now; the prosperity was soon to be decisively realised. Thus, by 1750, the dread of separation and the dread of civil war had both almost vanished from the political horizon.

Pelham's Finance.

In 1746 the Pelhams had forced George to admit William Pitt to office. The administration lasted till Henry Pelham's death in 1754, and the proceedings of Parliament during

this period are of little interest. Pelham, however, was responsible for a useful financial measure. The various loans to the Government which made up the National Debt were consolidated into five funds, paying a uniform rate of interest of 3 per cent., which was lower than any of the separate loans had carried with them: this group of funds being known by the shortened title of "consols." The fact that people were willing to accept such low interest showed how much the public confidence in the stability of Government had increased.

Reform of the Calendar.

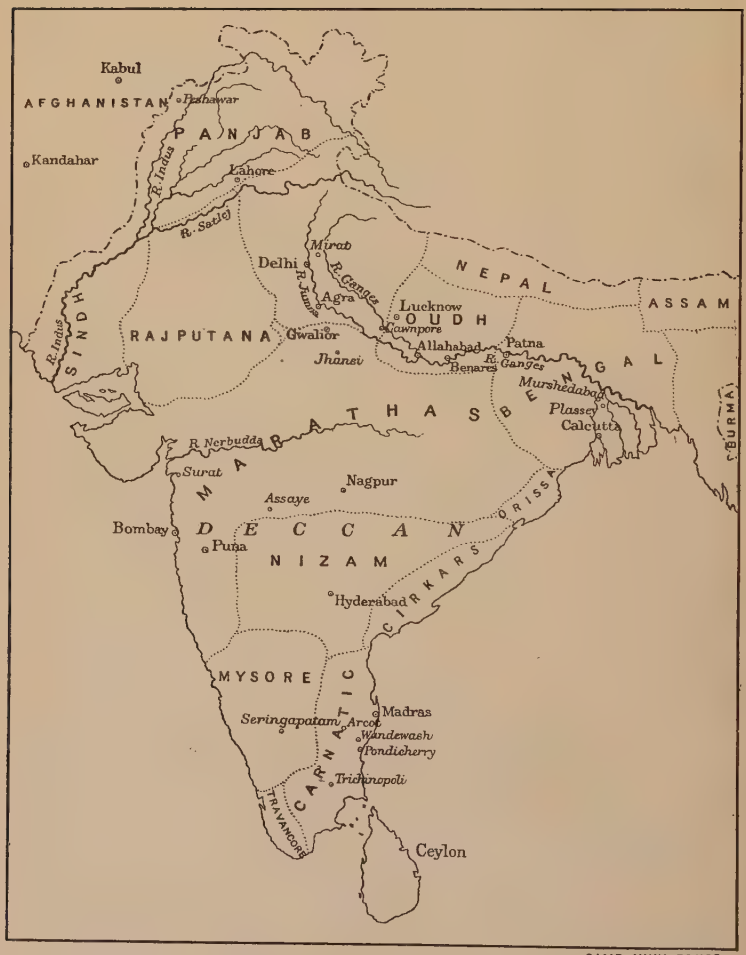
In 1751 the Calendar was reformed. The Calendar as fixed by Julius Caesar had reckoned 365 days to the year, with an extra day every fourth year. To keep the year correct, one leap year ought to have been dropped at intervals. In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII. established a reformed Calendar, which had been gradually adopted all over Europe, except in Great Britain, Sweden, and Russia; so that in 1751 these countries differed from the rest by 11 days—Sept. 14 in Paris would be Sept. 3 in London. So it was now arranged that in 1752 the dates between Sept. 2 and Sept. 14 were to be left out, and the day after Sept. 2 was to be counted (as in other countries) as Sept. 14. Also, thenceforth the year began officially on Jan. 1. Hitherto it had begun, officially, on March 25, so that the day after March 24th, 1750, was March 25th, 1751—although Jan. 1st had been called New Year's day. That is why up to this time events taking place in January, February, or March sometimes have the official date of the old year, and sometimes the popular date of the new year: *e.g.* King Charles I. was executed on Jan. 29th, 1648 (old style), 1649 (new style), sometimes expressed as $164\frac{8}{9}$. After 1751 "O.S." disappeared altogether. Russia is the only country which has not adopted the reformed or Gregorian Calendar.

The Marriage Act.

Another reform was introduced in 1753 by Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, which imposed heavy penalties on parsons who solemnized marriages surreptitiously—*i.e.* without publication of banns, or licenses: the object being to prevent young girls from being trapped into marriages without consent or knowledge of their parents. This law applied to England but not to Scotland, so that run-away couples had to make their way to the Border and Gretna Green.

Parliament and the Country.

But if legislation remained inactive, as it had been all through the rule of Walpole, there were signs that the position of Parliament was far from satisfactory to the country. The Commons, fighting the Crown for the rights of Parliament under the Stuarts, had stood for the liberty of the people



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INDIA

against absolutism. They had won their fight, but the people were now beginning to feel that Parliament did not represent them, but only a small section of them: that it was asserting no longer the liberties of the people but its own privileges as against the people. Many boroughs were practically the property of their corporations, or of some great peer who could ensure the return of any one he chose as member. Also the members of the House had gradually been claiming for the Commons as a body and for the members individually, many privileges which were unfair to the electors and to the public at large; and we begin to find popular politicians appealing to the will of the nation, to overawe ministers who command a majority in the House, and private persons elevated into objects of popular hero-worship for defying the authority of the House itself. On the other hand we shall presently find the Crown endeavouring to override the popular will not by the old method of fighting the Parliament—which had proved so disastrous—but by the new one of capturing Parliament; securing by corruption and intrigue majorities pledged to support the King's policy. As yet, however, there were only symptoms of the shape which this next phase of the Constitutional struggle would take.

§ 4. *The Franco-British Struggle in Southern India*, 1746—1754.

In the meanwhile, the struggle for a world-dominion between British and French had already, in one quarter of the globe, reached a stage in which British victory was almost assured. Nothing but the maritime triumph of France in the coming war could have saved her position in India.

India: the Native Powers.

We cannot begin to understand the meaning of our own Indian Empire, unless we get rid of the idea that Clive conquered India with a handful of Englishmen, and realise that India is not a country but a tract of territory half as large as Europe: a territory in which two dominant religions lived side by side, far more opposed to each other than Protestantism and Romanism; and peoples as little akin, in language and character, as Swedes and Spaniards. Over nearly all this vast territory, the Mohammedan dynasty of the "Moguls"—*i.e.* Mughals, or Mongols—had extended their empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, this empire had been breaking up. The Great Mogul in his imperial city of Delhi exercised far less authority over his great viceroys than the Emperor over the Kings and Princes and Electors of Prussia, Hanover or

Bavaria. The southern half of India, the Deccan, recognised as its over-lord the Nizam at Hyderabad, who was the Mogul's viceroy; a portion of the Deccan, the Carnatic, was ruled by a Nawab, the Lieutenant of the Nizam. In the northern half, the greater part of the Ganges basin was ruled by two satraps, the Nawab of Bengal, and the Nawab-Vizier of Oude. Lying like a wedge between the Ganges provinces and the Deccan was the great predatory confederacy of the Marathas. When we think of Bengal and Oude as States the size of France and Spain, and of the Deccan as the size of the "Holy Roman Empire," and of the whole as paying a formal deference to a puppet Mogul powerless to enforce his will, we have some sort of idea of what the Mogul Empire meant in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Now plant a group of British traders, with a factory and a fort, at Fort William on the Hugli, and a similar French group a few miles higher up at Chandernagore; another group on the south-east coast, British at Madras and Fort St David, and French at Pondicheri; and a third British group on the west coast at Surat and Bombay—each group a mere trading station with some fortifications and a handful of white soldiers. When we have realised these conditions, we shall not be surprised that no one in France or in England was thinking seriously of establishing a French or British dominion in the great peninsula.

The British and French Companies

Yet in India it had already crossed the minds of shrewd observers that Indian dynasties were easily upset; that a small disciplined force, ably led, would be more than a match for the vast undisciplined hordes that would take the field at the command of an Indian Nawab; that, as the first Mogul, Babar, had dashed down upon Hindostan (North India) from Afghanistan, at the head of a few thousand men, and won an Empire, so a European Power might one day fling across the ocean troops sufficient to do what Babar had done.

In 1740 the governorship of the French colony at Pondicheri was bestowed upon Dupleix. Dupleix resolved to create a French dominion in India; he did not propose to conquer the Native Princes, but to establish French influence at their courts and to clear the British out of the way. The influence was to be secured by diplomacy; the British were to be crushed as soon as the two nations should be at war in Europe. The French had a naval station at the Mauritius, between India and the African coast, under the command of La Bourdonnais; this squadron should ensure victory.

Dupleix.

As we saw, France and Britain declared war in 1744. It was

not till two years later that Dupleix attacked his rivals. La Bourdonnais came from the Mauritius, and Madras fell. Dupleix had trained native soldiers—*sipahis*, or in the form established by tradition, sepoys—with the conviction that, led by European officers, they would make short work of the ordinary native levies. When the Nawab of the Carnatic ordered him to hand over the captured Madras, Dupleix refused. The Nawab sent a large army to chastise him; Dupleix sent a small force to meet the large army, which was duly shattered. The prestige of the French rose enormously with the natives. The appearance of a British squadron commanded by Boscawen would probably have turned the scale, if the war had continued; but, as it was, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle stopped the fighting, and Madras was restored to the British; in exchange for Louisburg on the St Lawrence restored to the French. So far all that Dupleix had gained was prestige—but that meant everything, as concerned native alliances. And if he could keep up the fighting, he was secured against the interference of the British fleet, because the French and British nations were now at peace.

Dupleix attacks the British, 1746—8.

At this moment, the Nizam of Hyderabad died. A son, Nadir Jang, and a grandson, Muzaffar Jang, both claimed to succeed him. Nadir Jang was able to seize the throne. Also there was a Prince named Chanda Sahib, who claimed the throne occupied by Anwar-ud-din, Nawab of the Carnatic. The two claimants, Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib, impressed by the performances of the French, appealed to Dupleix to help them. Thereupon the pair in possession appealed to the British. Thus British and French were enabled to continue the contest, as auxiliaries of native Princes, although the two nations were at peace.

1748—1754. The struggle renewed in the Carnatic.

The French were the quicker to seize their opportunity. If they got their candidates onto the thrones of Hyderabad and of the Carnatic, there would not be much hope for the British. They took the field against the Nawab in possession, who was killed at the battle of Ambur; but his son Mohammed Ali escaped south to Trichinopoli, where he maintained his title. Nadir Jang, the Nizam in possession, now advanced to overthrow his nephew, and was joined by a British force. But before the end of the year (1750), both Nadir Jang and Muzaffar Jang were killed, and the French were able to set up a candidate of their own as Nizam, while Mohammed Ali was shut up in Trichinopoli by the forces of their ally Chanda Sahib.

Robert Clive.

This was the crisis which brought Clive to the front. Robert Clive had recently joined at Madras as a "writer" or junior clerk in the service of the Company. When the fighting began he had shown courage and enterprise as a volunteer. Now, with the approval of Saunders, the Governor at Madras, he took every available sepoy and white volunteer—some five hundred in all—from Madras to attack Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic; so as to draw off Chanda Sahib's forces as much as possible from Trichinopoli. He captured Arcot; a large army was at once detached to besiege him. For fifty days he held the place with extraordinary courage and skill. At the end of that time, there was a grand attack; Clive and his men with desperate valour repulsed it; and followed up their success by sallying forth, and inflicting a crushing defeat on the retreating enemy at Arni. These brilliant operations won the whole of the Northern Carnatic; and Clive was able to join Colonel Stringer Lawrence—an excellent officer, who had done good service before, but had only just returned after an absence—and march to the relief of Trichinopoli, where the besiegers became the besieged. There, in the summer of 1752, Chanda Sahib was killed, and the whole French force present was compelled to surrender.

Overthrow of the French.

From this time the good fortune of Dupleix deserted him. His ambitious schemes displeased the directors of the Company in France, who saw vast sums of money being spent while they could not appreciate the great Governor's aims; and in 1754 he was recalled, and replaced by a Governor whose ideas were strictly commercial. It was easy enough to make peace now, as the British candidate Mohammed Ali, practically in the hands of the British, was undisputed Nawab of the Carnatic; while the French nominee ruled at Hyderabad, with Bussy, the ablest of Dupleix's officers, beside him. But there was no one now to play the part Dupleix had played. When the Franco-British contest was renewed in India, four years later, France and Britain were again at war; and the British command of the sea, coupled with the apathy of the French Government, made the issue of the contest absolutely secure.

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NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES

about 1750

CHAPTER XXXIII.

NEWCASTLE, PITT, AND BUTE: 1754—1763.

§ 1. *The preliminaries and opening of the Seven Years' War,* 1754—1757.

Newcastle.

When Henry Pelham died in 1754, he left the guidance of the British nation in the very inefficient hands of his brother the Duke of Newcastle. Pelham had been respectable as a finance minister, and had known how to conciliate abler men than himself. Newcastle had no qualifications whatever as a statesman, but his mastery of the arts of jobbery made him secure of Parliamentary majorities. There followed, therefore, three years of the grossest mismanagement, until a working compromise was reached between Newcastle and William Pitt.

French and British Colonists.

Affairs in India attracted little enough attention from the Home Government; but in North America the antagonism of French and British colonists was becoming so acute, that even the Newcastle ministry began to realise that something would have to be done. Both French and British were determined to secure the basin of the Ohio, which rises not far from the Great Lakes, on the north, and flows south to join the Mississippi. Each claimed this as their own territory. The British planted a fort near the source of the river: a French expedition drove out the garrison, and established on the spot a French fort which they called Fort Duquesne. A British expedition, sent to recover it under the command of a young Virginian named George Washington, was defeated at Great Meadows. Then the Home Government sent out some Regulars under a brave but incapable commander, General Braddock; whose force was cut to pieces by the French and by the Red-skins who fought as their allies. A crisis was manifestly at hand, when French and British must fight for supremacy in America.

In Europe, on the other hand, Maria Theresa was bent on destroying the Prussian kingdom from which she had suffered so much in the late war. To this end, her ministers were secretly working to secure a combination with Russia (where the Tsarina Elizabeth hated Frederic) and with Saxony. Into this combination she was also seeking to draw France. It was all but certain that France and Britain would soon be fighting each other, and that each would take part, on one side or other, on the Continent. Holland had ceased to count, and Spain was now under a pacific monarch who, in spite of Family Compacts, was not likely to take part in the struggle. Frederic, suspecting the existence of the combination, knew that he must have the alliance of either France or Britain, and preferred the latter; while Austria successfully courted the former. Thus at the beginning of 1756, Great Britain and Hanover almost without knowing it—such was the Government's confusion of mind—found themselves in alliance with Prussia; while Louis, under the influence of Madame la Pompadour—who was another of the people who had a deadly hatred for Frederic—and also from a curious idea that it would be good for his soul to join with a Catholic against a Protestant Power, deserted the traditional policy of France and united with the Habsburg.

The situation in Europe.

Louis so far knew his own mind, that he meant to help Austria and to strike at Britain. Maria Theresa and Frederic both knew their own minds thoroughly. The British Government did not know its own mind at all; but there was one man in England, William Pitt, who did know his. In Pitt the nation was ready to trust, though under Newcastle's administration it was in a state of panic. Pitt himself was now openly attacking the Government, storming against supplying Hanover with subsidies when no one knew what part Hanover was going to play. The general alarm was increased by a conviction that Louis was preparing for a grand invasion, to restore the Stuarts —whereas he was secretly preparing at Toulon to capture Minorca by a sudden *coup-de-main*. At last, Government woke up to his purpose, and a few ships were sent under Admiral Byng to watch Toulon. But the French evaded him and landed a strong force before Port Mahon in Minorca. Byng sailed to relieve the place, but retired under the impression that his own force was not strong enough to beat the French. Minorca fell, and the nation was seized with a frenzy of anger. Newcastle was forced to resign in November; Byng was made a scape-goat, and was

The Government.

Minorca, 1756.

shot for his error of judgment; in spite of the protests of Pitt, who had joined the new administration of which the Duke of Devonshire was the head.

The Devonshire ministry was short-lived, partly because the King disliked Pitt, partly because Newcastle still controlled the votes. Yet the popular voice clamoured for Pitt, and Newcastle's incapacity was too obvious. Then the great compromise was arrived at. Pitt would work with Newcastle, if he had the control of policy; Newcastle would work with Pitt, if he had the patronage—the power of jobbery—in his hands. On no other conditions could a ministry be formed which could command both the confidence of the nation and the votes of Parliament. George swallowed his dislike to Pitt; and for the rest of his life, he and his great minister were admirably loyal to each other. Yet it was not till the next year, 1758, that the demoralisation and inefficiency of the past were cleared out, and the nation, gathering fresh heart from the triumph of Robert Clive in Bengal, and from the indomitable patriotic passion of William Pitt, showed itself once more worthy of its most glorious traditions.

The Coalition of Pitt and Newcastle, 1757.

To Clive's achievement we shall presently return, dealing with Indian affairs separately. Just now we must see how matters were going in Europe; for the Seven Years' War had begun, and with it the duel between Britain and France was bound up.

Some months elapsed before the fall of Minorca (April, 1756) was followed up by active operations; but within a few months Frederic, aware that there were in fact secret treaties between Austria, Saxony, Russia and France for the dismembering and partitioning of Prussia, resolved to strike first, and to strike hard. In August he attacked Saxony, before the allies were ready to act in concert. The justification for his action appeared when Dresden, the capital, fell into his hands, and he was able to publish the secret treaties for his destruction which he found in the Saxon archives. Before the end of the year, the whole of Saxony was forced to submit; thus one of the allied States was *hors de combat*. During 1757, Austria was completing her combinations: the Russians on the east, the Austrians on the south, the French on the west, were all moving against the Prussian king. Hanover, however, after a futile attempt to maintain neutrality, was obliged to declare for Frederic; and an army, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, lay on the Weser, covering Hanover and Brandenburg from the French.

Frederic in Saxony, 1756.

It will not be necessary to follow Frederic's operations in detail: but we must understand the general character of the war on the Continent. The British and Hanoverian army on the Weser held in check the French attack on the west: but a half-circle of hostile armies was formed by Swedes, Russians, and Austrians on the north-east, east, and south of Frederic. If the circle closed in upon him, he was bound to be overwhelmed by sheer numbers. But being himself at the centre, he held what are called the "interior lines"; and he maintained the fight by hurling the great bulk of his forces now at one point of the circumference of the circle, now at another. He crippled one enemy, then dashed away to cripple another; but in the meanwhile the crippled foe was recuperating, and he could never remain in one quarter long enough to do more than cripple his opponent for a time. After a victory, he could only leave behind a force just sufficient to hamper the enemy's movements. It was solely by the immense rapidity of his own movements along the shorter distances which, holding the interior lines, he had to traverse, that he could prevent the hostile armies from converging till they came in touch with each other.

1757. Conditions of the War in Europe.

Thus in 1757, while the Austrians thought Frederic was merely securing his position in Saxony, he suddenly swooped south upon Prague in Bohemia, where he inflicted a severe defeat on the Austrians. A little later he was defeated in turn at Kolin and had to retreat hastily into Saxony, though fortunately the Imperial commander was unable to press a pursuit. Meanwhile, the Duke of Cumberland on the Weser was faring badly. After an indecisive battle with the French army at Hastenbeck, he retreated north to Stade, leaving the way through Hanover and Brandenburg open. There he found himself in a trap, from which the chance of escape seemed so small that he concluded with the French commander the Convention of Kloster-seven; in accordance with which the Hanoverian troops withdrew into winter-quarters, and the rest of the Duke's army was dispersed. Nothing could have saved Prussia but the amazing energy displayed by the King; for a second French army under Soubise was invading Saxony, and complete disaster must have followed if it had joined hands with either the Austrians in the south or the first French army in the north. Soubise was enticed into the open, and suffered at Rosbach a crushing defeat, which removed the pressing peril. In December, Frederic had dashed to the opposite side of the war-field,

Prague and Kolin.

Cumberland's failure.

Rosbach.

from west to east; and shattered, at Leuthen, another Austrian army which had been taking possession of Silesia.

Thus Frederic had succeeded in barely saving the situation, and, at the same time, failure dogged the operations of Britain against France. In America, Montcalm was steadily gaining ground; in Europe, a joint naval and military expedition against Rochefort was foiled by the incapacity not of the Admiral, Hawke, but of the General, Mordaunt. From India alone came news that the honour of the British arms had been redeemed, by Clive, at Plassey.

So matters stood at the close of 1757. But in 1758 the tide turned, though even then Pitt's policy as a War-Minister did not reach its full development.

§ 2. *Pitt's conduct of the War, to the death of George II.*, 1758—1760.

Pitt's Naval Policy.

The root-principle of Pitt's policy was, to concentrate the fighting energies of the nation on a naval warfare, which should make it impossible for France to send help to her dependencies across the seas. Even in the last war, the predominance of the British navy had become manifest; that predominance was to be developed into an overwhelming supremacy. But the area and the population of Great Britain were comparatively small; she could not afford the men to carry on the naval war, and at the same time to form large armies in the field as France was able to do. On the other hand, Walpole's peace policy had brought her wealth out of all proportion to her size; she could afford to buy troops, and to supply Frederic with the means to maintain his armies when his own ill-furnished coffers were exhausted. Pitt had thundered in the past against subsidies to Hanover and to foreign Powers; but now the foreign Powers were to fight Britain's battles, exhausting the strength and resources of France, whilst British fleets blockaded her harbours and shattered her navies. Britain's allies must bear the brunt of the land-war, though helped by British troops and still more by British gold.

The National revival.

But Pitt not only gave the nation a definite policy, which he pursued with consistency and vigour; he restored its belief in itself, in its mighty destinies, in its power of accomplishing heroic deeds. The dreary materialism of the Walpole régime disappeared; something akin to the old Elizabethan spirit revived. And it is worth while to observe that among the humbler classes, the mood of stolid apathy towards all

enthusiasms had already been shaken to its foundations by the religious revival associated with the name of the Wesleys—the re-awakening of a modified Puritanism. The fervour of Pitt's patriotism and the fervour of Wesley's religion were not the same; but both meant that the people were grasping at ideals for the sake of which they were ready to make personal sacrifices, and were no longer content with mere material ease. The presence of such a spirit is the condition of all great achievement.

At the beginning of 1758, the position of Britain and Prussia seemed almost desperate; not because the Imperialist allies had achieved great success, but because everything pointed to their having the greater staying-power, and to the impossibility of Frederic maintaining his energies at so terrific a strain. Yet throughout the year 1758 the Imperialists were held steadily in check at all points. In their opponents' armies, incompetent commanders were superseded. Cumberland was replaced by Ferdinand of Brunswick. The affair of Klosterseven was not a "Capitulation," which is the act of a commander in the field, and binding on Government when made; but a Convention, which is not binding unless ratified by Government itself. Britain repudiated the Convention, and the Hanoverian army again took the field, strengthened by British troops. On this side the French were driven back behind the Rhine, suffering a severe defeat at Crefeld (June). On the east, Frederic forced back the Russians at Zorndorf (August), and, in spite of a reverse at Hochkirchen, succeeded in driving the Austrians beyond the borders both of Silesia and of Saxony. The British fleets, though there were no great engagements, commanded the French ports. France was thus severed from America, where the incompetent Loudoun was superseded by Amherst; who, assisted by Boscawen's squadron, recaptured Louisburg at the mouth of the St Lawrence; while Fort Duquesne on the Ohio again changed hands, and was rechristened Pittsburg.

1758. The tide stemmed.

Then came 1759, the *annus mirabilis*, the year of triumphs. For Frederic personally, it was a year of defeats; he met with disaster, fighting the Russians at Kunersdorf; Dresden was captured; and one of his Generals was forced to capitulate at Maxen; it seemed that he was being gradually worn down. But on the other hand, Ferdinand of Brunswick inflicted a crushing defeat on the French at Minden on the Weser (August), largely owing to the magnificent behaviour of the British troops under his command—though the victory would have been even more overwhelming if Lord George Sackville had not unac-

1759. The year of Victories.

countably disobeyed the order to charge at a critical moment. In September, the French squadron from Toulon, attempting to effect a junction with that at Brest, was caught off Lagos (near Gibraltar) by Admiral Boscawen, and annihilated. In October, the French Admiral Conflans put to sea from Brest, while contrary winds held the British Admiral Hawke a prisoner in Torbay. But, while angry mobs were burning Hawke in effigy for his inaction, the wind had changed. His fleet bore down on Conflans, who ran for the bay of Quiberon. Thither Hawke pursued him, drove after him through the dangerous rocks and shallows which guard the bay, and annihilated him. As a fighting force the French navy had ceased to exist; by sea, France was reduced to the preying of privateers upon British commerce.

Quiberon.

Meanwhile, the naval preponderance was having its effect in America. Montcalm had no resources to draw upon outside Canada. General Wolfe, supported by a naval squadron, moved up the St Lawrence against Quebec; Amherst was first to reduce Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, and then to join forces with Wolfe. Still, Quebec was as nearly as possible impregnable; Wolfe could not invest it, and to storm it seemed hopeless. For a long time, Wolfe lay before Quebec, unable to force a decisive action; till he conceived the daring idea of reaching the plateau on which the town stands by scaling the Heights of Abraham; a thing possible, if at all, only by the most difficult of all military operations, a night surprise. This almost impossible feat he accomplished. The sudden appearance on the plateau in the early morning of Sept. 13, of the leading British troops, created a panic among the small French guard; a considerable body of men had already formed for battle, before Montcalm could hurry up a force to resist them; the battle was joined; the British won a complete victory. In that decisive hour, the gallant Wolfe was himself struck down, and the equally gallant Montcalm received his mortal wound. But the fight had settled the destinies of Canada. Five days later, Quebec capitulated. The reduction of the rest of the Province was merely a question of time, since to the French no help could come from over seas.

Quebec.

Four months after the capture of Quebec, the waning power of the French in India received its death-blow at the battle of Wandewash (Jan. 1760); though still another twelvemonth passed before Pondicheri itself surrendered. As far as the British were concerned, France was completely beaten in every quarter of the globe; British fleets swept the seas unchallenged; while Frederic still stood at bay, striking fierce blows now to one

1760.

side, now to the other; seeming always on the verge of utter exhaustion, yet wearing down his foes. But in October old George II. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. From that moment the power of William Pitt waned; British policy was on the verge of a change.

§ 3. *India: the Conquest of Bengal and the overthrow of the French*, 1756—1761.

Before Pitt had restored the supremacy of the British navy, and while he was conquering Canada, Clive in India was laying the foundations of a British territorial dominion, and the French were making their last ineffectual struggle to maintain themselves as our rivals.

The beginning of British Dominion.

Though after the recall of Dupleix in 1754, the Frenchman Bussy remained at Hyderabad and controlled the Nizam, while the Nawab of the Carnatic at Arcot was virtually a puppet of the British, the political ambitions of the two Companies were for the time satisfied. Hitherto the contest had been one between them for influence at the two greatest native courts of Southern India; there had been no movement towards conquest. It was the aggressive action, not of the British, but of a native potentate, the Nawab of Bengal, the great district of the Lower Ganges, which transformed a commercial company for trading in the East Indies into the territorial ruler over that rich and extensive Province.

Black Hole of Calcutta, 1756.

In 1756, just when it seemed certain that war was on the point of being once more declared between France and Britain, the Nawab of Bengal died and was succeeded by his son Suraj-ud-Daulah, a youth absolutely devoid of capacity, utterly uninformed, cruel and vicious, and with monstrously inflated ideas of his own power and importance. The British East India Company had a factory at Fort William (Calcutta), the French at Chandernagore, the Dutch at Chinsurah, all on the Hugli. Anticipating the possibility of a French attack, the British Governor, Drake, set about strengthening his fortifications. Suraj-ud-Daulah ordered him to desist. Drake protested. The Nawab descended on Fort William; Drake fled. The Nawab seized those of the British who remained, and on a broiling June night thrust them all—145 men and women—into a single small chamber or donjon with one tiny window. When the doors were opened in the morning, all but twenty-two were dead. That is the brief and appalling story of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

For so ghastly an outrage it was obvious that prompt and ample reparation must be demanded. Clive was just back in India, after a visit to England. Admiral Watson was at Madras in command of a squadron. A force was placed under Clive's command, and he, with Watson, was dispatched to the Hugli; which they reached in December. The fort of Baj-Baj was promptly captured; on Jan. 2nd, 1757, the Nawab's troops surrendered Calcutta.

1757. Clive in Bengal.

The expectation of a French war was shortly confirmed by the news that war had actually been declared. The first thing to do was to put the French in Bengal *hors de combat*; Chandernagore was attacked and taken in March. It was desirable that the British forces should be free to concentrate in the Carnatic as early as possible; but the Nawab's affair must be dealt with first, and the Nawab himself made powerless for evil, since he could not be trusted to keep any mere pledges of good behaviour. At this point the disaffection of some of the Nawab's ministers and officers came to help the British. An intrigue was afoot to overthrow Suraj-ud-Daulah and make his chief General, Mir Jaffar, Nawab in his place. The conspirators opened negotiations with the British. The Nawabs and Viziers of the Mogul Empire held sway merely because they themselves, or their fathers, or possibly their grandfathers, had been successful soldiers who had overthrown their competitors; they had no established dynastic rights like the monarchs of Europe; rebellion was not treason in the western sense. The British entered into the plan. In carrying it out, Clive committed the one act which is a grave blot on his career, though he maintained its justifiability to the day of his death. One of the conspirators, Amin Chand or Omichund, made outrageous demands on his own behalf. A treaty was prepared and signed by the rest which left Omichund without the reward he claimed; another copy, which included those claims, and bore the signatures, was shown to him, by agreement among the signatories; but Admiral Watson had refused to be so far a party to the deception, and his name was forged by Clive's orders. This was the one occasion when Clive stooped to Oriental methods in dealing with Oriental intriguers.

The conspiracy was successful. In June, Clive, with a force of about 1000 Europeans and twice the number of sepoys, advanced towards Murshedabad, the Nawab's capital. Suraj-ud-Daulah took the field against him with 60,000 men. Mir Jaffar was to desert when the right time came; but he might fail. The two armies faced each other at Plassey on June 23rd, 1757. In spite of the terrific odds, Clive resolved to fight. The Nawab's

Battle of Plassey.

huge host was shattered; the Nawab himself was caught and murdered by Mir Jaffar's son. By grace of Clive the conqueror, Mir Jaffar was proclaimed Nawab; while everyone, including himself, knew that he was in effect the servant of Clive and of the British Company.

End of the French rivalry, 1761.

Thus in effect, though not formally, Clive had made himself responsible for the government of Bengal, and had not merely punished Suraj-ud-Daulah but made the province a dependency of the Company, from which a considerable revenue could be drawn. It followed that he must remain there and establish the British predominance effectively. But early in 1758, before Pitt's naval policy had come into operation, French reinforcements arrived in the Carnatic under the command of Lally. Lally captured Fort St David, but was repulsed at Madras, and the French naval squadron was driven from Indian waters. The Nizam, however, under Bussy's influence, conferred the great district of the Northern Circars on the French. Before they could take advantage of this acquisition, early in 1759, Clive was bold enough to send almost all his troops from Bengal, under Colonel Forde, to seize Masulipatam, thereby snatching the Circars from the French. Lally's troops in the Carnatic became mutinous; he irritated the natives; and he was thus unable to carry out the operations which he had planned skilfully enough. In January, 1760, he was completely and decisively routed at Wandewash by Eyre Coote. The doom of the French power in India was sealed, and only received its inevitable confirmation when Pondicheri surrendered a year later; for to India, as to Canada, France could send no help, since her fleets had been swept off the seas.

§ 4. *George III.: the ascendency of Bute and the close of the War*, 1760—1763.

The new King.

George III. was twenty-two years of age when he succeeded his grandfather; just old enough to have seen for himself that in the existing system of government the monarch was controlled by a Whig oligarchy. His parents had both been on very bad terms with the old King, whom the boy had been brought up to despise. He had been trained to believe that it was the monarch's business to rule; and he came to the throne with two immense personal advantages possessed by neither of his immediate predecessors. He was born and bred a Briton; and there was no shadow of risk that his crown would be endangered by the claims of a rival dynasty. From this it followed that the old Tory party,

powerless while it bore the taint of Jacobitism, could rally to him with something like the old sentiment of loyalty to the sovereign; providing at once a nucleus of resistance to the domination of the great Whig families. Thus, from the outset, it was his dominant purpose to revive the influence of the Crown, and to free himself from the shackles which had bound George I. and George II.

1761. Bute. His confidential adviser was the intimate friend of his mother, Lord Bute, a man of some intellectual attainments, but no political ability. One thing, however, George saw. Neither the personal power of Pitt, nor the Parliamentary power of Newcastle, was compatible with the revival of royal influence. The triumphant position of Britain in the war justified a peace policy which would make Pitt no longer indispensable; the enormous expenditure could be urged as a strong reason for such a change of policy. The royal influence at once began to be exerted in the Cabinet; in which room had to be found for Bute himself, who soon took the place of Pitt's fellow Secretary of State. Peace negotiations were entered upon; while Frederic continued his stubborn resistance to the circle of foes, and British fleets continued to make captures of French possessions.

Pitt resigns. The demand for peace upon terms which France was not unwilling to concede was reasonable enough. But Pitt was convinced, rightly as the event proved, that France was really looking to a secret revival of the Family Compact to turn the tables on her rival; for in Spain too there was a new King who was full of animosity towards Britain. Pitt therefore would not be a party to terms which left that danger unprovided for, and in fact desired to take immediate action against Spain. Failing to carry the Government with him, he resigned in October (1761). Next year Newcastle followed suit—nominally, because Bute, now unmistakeably the real head of affairs, was bent on withdrawing the subsidies paid to Frederic; really, because the Crown was exercising without consulting him the patronage which he regarded as his personal prerogative.

Spain intervenes, 1762. The resignation of Pitt marked the victory of the Peace party; but Spain had only been waiting the safe arrival of her treasure-fleet to take sides openly with France. Bute himself had to declare war with her early in 1762; and the principal effect of her intervention was not to help France but to lay her own colonies at the mercy of British fleets; which captured Havanna in the West Indies, and Manilla in the Philippine Islands of the Pacific. The pressure on Frederic was somewhat relieved by the retirement of Russia on the death of the Tsarina Elizabeth.

But in fact there was not one of the belligerents, with the exception of Britain herself, who was not thoroughly exhausted and ready for a reasonable peace.

Peace of Paris, 1763.

The result was that, before the end of the year, Peace preliminaries were signed, and were ratified by the Treaty of Paris in the following February (1763). Bute deserted the stubborn ally whose resistance had distracted France from the duel for Colonial Empire; though happily Frederic was still able to secure fair terms for himself from his exhausted and almost bankrupt foes. The gains to Great Britain were so vast that the country might well have been satisfied; yet she could certainly have demanded so much more that there was excuse for some indignation. In America France surrendered everything but Louisiana. In India we restored her trading stations, with a proviso against their being garrisoned. Some of the West Indian Islands taken from her were restored, and others retained. Belle Isle, off the Bretagne coast, captured in 1761, was restored in exchange for Minorca. Spain suffered little: the Philippines were restored to her without compensation, and to recover Havanna she surrendered the much less valuable Florida, which lay between the British Georgia and the French Louisiana. In effect, the Great War, under Pitt's guidance, had won for us an absolutely free hand in North America and in India, and had secured such an overwhelming supremacy on the ocean as no nation had hitherto possessed: and it left Britain, alone of the belligerents, richer at the end than at the beginning.

Two months later Bute, unable to support the strain of his intense personal unpopularity, resigned office.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE CROWN, THE HOUSE, AND THE COLONIES: 1763—1775.

§ 1. *George III., the Whigs, and John Wilkes*, 1763—1765.

The King's Friends.

For seven years after Bute's resignation, George III. struggled with his self-imposed task of breaking the great Whig connexion to pieces, and of absorbing convenient fragments thereof into the circle of the "King's Friends." In 1770, he achieved his purpose, and was able to establish a ministry which, supported by subservient majorities in Parliament, could be relied on to carry out the King's will. That ministry completed the wreck which its predecessors had been preparing, and finally plunged Great Britain into the war with the American colonies. Incidentally, during these years, there appeared as the defender of Free Speech and the adversary of usurped Parliamentary privileges a singularly unworthy champion, John Wilkes. The two "Wilkes and Liberty" interludes, the break-up of the Whigs into a number of groups which united in kaleidoscopic combinations to carry on the government or misgovernment, and the quarrel with the colonies, form the subject of this chapter.

George Grenville.

When Bute resigned, with the intention of continuing to manage the political machine from the back-ground, Pitt and Newcastle were both in opposition, and Government passed into the hands of those Whigs who had advocated the Peace on financial grounds. At the head of these was George Grenville—a capable administrator, an excellent official, but a man wholly devoid of imagination, utterly unable to realise any point of view except his own. For two years, 1763—5, Grenville remained at the head of the Government. Within six months, George was already attempting to get rid of him—not from any objection to his policy, but

because he was personally irritating—even at the price of reinstating Pitt; but the attempt failed because Pitt insisted on the return to office of other allies of his whom the King would not accept. The failure caused the coalition of Grenville with the Duke of Bedford, which is known as the Bedford ministry; they remained masters of the situation till the summer of 1765, while George sought vainly for some means of escaping from their control.

It was during the first six months that the first Wilkes disturbance arose. John Wilkes was a very clever, very unscrupulous, and perfectly shameless person, who conducted a very scurrilous paper called the *North Briton*, and posed as highly patriotic. When the King's speech in Parliament referred to the Peace of Paris as a measure conferring great benefits on the country, the famous No. 45 of the *North Briton* called the statement a lie. George took the comment as a personal insult; Grenville, who was responsible for the King's speech, was furious; a general warrant, *i.e.* a warrant in which no names were specified, was issued, to seize the authors, printers and publishers of the paper for publishing a seditious libel. Some forty persons, including Wilkes, were arrested. Wilkes challenged the legality of the warrant; Chief Justice Pratt decided that no one could lawfully be arrested upon a warrant in which he was not directly named, and Wilkes obtained heavy damages for false imprisonment. Wilkes was able also to plead that, as member of Parliament (for Aylesbury), he was exempt from arrest except on a charge of treason, felony, or breach of the peace. Foiled in the law-courts, Grenville, when Parliament met in November, attacked Wilkes in the House; "Number 45" was ordered to be burned by the common hangman; Wilkes was indicted for libel, for having written (but not published) an extremely offensive paper entitled an "Essay on Woman"; having found it necessary to leave the country, because of the results of a duel, he was condemned and outlawed for not answering to the indictment; and the House of Commons expelled him.

John Wilkes.

These high-handed proceedings caused great popular excitement, while very little attention was paid to the measures which the Bedford ministry were now taking to bring the national finances into order—first by enforcing in the American colonies the existing trade-regulations which in practice were very largely ignored, and secondly by tapping new sources of revenue in those colonies. England remained placidly unconscious of the storm of indignation which was brewing on the other side of the Atlantic: it was not that, but a personal question, which overthrew the Bedford ministry.

The King fell ill, with the first symptoms of the brain-malady which clouded his later years. The illness was brief, but it pointed to the necessity of making an arrangement for a Regency if it should recur. George wished for a Bill authorising him to nominate a regent. Ministers naturally required that his choice should be limited to members of the Royal family. But, wishing to preclude the possibility of Bute recovering influence, they thought it necessary to exclude his ally, the King's mother, from the available list. They induced George to yield a reluctant assent, on the ground that the Commons would inevitably strike out her name if it was included. To avoid the risk of such an insult, he consented; whereupon the Commons carefully amended the Bill so as to include her. George was furious with the ministers; and when Pitt once more refused to form a ministry without his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, the King at last had recourse, as the sole alternative, to that section of Whigs whom he had most persistently excluded from office. Without Pitt, they were something like a body without a head; but, as Pitt remained obdurate, Lord Rockingham accepted the position of prime minister. The Rockingham Administration came into office in the autumn of 1765, and Parliament met in the following January—with the great problem of American taxation to face.

The Regency Bill, 1765.

§ 2. *The relations between the American Colonies and the Mother Country. George Grenville's taxation.* 1763—1765.

For a hundred and fifty years, British colonies had been growing up along the Atlantic sea-board of North America, from Acadia or Nova Scotia on the north to Florida on the south: developing on their own lines, with very little interference from the Mother Country, except so far as she imposed regulations on their trade for the benefit of her own commerce. They were now thirteen in number, having absorbed the Dutch settlements in the time of the Dutch wars in the reign of Charles II. They were of two main types; those of the south, on the Virginian model, where the country was parcelled out into great landed estates cultivated by the labour of negro slaves; those of the north, on the New England model, established generally by Puritan settlers who had preferred worshipping after their own fashion in a new country to accepting the ecclesiastical system of the Stuarts. The New England group were imbued with the traditional ideas of the men who had set Charles I. at defiance: the Virginian group were imbued with the independent pride of a landed aristocracy. Both groups

The American Colonies.

were accustomed to self-government under forms modified from those of the Mother Country, though their Governors were appointed from home, and the Governors' Councils were not selected by the colonists.

These colonies had not been planted by the Home Government; they had been permitted to plant themselves, upon conditions embodied in the respective charters which the Home Government had granted to the settlers. Like every other European State, England, before the Union of 1707, and Great Britain after it, had assumed an undisputed right to make any trade regulations she considered advisable in the interests of her own commerce. She had to this end imposed the Navigation Acts, confining the direct trade of the colonies to the Mother Country; and had imposed heavy duties on various classes of goods at American ports. She had forbidden the export of goods which competed with home-produced goods; and had even required the suppression of industries which diminished the import to America of goods produced in England. This had been felt as a grievance—legal, as the commercial restrictions on Scottish trade before the Union had been legal, but still a hardship to be resented. The resentment, however, had not reached a high pitch, for two reasons. First, the restrictions had been very laxly enforced, of set purpose, by Walpole and his successors, who allowed an immense contraband trade to be connived at: second, because the colonists, though each colony had its own militia, enjoyed and required the help of British fleets and British regiments against the aggression of the French. With the French on the north and on the south, the colonists could not, even if they would, have afforded to break with the Mother Country, so long as the Mother Country's exactions were not absolutely intolerable.

Trade Regulations.

Need of defence.

But with the Peace of Paris this second condition disappeared. The only foothold left to France in America was Louisiana; the colonists no longer had the sense of being dependent on British fleets and armies; and of this one consequence was certain to be that they would soon object to paying for that defence.

When George Grenville came into power into 1763, these considerations did not present themselves to his mind. But he did see that the National Debt had been immensely increased by the recent war, and that this increase had been incurred largely on behalf of the American colonies. Also he perceived that both British commerce and the British Exchequer suffered from the contraband traffic which, though allowed by custom, was quite indisputably illegal. From these two considerations, he judged that it would be legitimate to put down

Taxation for Revenue, 1764—5.

the contraband traffic, and to require America to contribute to the National Exchequer. Therefore he at once set about enforcing the Navigation Acts, suppressed smuggling with the utmost rigour, and employed the ships of the Royal Navy on Preventive officers' work; some additional taxes on imports were imposed, avowedly for the sake of revenue; and in 1765 the famous Stamp Act was passed as a means to the same end, requiring Government stamps of various prices to be affixed to all legal documents.

Thus, of the two considerations which had induced the colonists to submit to the existing trade regulations, the second had been abolished by the Treaty of Paris, and the first was removed by the regulations being enforced with rigour instead of with laxity. And on the top of this came a new burden in a new form; a tax which was without precedent both because it was an inland tax, not one levied at the ports only, and because it was imposed to bring money into the British Exchequer, not for the regulation of trade.

Taxation without representation.

The enforcement of the old imposts aroused anger enough; but, though it might be sufficiently harsh to justify indignant protests, it was at least legal. But it had been laid down in the Bill of Rights that no tax can legally be imposed except by consent of the representatives of the taxed. Representation as a condition of taxation was a fundamental principle of the Constitution: that principle was set at defiance, if the Americans might be taxed for revenue purposes by a Parliament in which they were not represented. The argument had not applied to the old imposts for the regulation of trade, which stood on the same footing as the "ancient customs" for the regulation of trade, which Plantagenets and Tudors and Stuarts had been allowed to levy by Royal Prerogative. But it did apply to the Stamp Act. It enabled the colonists to open their resistance to the Mother Country's demands by the constitutional cry of "No Taxation without Representation." At the same time, to the argument that, as a simple matter of justice, they ought to contribute to the expenses of a war waged for their benefit, they answered that in the first place they had made voluntary contributions, and in the second place they were willing to tax themselves—but that was a different thing from being taxed by the Parliament at Westminster.

Representation of the Americans at Westminster was obviously quite impracticable: Grenville argued that it followed that the Home Government must have the right to tax them at its own pleasure; the colonists argued that the Home Government must content themselves with any contribution which America chose to

lay on itself. And that contention was the more unsatisfactory, because in America there was no central authority. Each State would fix its own contribution, and each would find excellent reasons why its own contributions should be less than that of its neighbours. Finally, it might be argued by Grenville that the old imposts had been levied for revenue; but the argument would be turned against him by suggesting that in that case the old imposts themselves were illegal, as well as the new proposals.

Resistance to the Stamp Act.

The Stamp Act was passed in April, 1765; it was to take effect in the autumn. The New England state of Massachusetts, with its capital Boston, headed the resistance: at its suggestion delegates from several of the Colonial Assemblies met at New York to enter their protest. Associations were already being formed whose members were pledged to buy no goods imported from England. British merchants found themselves shut out of the American markets; and, owing to the general dislocation of trade, their American debtors were unable to pay for the goods already purchased. Demagogues declaimed against the Stamp Act to American mobs; most of the stamp-masters appointed to distribute the stamps resigned; when the stamps themselves arrived they were seized and burned. Such was the state of affairs when the new Rockingham ministry met Parliament in January, 1766.

§ 3. *The Rockingham and Grafton Administrations*, 1766—1770.

1766. Repeal of the Stamp Act.

The Rockingham ministry contained several sensible if commonplace gentlemen, but only one man of transcendent ability, Edmund Burke; and Burke in spite of his genius was never fitted to be a Parliamentary leader. Moreover this was his first appearance in the House. Ministers met the situation in a sensible if commonplace manner. They remitted or reduced several of the most unpopular duties; with the result that it ceased to be worth while to smuggle those goods, while they were rendered so much cheaper that the demand for them increased, and in consequence the revenue derived from the lowered duties was enormously greater than that produced by them before. They repealed the Stamp Act; but accompanied the repeal by a Declaratory Act formally asserting that the actual power of imposing taxation did rest with the British Parliament. The mercantile public in Great Britain was pleased, since it was suffering seriously from the dislocation of trade. The colonists were pacified. It was known

that Pitt was an uncompromising supporter of the American Constitutional doctrine, and was opposed even to the Declaratory Act, although that was intended as nothing more than a salve to the dignity of the Mother Country on retiring from an untenable position. The storm seemed to have blown over. But the ministry was weak; it had many enemies; its members were distasteful to George, to whom it was not at all subservient; and it very soon became clear that unless Pitt would join it, it could not continue to carry on the Government. Pitt would not join. In the summer, the King again appealed to him to form a ministry of his own. Hitherto he had made it a condition that his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, should be associated with him in office; but now Temple made such extravagant conditions that Pitt severed himself from him, and consented to form a ministry, discarding party lines altogether.

Pitt takes office

Had the Great Commoner, as he was called, been in full possession of his bodily and mental vigour, a second Pitt dictatorship might have had great results. Had he been able to carry out his intentions, harmony with the colonies would have been re-established; the friendship of Prussia, forfeited by Bute, would have been recovered; the revived Bourbon alliance would have been held in check; probably the dominion of the East India Company in India (which, under Clive's management, had just acquired a regular legal status recognised by the Mogul as titular sovereign) would have been brought under the direct control of the Crown. But Pitt constructed his ministry out of a miscellaneous patchwork of men taken from various sections of the Whig party and from among the "King's Friends"; men who might have served well enough under his active dictatorship, but were quite incompetent to act with wisdom or consistency if left to their own initiative. He had hardly done so when he wrecked his own popular prestige and lost half his influence by accepting a peerage as Earl of Chatham and so retiring from the arena of the House of Commons. And then the gout, to which he had always been a martyr, incapacitated him so completely that he became utterly unable to attend even to the most trivial business; and, while his name remained with the ministry, the ministers conducted the affairs of the nation with a total disregard for every principle on which his public life and policy had been based.

and becomes Earl of Chatham.

The nominal head of the Government was Lord Grafton, from whom the administration of the three years 1767—9 takes its name.

1767—9. The Grafton administration.

Charles Townshend, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, a brilliant and charming personality but a man devoid of mental ballast, proceeded at once to destroy the prospect of harmony with the colonies, by imposing fresh taxes for revenue. Of the six articles to be taxed—glass, paper, red lead, white lead, painter's colours, and tea—the last alone was of any commercial importance, and the whole revenue anticipated therefrom was only £40,000. Moreover, the plan in effect even cheapened tea, for this reason: hitherto the tea, carried to America from British ports, had paid a tax in the British ports, the price of tea to the American purchaser being increased by that amount; whereas now, the tax in the British ports was remitted—*i.e.*, in the technical phrase, a "drawback" of the whole amount was granted on its shipment—while a tax of less than half that amount was to be levied instead at the American port. Thus America gained in cash, while the Exchequer lost in cash, all for the sake of making the colonists pay the tax in form as well as in fact—which was exactly what the colonists objected to. So the embers of indignation, which had seemed likely to die out, burst into flame once more. When the mischief was done, Townshend died, and his place was taken by the Tory Lord North.

The Middlesex Election, 1768—9.

Ministers retained their majority at the general election, which took place next year (1768); but the election itself illustrated the appalling extent of electoral corruption, small boroughs and large being simply put up for sale to the highest bidder; and for the second time the public became distracted over "Wilkes and Liberty." The adventurer re-appeared on the scene, stood for Middlesex, and was elected. The ministers, incited by King George's vindictiveness, had him arrested as an outlaw, the former sentence against him not having been reversed. Riots took place, blood was shed, Wilkes published an attack on Lord Weymouth as Secretary of State, and again the House expelled him. The seat being thus vacated, Wilkes was promptly re-elected (Feb. 1769). The House declared that he was ineligible; and there was another election. Although Wilkes polled four times as many votes as the Government candidate, Colonel Luttrell, the House then pronounced that Luttrell, not Wilkes, was the legally elected member for Middlesex: thus in effect asserting its own right to reject the deliberate choice of the constituencies. Wilkes became a popular hero, the champion of the rights of the electors; and the credit of the House of Commons, in the eyes of the nation, sank deservedly and disastrously low.

American Feeling.

Meanwhile in America feeling ran higher and higher. Chatham was now no longer even nominally a member of the Government; Lord Hillsborough was the Secretary of State to whose department colonial affairs belonged, and the Government was resolved to meet resistance by coercion. The American associations for "boycotting" British imports—to use a modern phrase—multiplied, and smuggling increased; while on the other hand British war-ships dominated American ports. The Massachusetts Assembly invited the other colonial Assemblies to join in resisting the taxes, and issued a circular letter for publication in England. The Assembly was thereupon suspended, but the citizens called a Convention in its place, and the Governor, Bernard, was practically defied. Other Assemblies followed suit. Riots took place, and by this time the public at home was becoming anti-colonial. At last Grafton proposed to amend matters by withdrawing the obnoxious taxes; but the less moderate members of the Government insisted upon making the step rather worse than useless by retaining the tea-tax: and the Bedford Whigs brought forward a proposal for reviving an obsolete statute of Henry VIII., whereby the trial of rioters would be transferred to England. While ministers were thus engaged in renewing the quarrel with Wilkes and aggravating the quarrel with the colonies, France was allowed, almost without protest, to acquire Corsica, which might in fact have been secured for Great Britain: and thus the future Emperor Napoleon might have been a British subject but was in fact born a French one.

Lord North's administration, 1770.

When Parliament met at the beginning of 1770, Chatham had recovered enough of his old vigour to make a vehement attack on the Government. Grafton himself, and some members of the Government who still regarded themselves as adherents of Chatham, resigned. But the result was that a new ministry was formed by Lord North, the Parliamentary chief of the King's Friends. At last the King himself was supreme.

§ 4. *Lord North's Administration: the approach of the crisis,* 1770—1775.

The House of Commons.

Although the North Administration commanded an irresistible majority in Parliament, at an early stage of its career the House of Commons found itself obliged to surrender some of the privileges which it had been in the habit of maintaining. The last public act of George Grenville was the introduction of a measure which transferred the decision of election petitions to a small committee, instead of leaving it to a party vote.

An attempt to punish the publication of reports of Parliamentary debates—such publications being technically illegal—brought about a quarrel between Parliament and the City of London, as a result of which such reports ceased in practice to be interfered with. In another respect, the freedom of the press was greatly, though unintentionally, furthered by the decision of Lord Mansfield that in cases of libel the only question for the jury was as to the fact of publication, all others being for the judge. The result was that, whenever juries expected the judges to give on the other points decisions to which they would not have themselves acceded, they altogether refused to convict, and libellers got off scot free.

Poland.

The neglect of foreign affairs was also painfully illustrated at this time by the iniquitous partition of Poland. While France and Great Britain looked on, Russia, Prussia, and Austria appropriated between them the greater part of the eastern kingdom (1773).

Clive in India, 1765.

To North fell also the task of bringing some system to bear on the government of the newly-acquired Indian territories, for which the nation could no longer wholly evade responsibility. In 1760, Clive had come to England, leaving Mir Jaffar as Nawab of Bengal under the effective control of the East India Company's officials. In 1765 he had returned to remedy the prevalent mismanagement; which had been redeemed only by the brilliant and decisive victory of Hector Munro, at Buxar, over the Nawab of Oude, who was invading Bengal with the idea of destroying the British. Clive obtained from Shah Alam, the heir of the Mogul, the formal cession of Bengal to the Company; to be held, as the other great provinces such as Oude, Hyderabad, and the Carnatic, were held, as a fief of the Mogul Empire; so that the Company became directly responsible for the administration of the whole great district. The officials however had no adequate sense of their responsibilities, governing oppressively in their own personal interests without thought for the native population. Chatham, as was noted, had designs of bringing the government under the direct management of the British Crown; the problem which North attempted to solve was that of keeping the Company directly responsible and yet giving Parliament a supervisory control. After a Parliamentary enquiry, and the proposal of a vote of censure on Clive—which was finally converted into a declaration that he had rendered great services to his country—this great experiment in empire-building was given its first formal shape by Lord North's Regulating Act (1773). The Governors of Madras and Bombay were subordinated to the Governor of Bengal

North's Regulating Act, 1773.

who was also "Governor-General." He was to be assisted by a Council of four, appointed, like himself, by Parliament; and, beside this Council, a Supreme Court of Justice was set up, whose members were appointed in the same way. The acting Governor of Bengal, Warren Hastings, was made the first Governor-General.

It remains to see how, in the first five years of his administration, Lord North as the instrument of George III. successfully ruined the last chances of reconciliation between Great Britain and her American colonies.

Boston, 1770—1774.

At the time when North came into office, a riot took place in Boston, when soldiers fired on the mob, killing three and wounding six. Even the Boston jury acquitted the soldiers; still the incident, popularly known as the Boston massacre, was freely made use of by agitators. The tension of feeling remained acute, and two years later, the schooner *Gaspee*, employed in preventive work (*i.e.* the suppression of smuggling), was boarded and burnt. In the next year (1773), Benjamin Franklin, who was in London as the Agent for four of the colonies, obtained possession of some private correspondence, in which Hutchinson—Governor of Boston in succession to Bernard—and Oliver the Chief Justice, had expressed personal sentiments very unfavourable to the behaviour of the colonists. These letters he very improperly allowed to be published in America; where they added fuel to the flame, while public opinion in England was violently excited by the feeling that Franklin's behaviour had been very dishonourable. At the end of the year came the incident known as the Boston tea-party. Three ships were lying in Boston harbour laden with tea, which the people of Boston refused to allow to be landed; one evening, in the presence of a great concourse of approving spectators, the ships were boarded by a number of masqueraders attired as Red Indians, who heaved the cargoes overboard.

Character of the Quarrel.

In one sense, of course, the British Government could not be held responsible for this series of lawless acts on the part of the colonists. The reproach lies in their inability to grasp the situation. The people of the colonies were lawless only in their defiance of the laws imposed at Westminster; and the Government at Westminster allowed the defiance to reach a pitch which made it practically impossible to arrive at any compromise that would not involve bitter humiliation to one side or the other. The plain truth was that the colonies were under a deep obligation to the Mother Country, but one which could not be enforced without ignoring a fundamental principle of the Consti-

tution. The only course was to press the obligation as one not of law but of honour. The Government insisted on treating it as an obligation of law: while the method of enforcing it was in the nature of things at once ineffective and irritating. The fault of the Government was that it would not withdraw and change its tactics while there was yet time—while the thing could be done without humiliation.

The Penal Acts, 1774.

In England there is very little doubt that popular sentiment was now dead against the colonies and in favour of the drastic penal measures against the colony of Massachusetts which the King pressed on Lord North. The tea incident was met by the Boston Port Act, which closed Boston Port absolutely. Next came an Act transferring the hearing of charges against all Government officials, for misconduct in the discharge of their duties, to Great Britain or to Nova Scotia. Thirdly, the Massachusetts Charter was revoked, and replaced by one which practically put the whole Government into the hands of nominees of the Crown. General Gage succeeded the civilian Hutchinson as Governor, and at his instance a fourth Act was passed, authorising the quartering of British troops on the colonists.

The Quebec Act.

It was unfortunate that there was passed at the same time an Act regulating the Government of Canada, which was in itself a thoroughly sound measure, but one which happened to alarm the Puritan susceptibilities of the New England colonies. Though Canada was now a British possession, the immense majority of the population were French Catholics; the Quebec Act virtually established the Roman Catholic Church, while it restored the French law in civil cases beside the English law for criminal cases. As it was considered unsafe to give the French population self-government, and unfair to make the few British into a ruling caste, the Government was retained in the hands of Crown nominees. As a matter of course the measure was regarded as Popish in effect, and as a step towards the destruction of free institutions in the other colonies.

The Colonial Congress.

When Massachusetts was attacked, in the four penal Acts, Virginia took the lead in supporting her. It was only about this time that responsible persons began, not to demand independence, but to admit that they might find themselves forced to demand it. Virginia appointed as a public fast the day when the Boston Port Act was to come into force. A General Congress of the colonies was called at Philadelphia, to which twelve of the colonies—all but Georgia—sent representatives. The General

Congress drew up a Declaration of Rights; which admitted the power of taxing for the regulation of trade, but not for revenue; went on to condemn as illegal the principles embodied in each of the four Penal Acts; and finally repudiated the idea that separation from the Mother Country was desired. Of the twelve colonies represented, New York alone stood aloof from this Declaration of Rights.

The Breach widens, 1774–5.

Meanwhile in Massachusetts, although the official writs calling a new Assembly were cancelled, the elections were held. The Assembly met as a "provincial congress," and was obeyed precisely as if it had met with full legal sanction. The new nominees of the Crown under the new Charter Act refused or resigned their appointments. A Committee of Supplies, and a Committee of Defence, were established; a militia of twelve thousand men was formed, known as "minute men" because they were pledged to answer a call to arms at a minute's notice. Now that it was altogether too late, North, in February, 1775, made a futile proposal that Britain should abstain from taxing any colony which made the offer of an adequate contribution to the Exchequer —a proposal which neither the colonists nor the opposition at home regarded as serious. In April the War of American Independence was opened by a collision between British regulars and colonial militia-men at Lexington.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT STAKE: 1775—1784.

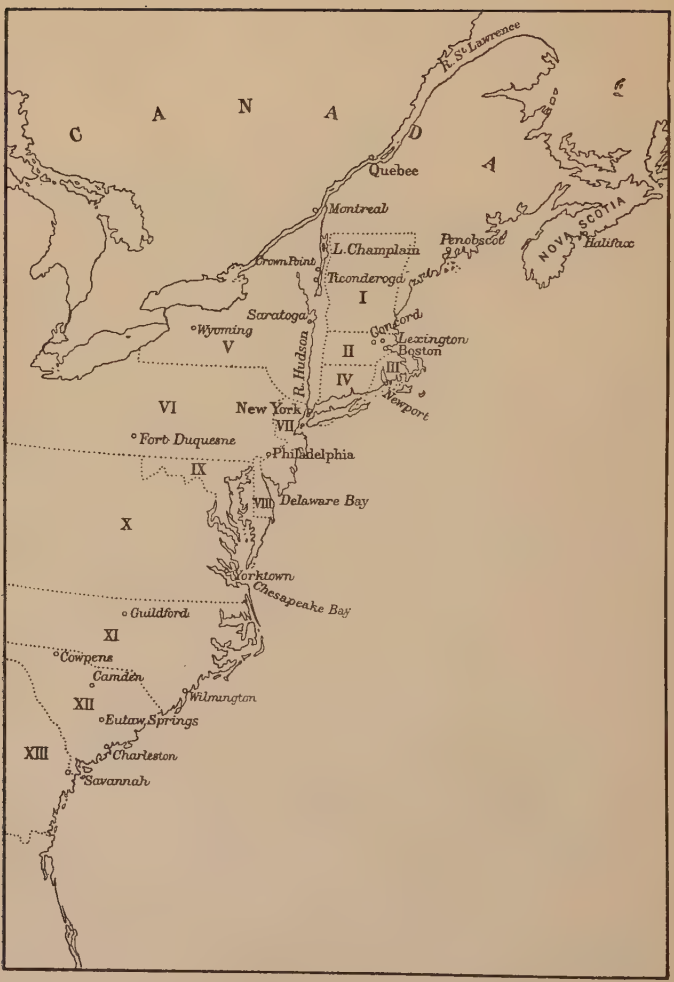
§ 1. *The First Stage of the War*, 1775—1778.

1775. The Olive Branch.

At the outset the American War was not a war for independence; just as at the outset the great Civil War in England had not been a war for the overthrow of the monarchy. The majority of the colonists, even if they were losing all hope of reconciliation, would still have preferred it. But the King, most of his ministers, and most of the British nation, in spite of the declamations of Chatham and Edmund Burke, would accept nothing short of unconditional submission. When hostilities had already broken out the Americans made one more effort, and sent over what was called the "Olive Branch Petition," pleading for the recognition of their constitutional claim. But they were not even allowed to present the petition. As the temper of the combatants became heated, the demand for independence strengthened; but there were large numbers of Americans who remained loyalists or "Tories" to the end. These loyalists were lost to the American cause by the claim for independence; just as Falkland and Hyde had opposed Charles I. in Parliament, but supported the monarchy when war became inevitable.

Stages of the War.

Of the war itself, there were four stages pretty definitely marked. In the first, the Mother Country and the colonists were the only combatants. After nearly three years of obstinate but ill-organised resistance, the Americans achieved a success which brought home to the minds even of the British the possibility that the attempt to subdue them might fail. This success decided France that the hour of her vengeance had come; early in 1778 she recognised officially the independence of the colonists, and joined her arms to theirs. The second stage lasted for a year (March 1778—June 1779), at the end of which Spain entered the alliance. In the third stage which then opened, Britain was fighting



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THE AMERICAN COLONIES

desperately to keep the Bourbons at bay and to vanquish the rebels; but her last chance of success in the latter object vanished with the capture of Yorktown in October, 1781. In the fourth stage, her whole attention was absorbed in the naval struggle with the Bourbons; in which she had seemed more than once on the verge of destruction, though from it she finally emerged, not indeed with her old supremacy, but still definitely the victor.

In the spring of 1775, the British regiments in America were for the most part concentrated at Boston in Massachusetts, where the commander-in-chief, General Gage, was also Governor of the colony. The general colonial Congress, to which the colonies looked for direction, was assembled at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania. Of the seven northern colonies, the loyalists were strong only in New York. The British, however, having complete command of the sea, could operate freely along the whole coast, and maintain communications with Canada and Nova Scotia as well as with the British Isles.

Lexington (April).

The colonists were preparing for armed resistance, and had collected war stores at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston. On April 18th, General Gage sent a column of soldiers to destroy these stores, a task in which they were partially successful; but the militia-men engaged them in a skirmish which gave the colonials confidence in their ability to stand up to the regular troops, and increased their battalions. The insurgents surprised the fort of Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain; the Congress took measures for raising an army of 15,000 men, and appointed George Washington commander-in-chief. On the other hand, two thousand men from England joined Gage in Boston. On June 17th, before Washington had taken up his command, was fought the battle of Bunker Hill—a height in the neighbourhood of Boston of which both armies desired to possess themselves. The British were successful after hot fighting, but lost more heavily than their opponents, who again gained confidence. Gage was replaced by General Sir William Howe, whose brother, Lord Howe, commanded the fleet.

Bunker Hill (June).

Through the winter it was Washington's problem to keep together in his lines round Boston an army which could prevent the British from advancing. The task was exceedingly difficult; owing partly to the lack of supplies from deficient organisation, partly to the general absence of discipline and subordination and to the jealousies of officers and men. Nor was it made easier by a disastrous attempt to invade Canada and capture Quebec, which failed completely. The Quebec Act had insured the loyalty of the French Canadians. Yet in the spring (1776) Howe

The Winter, 1775—6.

resolved to evacuate Boston, and transferred his head-quarters to Halifax in Nova Scotia; Washington moved to New York.

1776. The Declaration of Independence.

The Americans had drawn the sword; in summer they threw away the scabbard. Congress on July 4th adopted the Declaration of Independence, cutting themselves adrift from the Mother Country—an intention which they had hitherto disavowed.

In that month, the British descended upon New York. After some attempts at negotiation—made futile, because Lord Howe could not recognise Washington's official position—they began the attack, at the end of August. Before the end of the year, New York itself and the neighbouring forts were in the hands of the British; while Washington had to fall back beyond the river Delaware, to cover Philadelphia. Instead, however, of pressing forward and completing the demoralisation of the American army, General Howe remained inactive in New York, and allowed Washington to recover a good deal of lost ground before the winter was fairly over.

1777. Capture of Philadelphia.

If the British had acted with vigour, there is no doubt that Washington's army might have been broken up; but Howe probably imagined that it would break up of itself. Its great chief managed, however, to hold it together. Meanwhile the British were planning a campaign which should isolate the New England States on the north. General Burgoyne was to come from Canada, descending the Hudson; General Clinton was to march north from New York to meet him. Burgoyne began his march, on which he was harassed and checked by the American general Gates. Clinton's advance to join hands with him was delayed, because Howe was now bent on advancing against Philadelphia. Clinton had to remain at New York, while Howe, with the bulk of the troops, sailed for Chesapeake Bay to the southward—the point from which he intended to advance on Philadelphia. That movement was successful. Washington's attempt to intercept him was defeated at Brandywine Creek, on Sept. 11th, and Philadelphia was taken a fortnight later.

The Surrender at Saratoga.

The capture of Philadelphia, from which Congress had retired, was of no real military importance; but the delay of Clinton's advance was fatal. The colonial forces in the north under Gates were left free to give their whole attention to crushing Burgoyne before Clinton arrived on the scene; and on October 16th the British general found himself, at Saratoga, in a position which gave him no alternative but to surrender with his whole force. Clinton, who by this time was at last

on his way, was obliged himself to fall back on New York; leaving the whole of the north in the undisputed control of the rebels. Howe with the main army passed the winter and spring at Philadelphia, doing nothing at all.

If the military operations during the six months following the surrender at Saratoga were trivial, in other fields events were taking an important course. In America, Congress followed up the Declaration of Independence of the previous year by submitting articles of confederation to the various colonies. In England, the knowledge that France was on the verge of intervening frightened the ministry into proposing, in February (1778), measures of conciliation which, at any time before hostilities began, would have averted the war. They were too late now. The Rockingham party were already prepared to go the whole length of recognising American Independence, at any rate after the news of a Franco-American alliance was announced in March. A motion to that effect was brought into the Upper House on April 7th. Chatham had himself carried down to the House to spend his last utterance in opposing the disruption of the Empire. He had consistently from the beginning maintained that the Americans were in the right, and that a nation believing itself to be in the right cannot be coerced into subjection. He had opposed the whole scheme of subduing them by force of arms. Yet he would not endure the thought of separation, least of all at the bidding of France. It is just conceivable that with health, strength, and a free hand, Chatham himself might have effected a reconciliation; it is quite certain that nobody else could. And for him the time was past. After one speech, often inaudible from his weakness, he attempted to address the House a second time, but fell back in an apoplectic fit; and never spoke again, though he lived on till May. So passed away the greatest political figure that England had produced since Cromwell.

1778.

Death of Chatham.

Since the outbreak of the war France had given her sympathies to the revolt. France, herself to become in a few years the scene of an appalling revolution—France, governed by the most absolute of European monarchies and the most arrogant of aristocracies—was the home of high-flown theories of government for other countries. She applauded the valiant sons of liberty, and fêted their bourgeois representatives, clad in home-spun; ominously forgetful of the fact that she had a *bourgeoisie* of her own. Also, she was very well pleased to encourage anything which would help to weaken Great Britain, on whom she hoped to avenge the humiliation of the Seven Years' War. Enthusiastic young aristocrats

French Intervention.

volunteered to serve with Washington; and, in the meantime, while the British Administration was continuing to display conspicuous incapacity, France had been steadily reorganising a fleet in a high state of efficiency; and behind France was Spain, and the restored Family Compact. After Saratoga, France did not hesitate long. She was untrammelled by the European wars which had hampered her in her last contest with Britain; and Britain on the other hand was very much hampered by her colonial struggle. France's hour had come. In March she formally recognised the Independence of America, and entered on an alliance with her. Virtually, this was a declaration of war.

§ 2. *The British struggle for life*, 1778—1783.

The French Fleet.

Whatever effect Lord North's Conciliation Bills might otherwise have had, the news of the French alliance completely counteracted them. The attempt to open negotiations, with the Bills as a basis, failed hopelessly. During the summer, the British troops had to evacuate Philadelphia and fall back on New York, under the command of General Clinton, General Howe retiring; but his brother the admiral, Lord Howe, succeeded in passing with his fleet and transports from the Chesapeake to the Hudson before the arrival of the now superior French fleet. Although no engagement took place, the result of Howe's naval operations was to drive the French admiral D'Estaing off the coast to the West Indies before the end of the year. But the change in the comparative strength of the French and British navies is shown by the fact that while the British Channel fleet fought an indecisive engagement off Ushant with a French one which was hardly its inferior, a second French fleet, that of D'Estaing, had been able to sail for America without interference. Later in the year, after D'Estaing's departure to the West Indies, when the British fleet again had control of the American coast, a portion of the force in New York was detached under Cornwallis to operate in the southern colonies, where the loyalists were comparatively numerous.

We need not follow the movements either of the armies or of the fleets in the west for some time with any detail. The British admiral in the West Indies secured a strong naval base for his own fleet at Saint Lucia, and the French admiral missed at least one opportunity of falling in force on a smaller fleet. Ashore, the southern states offered no strenuous resistance to Cornwallis, while in the north Clinton could not act aggressively.

1779. Spain intervenes.

More important than these movements was the fact that the third stage of the war was opened by the intervention of Spain in June, 1779. The combined navies of France and Spain were thus considerably larger than that of Great Britain; which now had the task of maintaining the communications between the northern and southern armies, of keeping in check the French West Indies fleet, and of holding its own in European waters against the combined fleets of France and Spain.

Thus, a siege of Gibraltar—which, with Minorca, the Spaniards were bent on recovering at all costs—began at once. A French squadron sailed to reinforce the West Indian fleet; but Admiral Rodney was able to sail from England at the turn of the year (1779—80), throw supplies into Gibraltar, inflict considerable damage on two Spanish squadrons which he caught separately, and then in his turn reinforce the British fleet in the West Indies. There, after an indecisive engagement, each side waited for some move by the other which might give a chance for an effective attack.

The War in America, 1780—1.

From the summer of 1780, while Washington, reinforced by French troops, kept Clinton at New York, the resistance to the British in the south became more active. Cornwallis from the extreme south resolved to march up to the Chesapeake with a view to cooperating with the northern army. As he advanced, however, during the spring of 1781, the colonists rose in his rear; and in the summer he received orders to send a large detachment to New York and to establish himself with his remaining troops in Yorktown on the Chesapeake Bay.

The Armed Neutrality, 1780.

Meanwhile the northern European Powers had formed a league known as the "Armed Neutrality," to resist the right claimed by British ships of searching neutral vessels and impounding goods destined for their enemies. The Powers made new claims, such as that only "contraband of war," *i.e.* articles to be utilised for war purposes, could be seized on neutral vessels. On Holland joining the league, Britain declared war upon her also (Dec. 1780). Moreover Gibraltar was being very hard pressed. So when a new French admiral, De Grasse, arrived in the West Indies with a number of additional ships in April, there was no corresponding increase in the British fleet opposed to him.

Fall of Yorktown, 1781.

Thus in the summer of 1781, the British and the French each had a small squadron in the north, while their main fleets were in the West Indies. Clinton at New York could only communicate with Yorktown by sea, and that only while the British held the superiority on the ocean. But

Washington could move on Yorktown by land, and did so; before Clinton realised his intention, the Americans having made a considerable show of intending to make a serious attack on New York itself. A French fleet sailed from the West Indies to cut the line of communication by sea between New York and Yorktown; de Grasse succeeded in eluding Hood, who went in pursuit; he established himself in Chesapeake Bay, effectually cutting off Cornwallis, while Hood could not force him to an engagement; and on October 19th Yorktown was forced to surrender. The British had no foothold left, except New York itself; they had lost the naval superiority which, twenty-two years before, had enabled them to reinforce their armies in America while France could not; and, as far as America was concerned, the end of the war was now a foregone conclusion.

1782. The second Rockingham Ministry.

At home, ministers themselves recognised the hopelessness of the struggle, and after long resistance the King was obliged in the following March to accept North's resignation, and submit to a new Rockingham ministry; which was zealous to end the American War, but not less determined to fight the Bourbon Powers to the bitter end.

The capture of Yorktown really opened the last phase of the war—the naval struggle between the Bourbon Powers and the British. Even before North's resignation, Minorca fell (Feb. 1782); the Spanish and French fleets considerably outnumbered any force that could take the seas against them; and Gibraltar, although supplies had been thrown in a second time, during the last year, seemed in imminent danger.

Rodney's victory of the Saints.

Yet this proved to be the year of Britain's redemption. About the time that the allies were capturing Minorca, Rodney succeeded in rejoining Hood in the West Indies (whither both the rival fleets had gone after Yorktown). A Spanish fleet was expected to arrive with the intention of joining de Grasse. On April 8th, de Grasse sailed from Martinique to meet the Spaniards off Hayti; Rodney sailed in pursuit. At one stage, Rodney's rear ships were becalmed, and de Grasse might have turned on his van and overwhelmed it. He threw away his chance, for he expected to beat the British in the race to Hayti; and once he joined forces with his ally, there would be little hope left for his enemy. But accidents delayed him; on April 12th Rodney caught him up, forced an engagement, captured several vessels, including the flag-ship, with de Grasse on board, scattered the fleet, and ruined its chance of forming a junction with the Spaniards. At last the British were again supreme in those seas.

In September the allies made their supreme effort against Gibraltar, on which they delivered a grand assault, bombarding it furiously for five days. But at the end of the five days, "the Rock" was no nearer surrendering than it had been at the beginning. The only hope of the allies lay in starving the garrison out; but next month Lord Howe succeeded in eluding the combined fleets, and convoying ample supplies to the beleaguered fortress. Gibraltar was secured.

Relief of Gibraltar.

Within three months (Jan. 1783) all the belligerents had signed the preliminaries of Peace. America was ready; for the demoralisation of her government, personal jealousies, and the weariness of war which overtakes every army of citizen-soldiers—men who are drawn from their ordinary employments to fight—had increased so much, that she feared the result if active military operations should be renewed. Her independence was assured, largely because, at a critical stage, the French fleet had been able to paralyse the British. Great Britain was ready; for she saw no chance of recovering the colonies by continuing the strife, and, though she had retrieved her position on the seas, a single reverse might yet be followed by irretrievable disaster. France and Spain were both ready; for both had empty treasuries, and both had suffered grievously in the last year. Still, though the war was over, the Peace of Versailles was not finally signed till September. Britain acknowledged the Independence of the United States, which had been her colonies: Spain retained Minorca. All other conquests on either side, of any importance, were restored. Britain emerged from the contest, shorn indeed of a great portion of her Empire; yet, as concerned her European rivals, not without honour. And in the meantime, the other Empire in the east, of which it might almost be said that Clive had snatched it from Dupleix, had been established on a firm basis, through fierce storm and stress, by Warren Hastings.

Peace, 1783.

§ 3. *The rule of Warren Hastings in India*, 1770—1784.

Clive had founded the British dominion in Bengal and the British ascendency in the Carnatic; but he had not conquered India. We must remember that in 1770, besides the little settlement at Bombay, the whole of what was either formally or informally under British control consisted of Bengal—*i.e.* the plains of the Lower Ganges—the Cirkars, and the Carnatic; in the last of which we had no technical responsibility for the

The Powers in India, 1770.

government. The battle of Buxar however had also brought Oude very much under the influence of the Bengal authorities. But in the south, the Mohammedan soldier-of-fortune, Haidar Ali, had recently established himself as sultan of the wide realm of Mysore: while the great Hindu confederacy of the Marathas held sway over all Central India. Mysore and the Marathas were quite independent, and quite capable of making a bid for universal Indian Empire. The British had quite as much territory in their hands as they could manage, and had no wish to extend it. But they were in no sense masters of India. They were only one of the three greatest Powers, in a land where there were also many lesser Powers.

In 1770, before North's Regulating Act, the three British Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were independent of each other; there was no common controlling power. Madras had direct political relations with the Nizam, with Haidar Ali, and with the Marathas. Bengal had direct political relations with Oude and to some extent with the Marathas; Bombay, with the Marathas only. The primary object of Bengal foreign policy was to make Oude feel itself dependent on the British alliance, and at the same time to render it a strong "buffer" state to hold off Maratha aggression. With this object in view, Warren Hastings, while still only Governor of Bengal, assisted the Oude Nawab, Shujah Daulah, in making himself master of Rohilkhand on the north-west of Oude. The conquest of Rohilkhand by Oude would have been a mere matter of course, if Oude had been strong enough to accomplish it on her own account; for purposes of defence, it was of great advantage to Bengal that it should be accomplished; and its accomplishment by British assistance not only gave the British a much stronger control over Oude itself, but enabled the Company to maintain permanently a considerable army in Oude at the Nawab's expense, and also brought in a very substantial subsidy. The Rohillas were merely invaders from Afghanistan who had made themselves masters of the native Hindus not fifty years before.

The Rohilla War, 1773.

In 1774 Hastings became Governor-General under the Regulating Act. Shortly afterwards, the Council of Five (including Hastings) was completed by the arrival of three members from England; who, headed by Philip Francis, made it their first object to thwart the Governor-General in every possible way. Since the three had a majority in the Council, Hastings had an extraordinarily difficult task; though he had the support of the fifth member, who, unlike the other three, was not exported from England.

The new Council.

Bombay and the Marathas.

Bombay wished to follow the example of Madras and Bengal and to acquire political influence at the native courts. The recognised head of the Maratha confederacy was the hereditary Peishwa or chief minister, residing at Puna, in the west. On an infant succeeding to the Peishwa-ship, a certain Ragonath Rao, commonly called Ragoba, claimed the office, asked Bombay for assistance, and got it; whereby the British were drawn into the internal feuds of the Marathas—and unfortunately the British forces were worsted by the Marathas. Hastings had not made the trouble; he could only do his best to repair British prestige. Ultimately, in spite of disastrous mismanagement at Bombay, the credit of British arms was restored by Colonel Goddard, who marched a small force right across India from Bengal to the Bombay district; and by Popham and Bruce, who captured the mighty rock fortress of Gwalior, the head-quarters of Sindhia, one of the heads of the Maratha confederacy: a place regarded by the natives as impregnable.

Haidar Ali in the Carnatic.

Before this, France had declared war upon Britain, as ally of the Americans; and by order of the Governor-General, all French ports in India were seized. In carrying out the order, the Madras authorities offended Haidar Ali, who was already sore at what he regarded as a breach of faith towards him in the past; he made a secret alliance with the Nizam, and suddenly in 1780 swept down on the Carnatic with 100,000 men, cut up one British force, drove the rest behind their fortifications, and wasted the country to the gates of Madras. Hastings despatched from Calcutta Eyre Coote, the old hero of Wandewash; by whom Haidar—himself now nearly eighty years of age—was twice severely defeated during 1781, at Porto Novo and Pollilur. The British, however, were now at the most disastrous period of their great struggle in the west; French troops arrived in India, to cooperate with Haidar; the greatest of French admirals, Suffren, appeared in Indian waters to contest the mastery of the seas with the British Admiral Hughes, and proved himself slightly the stronger. Fortunately Haidar Ali died and was succeeded by his son Tippu Sahib, a far inferior commander; and the peace between France and Great Britain withdrew the French from the Indian struggle. Tippu was left to fight the British alone, and in 1784 there was a general pacification.

Nuncomar.

Meanwhile Hastings had been struggling, in spite of his Council, with the reform of administration in Bengal, both for collection of revenue and in the judicial department. In connexion with the former, he brought on himself the hostility of

a high-caste Brahmin, Nand Kumar (Nuncomar), who, as a matter of course, was supported by Francis. In the height of the contest, another native brought a perfectly separate charge of forgery against Nand Kumar: on which he was tried with absolute fairness by the High Court, condemned, and executed; in accordance with British criminal law, though the native law treated forgery as a comparatively trivial offence. It was generally believed for a long time that this was a judicial murder, and much rhetoric has been expended on its iniquity; but there is no doubt that Impey, the judge, simply did his duty, and that Hastings himself had nothing to do with the prosecution.

A little later, when it became absolutely impossible to reconcile with the authority of the civil Government the authority possessed by the High Court under the Regulating Act, Hastings arranged a working compromise under which Impey became an official of the East India Company—for which both he and Impey have been violently abused, although the effect was to provide a practicable system in place of a thoroughly impracticable one.

Benares.

In two other matters, Hastings has been charged with tyrannical conduct. One was the affair of Cheyte Singh, the Raja of Benares, a vassal of the Company. Under stress of extreme financial pressure, Hastings demanded from Cheyte Singh extraordinary contributions, such as under similar circumstances an Oriental over-lord would have exacted as a matter of course—and the vassal would have refused as a matter of course if he thought he could do so with impunity. Cheyte Singh evaded payment; Hastings ordered him to pay a very heavy fine, and he declined; Hastings dealt with him with a high hand and forfeited his estates.

The Begums.

The other affair was that of the Oude Begums, the widows of Shujah Daulah, who, on his death and the accession of his son, claimed large estates and an immense amount of treasure which undoubtedly ought to have been Crown property. The Council however supported the claim of the Begums: so that the new Nawab, Asaf-ud-Daulah, had a very empty treasury. When Hastings demanded the subsidies due by treaty, Asaf-ud-Daulah expressed his inability to pay, but readiness to do so if the British would help him to recover his property from the Begums. Hastings did so. Both in this case and in that of the Rohillas, he unfortunately allowed methods to be employed which were matter of course in Oriental warfare and Oriental courts, but were thoroughly repugnant to European ideas. The lesson had not yet been learned that, in dealing with peoples whose moral standards are different from

those of Europe, the white man must hold to the white standard—that it is not only the right course, but the course that pays best in the long run.

The work of Warren Hastings.

The resolution and energy of Warren Hastings counteracted the blundering incapacity of Governors and Councils at Bombay and Madras, so that, in the south and west, the British were stronger at the end of his rule than at its beginning: in spite of the great abilities of Haidar Ali of Mysore and of the Maratha Sindhia. In Bengal, despite occasional displays of high-handedness, the beneficence and justice of Hastings' rule were in strong contrast to everything to which the natives had hitherto been accustomed. He left Bengal a secure possession, and Oude a friendly dependency. He accomplished the work in the face of slander, obloquy, and the vehement opposition of the very men who ought to have been most earnest in supporting him. And he did it with no assistance from home, with the Company's directors perpetually clamouring for money when every available penny was wanted for carrying on his work; and at a time when Britain was engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain her position among the western nations. The work that he did was better appreciated by the natives, over whom he was accused of tyrannising, and by his successors who followed his example to the best of their power, than by the British public, whose representatives impeached him on his return to England.

§ 4. *Domestic affairs*, 1775—1784.

Catholic Relief, 1778.

The North administration achieved one commendable piece of legislation; in 1778 it repealed some of the most obnoxious laws against the Roman Catholics, which still disgraced the Statute-book, though in some cases they were almost obsolete in practice. It ceased to be felony or treason to celebrate the Mass, and the laws which gave Protestants priority of right to succession to property over Roman Catholics were abolished. Yet a similar proposal, to be applied to Scotland, roused such a storm of resentment in the northern country that it had to be withdrawn; and in England the measure was so unpopular that the cry of "No Popery" led to the Lord George Gordon riots of 1780; when mobs stirred up by that crazy fanatic broke open gaols, destroyed the property of Catholics, caused serious alarm in London, and were suppressed mainly by the King's courage and energy in taking upon himself the responsibility for calling in the military.

The reform of Parliamentary representation was one of the

objects that Chatham had held before him; he desired to abolish "rotten" boroughs, and to increase the number of members for populous towns. The subject, however, excited no enthusiasm among his followers, too many of whom were either proprietors of rotten boroughs or members for them. But the North administration brought it home to the Whigs that a vast expenditure of public funds on sinecure places—offices in which gentlemen drew their money without having work to do—was a very convenient practice when the Whig leaders themselves had the patronage, but was disastrous when the King had the patronage in his own hands: for it made him as much master of the situation as Newcastle had been five and twenty years ago. "Economic reform," meaning the abolition of expenses of this order, became the cry of the Opposition; though when it came to details, personal interests again came into play, and nothing was done. The noteworthy feature of the agitation was that, in connexion with it, the Opposition succeeded in carrying Dunning's Resolution (1780) that "the Power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

"Economic Reform."

The surrender of Yorktown, in 1781, was followed by the resignation of North in March, 1782, and the formation of the second Rockingham administration, in which Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor, was the only member belonging to the King's personal party. The new form of Royal Supremacy had run its disastrous course, and was at an end. An instalment of Economic Reform was carried. Then Rockingham's death caused Lord Shelburne to become the head of the ministry (June); in consequence of which Charles James Fox—now a leading Parliamentary figure—and some others, resigned. The Whigs were in fact divided, not on questions of principle, but by personal feelings of distrust and jealousy: while the Fox section was much more hostile than the Shelburne section to the King's influence. Then the political world was startled by the alliance of Fox and North for the overthrow of Shelburne; to the great indignation of King George. Their object was accomplished early in 1783, and in April the coalition took office, with the Duke of Portland as its nominal head. William Pitt, Chatham's younger son, who had stepped into office under Lord Shelburne, went into opposition with his chief. But although Government had been turned out by a vote of censure on the terms proposed in the Preliminaries of Peace, those terms were practically unaltered in the substantive Peace of Versailles (Sept.) for which the Coalition was responsible.

1783. The Coalition Ministry.

The life of the Coalition was short, although it had a great majority in Parliament. The government of India was a pressing question; it was obvious that North's Regulating Act must be superseded and some more efficient system substituted. Fox brought in a Bill which would have vested the political control in a body of commissioners appointed by Parliament for four years: wherein any vacancies were to be filled up by the Government. Commercial control was to be vested in another body, similarly appointed, in which the vacancies were to be filled by the "Proprietors," *i.e.* holders of a certain amount of East India stock. The charter of the Company would be in effect withdrawn, so that the status of all chartered companies was at stake; while it was believed that the Commissioners would be able to exercise over the rotten boroughs such a control as to command a permanent Parliamentary majority for the party which appointed them. The Company, the King, and the mercantile community were hotly opposed to the measure: but it was passed in the Commons by large majorities. In the Lords, King George made it known that he would regard a vote for the Bill as an expression of personal hostility to himself: the Bill was thrown out. The Commons retorted by a vote of censure on the unconstitutional interference of the Crown. George dismissed the ministry, and young William Pitt took office (Dec.). The Coalition, instead of demanding a dissolution, that is, an appeal to the country, on the constitutional question, tried to force Pitt to resign; although the King's constitutional right to choose his own ministers was indisputable. But Pitt held on; he could accomplish nothing in Parliament, but the tide of indignation against the ex-ministers was rising rapidly in the country; the tenacity and skill displayed by Chatham's son made him popular; the Parliamentary majority began to fall to pieces. In March, 1784, Pitt dissolved Parliament, and the general election resulted in his being returned with the biggest majority on record behind him.

Fox's India Bill.

The Coalition dismissed.

§ 5. *Ireland: the establishment of Grattan's Parliament*, 1775—1783.

Before entering on the long administration of the younger Pitt, we must turn to the changes which had taken place in the constitutional relations between Great Britain and Ireland.

Political life had been practically crushed out of the sister island by the Revolution which established William III. as King and led to the Union between England and Scotland.

The Penal Laws.

Ireland was a Roman Catholic country, where only a small proportion of the inhabitants were Protestants, and those were nearly all of either English or Scottish descent. Catholicism was regarded not only with the intolerance of religious bigotry, but also as a political offence; Catholics must be fettered and kept down by the harshest penal laws. The Irish Parliament consisted of Protestants elected by Protestants; an Anglican Church was in possession of all religious endowments; Catholics might not carry arms; and the younger son of a Catholic had only to abjure his father's faith to become the legal proprietor of his father's lands; while the administration of the law was wholly in Protestant hands, as well as the power of enforcing it.

The Irish Parliament.

Yet the Protestants themselves were refused the liberties which Englishmen in England regarded as their birthright. The pocket-borough system, by which half the seats in the Irish Parliament were private property, was only an exaggeration of the same system in England: but the Irish Parliament had not the powers of the Parliament at Westminster. Legislation was virtually in the hands of the Irish and British Privy Councils. Bills were not sent up by Parliament to the Crown; they were prepared by the Irish Privy Council, submitted to the British Privy Council, altered at the pleasure of that body, and, in this revised form, laid before the Irish Parliament to be accepted or rejected without amendment. All that the Irish Parliament could do, towards procuring legislation they desired, was to submit "Heads of Bills," *i.e.* proposals for Bills, to the Irish Privy Council; which might adopt them—or might not. Under the Declaratory Act of 1719, the British Parliament even claimed and exercised for itself the right to legislate directly for Ireland. There was the further complaint that, once an Irish Parliament was elected, it might remain undissolved till the end of the reign.

Besides the Catholic grievance and the Parliamentary grievance, Ireland suffered, as England had once suffered, from the fact that the judges were removable at the King's pleasure. Also Ireland had no Habeas Corpus Act, and her trade was throttled by restrictions for the protection of British commerce—as that of Scotland had been before the Union.

The Volunteers.

Nevertheless, Ireland was fairly loyal to the British connexion. She had not attempted to take any part in the Jacobite risings; and when the intervention of France in the American War brought such a strain upon the military resources of Great Britain that Ireland had to be nearly denuded of troops, a

number of volunteer regiments were raised, for which the Catholics subscribed largely though forbidden to bear arms themselves. The volunteer movement, however, was a demonstration of force as well as of loyalty. What if Ireland were to take the line the Americans had taken? Since the revolt of the colonies, the wisdom of some relaxation in the commercial restrictions had been brought home to the British mind; and some concessions were made in 1778, but with reluctance. The first effect of the Volunteer movement was to cause Ireland to be placed on an almost complete commercial equality with Great Britain.

But she was in a state of legislative dependence on Great Britain. There were two possible alternatives—legislative independence, and an incorporating Union, such as that which united England and Scotland. Ireland's demand was for legislative independence: in this, her most prominent leaders were Grattan and Flood. Legislative independence would mean Protestant domination; but the leaders themselves were anxious at least for relaxations in the Penal Code beyond those which, in England, were being followed by the Gordon riots. Then Yorktown fell. The Rockingham ministry, already preparing to grant entire independence to America, admitted the Irish demand, abolished in 1782 the powers of the two Privy Councils and freed the Irish legislature from its subordination. Next year the change was completed by a Renunciatory Act, which explicitly surrendered the legislative claims of the British Parliament embodied in the Declaratory Act of George I. Thus "Grattan's Parliament" came into being.

Grattan's Parliament, 1782.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PITT'S PEACE MINISTRY: 1784—1792.

§ 1. *The Industrial Revolution.*

Pitt's task.

THE attempt of the Crown to dominate Parliament had won a temporary success with the ministry of Lord North, and collapsed along with that ministry. The new Prime Minister worked in harmony with the King, but was in no sense his instrument. Behind him was the record of a disastrous war which had not been of his waging; before him was the prospect of years of peace in which to recuperate. As it turned out, the years of peace were few enough; yet the wealth of the country increased so rapidly that she was able to face the greatest of all her wars, to carry it on for more than twenty years, and to emerge at the end of it with an immense commercial lead over all her rivals.

Adam Smith.

In part this was due to the financial skill of Pitt, and to the development of the economic ideas which had recently been given shape in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Briefly and roughly, the new doctrines may be summed up in the phrase *laissez-faire*; the National Wealth will most increase if individuals are left to achieve their own wealth in unfettered competition; the less Government interferes to regulate trade, the more will trade flourish; taxation should be used only to raise revenue, not to control commerce; foreign commerce is really an exchange of goods and services, for goods and services (*e.g.* the business of transporting goods, undertaken by the country which has the carrying trade, is a service which may be paid for by goods), not of goods for bullion; and the wealth of a country consists not in the amount of bullion it possesses, but in its capacity for producing marketable goods and providing marketable services; checks on competition and checks on trade are checks on wealth. The partial application of these new principles was one of the causes of the economic progress of Great Britain.

Still more important, however, was the industrial revolution which was already beginning to convert England and Scotland from countries mainly agricultural into the workshops, the great manufacturers, of the world. The change was brought about by a series of mechanical inventions of which this country long held the monopoly. In the first place, there was the invention of small machines which enabled one man to turn out a great deal more work than before: in the second place, there was the invention of large machines, which required to be tended by a number of workers, who were congregated in factories instead of doing their work at home: in the third place, there came the use of steam instead of water-power, to drive machinery, whereby the factories could be carried on on a much larger scale and could be congregated together: and in the fourth place, an immense impulse was given both to the iron and coal industries by the discovery that coal could be used, instead of charcoal, for smelting iron. To these changes we must add the great advance in the means of communication and of the inland carriage of goods, partly by improved roads but much more by the construction of a great number of canals; since barges could, with less labour and expense, convey a much greater bulk of goods than waggons.

From Agriculture to Manufacture.

Now we can see that the immediate effect of these five changes was that a much greater amount of goods could be produced at much less cost than before, with the result that the goods themselves could be sold at much lower prices and still bring in much larger profits. Those larger profits were further increased, because at the lower price there were more purchasers; in other words, there was a wider market and a larger demand. Moreover, during the war, British goods continued to find their way into foreign markets in spite of every effort made to exclude them. Therefore the wealth of the country was very greatly increased.

Cheap Production.

It did not follow, however, that all classes of the community felt the benefit. In the long run, cheap production created increased demand; increased demand created increased production; increased production created increased employment; and increased employment brought about increased wages. But that was only in the long run. To begin with, the manufacturers profited and the Exchequer profited, but the labouring classes did not.

In the first place, the labouring classes in agricultural districts suffered. Hitherto, if the man had tilled the soil, the woman had plied the spinning-wheel at home. With the new machinery, there was no demand for her work; the cotton-spinners could turn out all the yarn that was wanted

Effect in the rural districts.

without employing the same number of hands; and they could do it more conveniently in factories. The small yeoman tilling his own plot suffered like the farm-labourer. His own produce and his wife's work had kept the household going; the loss of the latter turned the scale. He had neither the money nor the enterprise to improve his own methods of farming; he gave up his plot and became a labourer working for wages. As the small yeoman disappeared, to swell the numbers of the farm-labourers, the small plots were absorbed in larger holdings which could be worked much more profitably, while the profits went to the big farmers or the landlords. More food-stuffs were produced, but the increase did not keep pace with the increase of the population, so that prices were maintained while wages were lowered. When war came, prices rose. With the excellent intention of helping the labourer, he was given relief from the poor-rate, and the more relief he was given the more his wages went down.

Effect on town labour.

Again, the new spinning and weaving machinery developed the insignificant cotton industry into one giving employment to a huge population; but that development took time. To begin with, the machinery killed the trade of the local weaver as it did that of the domestic spinner. The workers were gathered out of rural or semirural districts, into factory towns. But the output of the new machinery was so very much greater, that even the greatly increased demand for the goods could be met by the work of fewer hands. The masters, with good intentions, tried to remedy the resulting unemployment by distributing the work and the wages among a larger number of workmen than were needed; but if four men's wages were distributed among five men, each of the five came off badly. The workmen could not demand higher wages, because if they did there were others ready to take their places, to avoid starving; and they could not combine into anything like the Trades Unions which exist to-day, because—especially after the French Revolution—such combinations were suppressed lest they should become politically dangerous.

Thus the industrial revolution, which advanced rapidly during Pitt's administration, greatly increased the total wealth of the nation; by turning it from an agricultural into a manufacturing country, which, at the end of the coming war, was far beyond the reach of competition from any rivals. But, though the labouring classes were, later on, to share in the benefit and to become more prosperous than those of other nations, at the time they did not share it; but suffered severely, especially during and after the war.

§ 2. *Pitt's Administration, to the French Revolution*, 1784—1789.

The younger Pitt.

William Pitt was not quite five-and-twenty when he began the long administration which lasted without a break for seventeen years. No minister so youthful, before or since, has guided the destinies of England; none but Walpole has done so continuously for so long a period. Pitt's natural bent was that of a peace minister and financier; during half his rule, circumstances compelled him to organise war. His inclinations were those of a reformer; the French Revolution made it impossible to advocate reform except at the risk of revolution. It was only during the first five years—before he was thirty—that he was able to follow the lines which were naturally congenial to him.

The India Bill, 1784.

The first problem before him was that of the government of India. The system established by his India Bill remained in force with little modification, until the entire control was taken over by the Crown in 1858 after the Indian Mutiny. The Bill established a Board of Control, responsible to Parliament, whose chief was a member of the Government. This Board had general powers of supervision and of inspecting all correspondence. The Company's Directors, however, nominally held and generally exercised the power of making appointments, subject to the Board's approval. In India, each of the three Presidencies had its own Governor and Commander-in-Chief; but those of Madras and Bombay were subordinate to those of Bengal. The Directors had power to issue instructions by which the Governor-General was to be guided, though with considerable freedom in his power of deviating from them. Under ordinary circumstances he could act only in concert with his Council, which consisted of three members; but he had a free hand on emergencies. Practically his position was very nearly that of an autocrat. The first Governor-General sent out under the new system was Lord Cornwallis, who was a thoroughly capable administrator and soldier, though not specially brilliant; a man who commanded universal confidence, being too strong and too conscientious to give way to any personal interests or influences.

Financial measures.

The principle which guided Pitt's first financial measures was, to reduce the high duties on articles of general consumption such as tea and foreign spirits. Their price being thus lowered, the inducement to smuggling was diminished, and the demand for them was at the same time increased; hence, so much more of them passed through the hands of the revenue

officers that the Exchequer gained instead of losing. Further revenue was obtained by a variety of light taxes. The object in view was the reduction of the National Debt, which was almost double what it had been ten years before. For this purpose, Pitt further established in 1786 a Sinking Fund, by which £1,000,000 was to be set aside annually, invested, and its interest allowed to accumulate at compound interest. Since the interest of the investments would be higher than that paid on consols, the annual saving would increase steadily. The weak point of the programme was that when war came, the Government had to borrow at higher rates while it was bound to go on investing at rates which the war made lower. In other words, to pay off a debt with a low rate of interest, money had ultimately to be borrowed at a higher rate. But this was a result which no one anticipated at the time when the Sinking Fund was instituted.

The Sinking Fund.

Two measures introduced by Pitt in his second year of office—1785—were defeated or abandoned. One was a Bill for Parliamentary reform; to disfranchise a number of decayed boroughs, and to add to the number of the county members and members for great towns. But there were still too many people interested in maintaining rotten boroughs; and Pitt having made it known that he would not make the question one of confidence in the Government, the Bill was thrown out. Similar proposals in Ireland were abandoned for similar reasons. The other measure was one for a commercial treaty with Ireland, establishing complete free trade. But the English merchants opposed this scheme, just as a hundred years earlier they had opposed free trade with Scotland; and the Irish opposed it, because it would involve the surrender of some of their newly won independence, by transferring the entire control of commercial legislation to the British Parliament—just as so many Scots had opposed the Union for a like reason. The Bill therefore had to be abandoned.

Two rejected measures.

The return of Warren Hastings in this year led in the following spring to the great attack on his administration by Burke, Sheridan, and Fox. Pitt at first opposed an impeachment, but was convinced by the articles on the Benares affair that there was sufficient ground to justify that course. Various political motives have been suggested for his change of front, but the most obvious is also the most satisfactory—he took one view before he examined the evidence and another after examining it. The impeachment was opened next year (1787); the House of Lords sat to consider the case, at intervals, during the

Warren Hastings impeached.

next seven years; finally Hastings was honourably acquitted on every single count of the indictment.

In 1786, Pitt established his Sinking Fund. In the same year he negotiated a Commercial Treaty with France, not unlike that which had been proposed by Bolingbroke and rejected by the Whigs in 1713. Fox chose to oppose Pitt's measure on the ground that France was Great Britain's natural enemy, and would use the treaty as a means of injuring our trade rather than of advancing her own. The benefit to both countries however was palpable. In the main, France wanted British goods which she did not herself produce; Britain wanted French goods which she did not herself produce; and each gained immensely by the removal of restrictions which hampered the sale of her own produce in the other country. No competition between home and foreign goods was involved; and no one revived the old argument that we should buy more than we sold and should have to pay the balance by draining the country of the precious metals. In the same session a great saving was effected, and a number of sinecure offices were abolished, by the reconstruction of customs and excise arrangements; which went far towards accomplishing the objects sought by the previous attempts at "Economic Reform." Another check on corrupt practices was introduced. Hitherto, Government loans were arranged by private contract; they were now made public, so that the most satisfactory tenders made in the open market could be accepted, without secret bargaining.

Commercial Treaty with France.

At this time (1787—8), there were movements directed, one against the slave-trade, the other towards the abolition of the Tests for Dissenters. With both movements Pitt sympathised though he refused to press either—acting much as Walpole had done. The Tests were not in fact a serious grievance, as it had long been the custom to pass an annual Bill of Indemnity for breaches of the Test Act, which made it practically a dead letter.

In 1788—9 it seemed not unlikely that Pitt's political career would be cut short by a personal question arising out of the state of the King's health. The natural person to become Regent, if the King were incapacitated, was obviously the Prince of Wales; who was hand-in-glove with the leaders of the Opposition, and had a strong personal grudge against Pitt. The King in November was again attacked by a mental malady, and became insane: it was doubtful whether he would ever recover. He could not personally have a voice in any arrangements. There was a natural desire to limit the powers of the Prince as Regent.

The Regency Bill.

Fox, by arguing that the Prince had a constitutional right to the regency, implied that Parliament was unable to limit his powers; Pitt replied that the Prince was indisputably the proper person to be named Regent, but that the constitutional right of selection, and of limiting his powers, lay with Parliament. Fox could be denounced as the advocate of Prerogative against the liberties of Parliament. Pitt won the fight in Parliament on the constitutional question, but he would undoubtedly have been dismissed as soon as the Prince became Regent. The catastrophe however was averted by the King's recovery in March, before the Regency Bill had passed through all its stages in the House of Lords. Pitt's ascendency was established more firmly than ever.

§ 3. *Canada, India, and the French Revolution*, 1789—1793.

The Canada Act, 1791.

Within the British Empire, the years of Pitt's peace administration are notable for the rule of Lord Cornwallis in India, and for the Canada Act of 1791. The American war drove a large number of the loyalists to settle in Canada; westwards in Ontario, and on the mouth of the St Lawrence in New Brunswick. The latter district was first made a separate colony; and then by the Canada Act the main colony was divided into the "Upper" and "Lower" provinces of Ontario and Quebec; each of which had a degree of self-government, and its own legislature. This was necessary, because the population of the one was British and of the other French. In both, the Governor had large powers, much like those of the Crown in England before the Revolution made ministers responsible to Parliament.

Cornwallis in India.

In India, Cornwallis was able to place the government in efficient working order. He established in Bengal the "permanent settlement" of the land question, under which the great landowners held the land from the Government on condition only of good behaviour and the payment of a rent fixed in perpetuity—*i.e.* which the Government was pledged not to raise. In fact they were treated as if their position was the same as that of great landlords in England—which was convenient enough for the "zemindars" as they are called, but not so good for the "ryots" or peasantry, who were regarded like the tenants of an English landlord. A more thorough knowledge of Oriental customs would have shown that the ryots ought rather to have been treated as the real owners of the soil. The new system, however, was very much better even for the ryots than the disregard of law which prevailed

under native rulers before. In the south, the Governor-General found himself compelled, much against his will, to take up arms against Tippu Sahib of Mysore, and to deprive him of half his territories; which were nearly all divided between our allies for the time, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas.

France: the Age of Reason.

In Europe, the tremendous events of the French Revolution, which began in 1789, overshadowed and absorbed all other political interests. For a century past France had been perpetually exhausting herself by plunging into one great war after another. The state of her finances was deplorable, and taxes had to be wrung out of a miserable and starving peasantry, while philosophers in high places, dwelling in the most artificial of societies, talked of the Rights of Man and of the Golden Age when men lived "according to Nature." The philosophers said many things that were wise and true; but the French noblesse had no idea of living according to Nature themselves or of conceding the Rights of Man to the people on whose toil they lived. But educated people were observing that England, with all her defects, was a much better governed country than France; and the Americans had just given an example of a People demanding its liberty. So King Louis XVI. was persuaded to do what his ancestors had carefully avoided doing for a couple of centuries; he called together in 1789 the States-General—the assemblies not only of the two "estates" of noblesse and clergy, but also of the third estate, the commons.

The French Revolution.

The Third Estate forthwith began to demand all manner of reforms—complete changes in the whole social structure; not, as English Parliaments had done, the restoration of rights which had been usurped. In July, the Paris mob stormed the Bastille, the great State prison, the emblem of despotic authority. All over the country, mobs of peasants wrecked the houses of "Aristocrats" and destroyed the title-deeds under which the Seigneur's powers of oppression had been exercised. At the outset many people, both in France and in England, imagined that all these things portended nothing but the establishment of a Constitutional Government, after the British model though on a wider popular basis. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were to be the ground-work of the new, logically constructed, social order. French "Girondins" and English Whigs applauded. But in reality, this was but the beginning of the fierce uprising of a people craving to take vengeance for centuries of oppression, not of philosophers seeking for that reconstruction of society on the principles of abstract justice which was desired by the intellectual advocates of the Revolution. The philosophers very soon lost control; the leadership

passed to men who were simply bent on destroying. In England, Edmund Burke, the ardent champion of Constitutional liberties, severed himself from his old colleague Fox, denouncing the whole Revolution as sheer anarchy.

The reign of Terror.

In 1791, King Louis attempted to escape from France: he was caught at Varennes, and brought back to Paris. Paris believed that he had gone to implore the monarchs of Austria and Prussia to join in crushing the Revolution, and re-establishing the evil old monarchical rule. Mobs stormed the palace known as the Tuileries, and slaughtered the Swiss who, forming the King's guard, died in heroic defence of the King. War was declared on the monarchies of Europe; the National Convention deposed the King, proclaimed a Republic, and sent to the guillotine hundreds of "aristocrats" and their friends, men and women, in the "September Massacres" of 1792, and completed the work next year by beheading Louis and later on his Queen, Marie Antoinette; having first declared themselves "the friends of all the Peoples and the enemies of all the Governments" of Europe.

Effect of the Revolution in Great Britain.

We have not here to dissect the French Revolution, to balance condemnation and justification of the conduct of the French people; but we have to see the effect of what was going on in France on British politics. On the one hand, these events stirred up every revolutionary element which existed in British society; on the other, they horrified every conservative instinct. To the vast majority of the nation, they made it seem that every demand for reform of abuses was an attempt to relax the bonds without which the whole social order would tumble to pieces: that everything old was to be regarded as good in itself, everything new as tainted with "Jacobinism," the anarchical spirit of the Revolution: above all, that Republican France was a menace to all Europe, ready to ally herself with every revolutionary movement in every country: that she had, so to speak, made herself the outlaw of the nations. This feeling was intensified by the successes of the army of the Republic which mastered Savoy on the south and overran Belgium in the north. These successes were followed by her announcement that the navigation of the river Scheldt was to be opened, numerous treaties notwithstanding; a step which could not but bring France into direct collision both with Holland and with Great Britain, which was pledged to support Holland. Revolutionary France was dangerous enough as a "Liberator"; when liberation took the form of annexing territory and ignoring treaties, it was time to stay her course.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PITT'S WAR MINISTRY: 1793—1801.

§ 1. *The War between the French Republic and the First Coalition.* 1793—1797.

To the very last, Pitt had hoped and believed that Great Britain would not be drawn into war. But when the French, at the end of 1792, persisted in thrusting aside the Treaty rights under which Holland controlled the navigation of the Scheldt, war was inevitable. When, in January, they guillotined Louis, they emphasized their defiance of the Powers at large. On Feb. 1st they declared war against Great Britain.

1793. Declaration of war.

Not yet alive to the new and terrific vitality of France, Pitt for long believed that the war must come to an end soon. But since he must fight, he adopted his father's principle that the British navy should take care of the sea while British gold maintained allied armies on land; for the British regular army itself only numbered some 30,000 men. We shall find that from the outset the British naval superiority was marked, and developed into a complete supremacy as it had done in the Seven Years' War. All the way through, her admirals, her captains, and her sailors, were superior to those of her enemies. But it was long before her army distinguished itself. The idea prevailed—as it did not in the navy—that high birth was the best qualification for command; Wellington himself might never have fought the Peninsula War, if he had not been the son of a peer. It was a matter of course, when the war began, that the chief of the British armies should be the King's second son, the Duke of York.

Conduct of the war.

The war was not one against the political theories of the French Revolution; opposition to those theories had a great deal to do with it, no doubt, but Pitt entered upon it not from abstract sentiment, but for practical concrete reasons. It was a

The war necessary.

war waged to check the deliberate aggression of the French Republic; as the war with Louis XIV. had been waged to check the deliberate aggression of the French Monarchy. And presently the aggression of the Republic was shaped into a scheme of universal Empire; a programme in which the total overthrow of the British power was an essential item. But so long as Britain ruled the seas, her power could not be overthrown, and whether she did much or little on land, her fleets could limit the area within which her foe could act.

Attitude of Europe.

As matters stood, when France—already at war with Prussia and Austria—declared war against Great Britain, she was threatening every established government in Europe: and, if she proposed to free the nations from Monarchical and Aristocratic tyrannies, she meant to give them democratic governments which would be quite as much under her domination as the Nawabs of Oude or Arcot were under the domination of the British. The rulers of Europe however had not grasped the danger. They thought not so much of making common cause against a common foe as of snatching some private advantage out of the general turmoil. One coalition of Powers after another was formed—usually owing to the ceaseless efforts of Pitt; one after the other, the coalitions dropped to pieces. But, save for one brief interval of a year, when the peace was general, France and Great Britain remained at war with each other for twenty-one years—to finish the fight, after another brief interval, at the closing grapple of Waterloo.

The French Government, 1793—5.

When war was declared, the real control of the "Convention" which governed France had already passed into the hands of the extreme section, known as the "Mountain," headed by Danton and Robespierre. Before the year was half over the Girondins, or moderate republicans, were following the aristocrats to the guillotine. During the next twelve months, the members of the Mountain preyed upon each other; one group was weeded out, then another. Robespierre was left supreme. Then Robespierre himself was struck down; the long Reign of Terror came to an end, and after another year, at the end of 1795, the new Constitution known as the Directory was established. All through that time, except for some months of 1793, victory still fell habitually to the French troops, and French generals of high talent forced themselves to the front, while no military commander of capacity appeared against them. By sea, on the other hand, Britain's superiority was so marked that no French fleet ventured to challenge an engagement, though one,

failing to evade the British admiral, Lord Howe, was caught and shattered in 1794.

1793. The First Coalition.

To start with, the enemies or antagonists of France formed the First Coalition which embraced all the greater European Powers—Great Britain taking charge of the sea, and otherwise being mainly concerned with the defence of Holland. At first the allies met with some successes, but there was no unity of purpose among them and very little cooperation. The British fleet in the Mediterranean was admitted to Toulon, in the interest of the French Royalists. But France was roused to fresh efforts by the checks she had met with; towards the end of the year, her generals defeated the allies at one point after another. The Duke of York, who was besieging Dunkirk, had to fall back. Mainly through the skill of Napoleon Buonaparte, a young artillery officer from Corsica, Toulon was captured; and the British fleet had to evacuate the harbour, after destroying some of the French ships of the line, which were lying there. A British expedition, sent in December to help the French Royalists who were in revolt in La Vendée, was also a failure.

1794. Howe's Victory, June 1st.

On land there was no improvement in 1794. The King of Prussia received a handsome subsidy from Pitt, but did nothing in return; Austria was more intent on her interests in Poland, to which the eyes of the Prussian King were also turned, than on the French war. But on the "glorious First of June," Lord Howe caught the French fleet with a great convoy of corn-ships—of vital importance to France, which was suffering at the time from great scarcity owing to bad harvests. One man-of-war, the *Vengeur*, went down after she had surrendered while the men on board her cheered for the Republic. Five were captured, and many more crippled. The provision ships however succeeded in reaching Brest. Corsica, which had revolted from France, was also taken; but the Buonaparte family held to their French allegiance, and had left the island.

Shortly after this, the great body of Whigs who had already followed Burke in breaking with Fox, formally allied themselves to Pitt's Government: of which the opponents, though men of great abilities, were now in numbers very few indeed. Severe repressive measures against anything in the nature of seditious language were in force in all the three kingdoms; since there was some revolutionary talk in England, more in Scotland, and most in Ireland—in proportion to the extent to which the three peoples really suffered from political grievances.

In 1795, Prussia retired from the Coalition; and Holland was obliged to submit to the French and to act as their ally in the ensuing stages of the war. There was another futile expedition to La Vendée, and some indecisive fighting in the West Indies. In the Mediterranean, the British admiral, Hotham, displayed a lack of enterprise which very much annoyed his subordinate Nelson. At the end of the year, however, Hotham was replaced by Admiral Jervis, a man of a very different type, who again made the British control of the Mediterranean a reality.

1795. French successes.

In the meantime, the establishment of the Directory in France opened a new era of military activity. Early in 1796, Buonaparte was launched into Italy, where throughout the year he pursued a victorious career against the Austrians. Then, in the late summer, Spain, which had already dropped out of the Coalition, allied herself with France; to whom the naval preponderance was now transferred, since she had the Spanish and Dutch fleets both at her disposal. Jervis was in consequence ordered to evacuate the Mediterranean. On the other hand, two other French armies advancing upon Austria itself were prevented from forming a junction; one of them under Jourdan being defeated at Würtzburg by the Archduke Charles, so that both had to fall back.

1796. Buonaparte in Italy.

Early in 1797 the victorious General Buonaparte was able to advance into Austria, threatening Vienna; at Leoben, in April, he dictated the preliminary terms of a separate Peace to Austria, which was thus in its turn severed from the Coalition. Britain was virtually isolated. The year was one of crisis for the British fleet. Jervis, after Spain joined France, had withdrawn from the Mediterranean to Gibraltar; Corsica was evacuated. In February, a Spanish fleet was on its way from Cartagena to Cadiz. Jervis, cruising off Cape St Vincent (the S.W. corner of Portugal) with 15 sail of the line, intercepted the Spanish fleet which had 27 sail of the line but was in two divisions. He was able to cut off the larger windward division from the smaller one to leeward, and crush it; partly owing to the audacity with which Commodore Nelson, at a critical moment, disregarded the letter of his orders, to meet an emergency; an act which won the highest approval from Jervis. The result was a magnificent victory from which Jervis obtained his title of Lord St Vincent: and which went far towards cancelling the naval gain to France anticipated from the Spanish alliance.

1797. Cape St Vincent.

The mutinies in the Fleet.

Yet immediately afterwards there was a great mutiny, in the Channel fleet off Spithead, which would have led to frightful disaster had the French been ready to take advantage of it. The men's grievances were, indeed, so serious, and so legitimate, that the authorities gave way, and conceded all their demands, owing to the intervention of "Black Dick"—the gallant old Lord Howe, whom the sailors adored. The men returned to their duty; but another mutiny broke out in the North Sea squadron stationed at the Nore. Here the mutineers were far more disloyal in their motives and extravagant in their demands, while the crews were in great part terrorised against their will into joining them. The suppression of this second mutiny was largely owing to the loyal crews. Fortunately a powerful Dutch fleet, which was making ready in the Texel, had not completed its preparations; and though Admiral Duncan could only take two ships with him to hold it in check, he succeeded in deceiving the Dutch by signalling to an imaginary fleet in the offing, until the crisis was past and the mutineers had returned to their allegiance. That the men were ready enough at heart to be loyal was shown later in the year, when the Dutch fleet came out of the Texel; and was fought and decisively beaten by Duncan at Camperdown (Oct.), in a battle which recalls the stubborn Anglo-Dutch contests of Blake, Monk, Van Tromp and De Ruyter. St Vincent and Camperdown were the effective answers of the British navy to the Spanish and Dutch alliances of France. The superiority at sea, which had been threatened, was recovered. It is to be noted that, as in the Seven Years' War, Britain's commerce increased continually in spite of the ceaseless raids of her foes; while theirs was almost annihilated.

Camperdown.

The Financial crisis.

Earlier in the year, there had been a grave financial crisis. The Bank of England was in a perfectly sound condition, but the war expenses had almost exhausted the supply of gold. A run on the bank was expected; but with great promptitude, the Government suspended payments in gold. The "Bank-notes," which are, in ordinary circumstances, promises to pay gold when the notes are presented at the Bank, became only promises to pay gold after the war was over. Confidence in the stability of the Bank was strong enough to make the mercantile community take the risk, and accept notes as equivalent to cash, although they could no longer be at once turned into cash on presentation. But for the prompt action of the Government and this loyal support from the community, grave disaster must have ensued.

Efforts were made during this year to bring about a Peace; but the growing isolation of Britain and the domination of the party of aggression in France made it impossible to come to terms. Just before Camperdown, the negotiations were broken off; just after that battle, the definitive treaty of Campo Formio was signed between Austria and France, which left the British without a European ally. Its effect was to hand over to France the Austrian Netherlands and the Rhine Provinces, and also the Ionian Islands as well as Savoy and Nice; while it left in virtual subjection to her the "Batavian" and "Helvetic" Republics—that is, Holland and Switzerland—with constitutions rearranged at her dictation, and North Italy which she had transformed into the "Cisalpine Republic."

Treaty of Campo Formio.

§ 2. *The Nile, the Second Coalition, and the Peace of Amiens,* 1798—1802.

Europe was not likely to acquiesce in this state of affairs for long, and we shall presently find a new Coalition being formed, in which the Russian Tsar—who had recently succeeded Katharine on the throne—was as active as Pitt himself. But the matter of primary interest to us is the French operations directed to the overthrow of Britain. The Directory had schemes of invasion; but Buonaparte's eyes were turned elsewhere. The Empire of the East attracted his imagination. By seizing Egypt and Syria he would open a road to India, while working for the destruction of the British fleet. The native rulers of India, especially Tippu Sahib of Mysore, were to be encouraged in attacking the British Dominion. Buonaparte, lord of the East, would be hailed Emperor in Paris as Caesar had been hailed in Rome. On the other hand the Directory, already nervous lest the power should pass from their hands into those of their brilliant General, were willing enough to get him out of the country. So, under cover of the talk of invading Great Britain, a great expedition for Egypt was prepared in the Mediterranean, at Toulon.

1798. Buonaparte and Egypt.

The preparations became known; and Jervis detached Nelson to watch Toulon and catch the expedition, wherever it might be going. But Buonaparte and his armament managed to put to sea just before Nelson arrived. The Englishman started in pursuit, but could get no information as to the course taken by his quarry. With sound instinct, he made for

Buonaparte lands in Egypt.

Alexandria, but found no French. Two days after he had started again on the great game of hide-and-seek, the French arrived there. They had secured the Island of Malta on the way. Buonaparte landed his army, and marched on Cairo—defeating on his way the Mamelukes, who were the actual masters of Egypt, at the Battle of the Pyramids.

Victory of the Nile (August).

Nelson received intelligence which brought him back to Alexandria; and on August 1st he found the French fleet in Aboukir Bay. In each fleet there were thirteen sail of the line. The French were anchored in a line heading north, with shoals to the west: but Nelson reckoned that there would be room for his ships to lie alongside between the French and the shoals. It was late in the day, but he came down on them with the wind, which blew from the north. His five leading ships passed down the west of the French line, engaging the ships of the van; the five next ships came down the east side, also engaging the ships of the French van, so that in the earlier stages of the battle, which began towards evening and raged through the night, the French van was being pounded to right and to left, while the rear, lying to leeward, could not come to its assistance. In the course of the battle, the French flagship, the *Orient*, was blown up; of the whole fleet, only two ships of the line and two frigates escaped capture or destruction. The victory of "the Nile" or "Aboukir Bay" wrecked Buonaparte's great scheme; for it turned the Mediterranean into a British lake, and entirely severed the great army in Egypt from France. But Buonaparte did not recognise that his scheme was wrecked; he would conquer Syria and advance into Asia like Alexander the Great.

1799. The Second Coalition.

The victory of the Nile, however, hastened the formation of the Second Coalition. When 1799 opened, France again had to face not only Great Britain, but Russia, Austria, Portugal, the Bourbons who ruled over the kingdom of Naples, and the Turks; while Buonaparte—still only one of her generals—was locked up in Syria and Egypt. Britain in the meantime had crushed a great insurrection in Ireland, to which we shall turn presently.

Until the close of the summer fortune favoured the allies. For a time, the French were successful in Naples; but though both their marshals in Italy, Moreau and Macdonald, were skilful, the Russian commander Suwarrow (Suvarof) worsted them. In Syria, Acre held out against Buonaparte, its brilliant defence being chiefly due to the English commodore, Sir Sidney Smith, who threw him-

self into the citadel to support the Turks: the French were obliged to fall back on Egypt. In India the Governor-General, Lord Mornington (afterwards created Marquess Wellesley), met the challenge of Tippu Sahib of Mysore, by invading his territory, capturing his capital Seringapatam in May (when Tippu himself was killed), and restoring under British protection the old Hindu dynasty which Haidar Ali had ejected. The country was thus made a British dependency. One portion of it, however, was taken directly under British rule, and another portion was handed over to the Nizam. Native potentates ceased to dream of French assistance in overthrowing the British domination, though British rulers could never feel at ease while Buonaparte shadowed the world—and before long another shadow was to take his place; that of Russia, creeping over Central Asia.

Lord Mornington (Wellesley) in India.

In Europe the tide turned again with the close of summer. The last success of the allies was the capture of the whole Dutch fleet in the Texel, by an expedition of which the chief command had again been entrusted to the Duke of York. In other respects, the expedition failed of its object, and was terminated by the convention of Erckmar, under which the British released 10,000 French prisoners, while the Dutch fleet remained in their hands. In the south, jealousies between Austria and Russia and their generals, and the victory of Masséna over Korsakoff at Zurich before Suwarrow, coming from Italy, could affect a junction, in effect broke up the allied armies. Russia withdrew from the Coalition. But, what was of still more importance, Buonaparte in Egypt judged from the news he received that the time had come for him to overthrow the Directory and seize the reins of the French Government himself. Leaving the army behind him, he returned to France, where he landed early in October. The *coup d'état* of Nov. 11th created one more new constitution for France, in which Buonaparte, under the title of First Consul, became in effect Dictator: being now thirty years old.

French successes in Europe.

He now made overtures for peace, addressed—contrary to all precedent—directly to King George. The overtures were rejected, since there was no guarantee that they had any other purpose than the gaining of time for the organisation of fresh aggressions. The tone, however, of the British minister's dispatches was injudicious; there had been, in France, a good deal of feeling in favour of peace, and the dispatches revived the sentiment of hostility. Fox and the Opposition held that there was a fair opportunity for a real and lasting peace; but the British mistrust of

Peace overtures.

French intentions was too strong and too well-founded for ministers to give way.

1800. Marengo and Hohenlinden.

In the battlefield of North Italy it seemed that the Austrians would have the upper hand in 1800. But Masséna in Genoa held out stubbornly, keeping the Austrian forces thoroughly engaged. At the end of spring, Buonaparte was able to swoop down through the Alps; and, though Genoa itself had first capitulated, to inflict on the Austrians a decisive defeat at Marengo in June. This was followed by renewed proposals for an armistice both by land and sea. But Austria was afraid to treat separately from Britain, and Britain refused to treat separately from Austria. The British also perceived that a naval armistice would deprive them of one advantage secured by their command of the Mediterranean—Buonaparte could use it to send supplies to the isolated army in Egypt. The negotiations fell through. But, at the close of the year, Moreau inflicted on the Austrians at Hohenlinden (Dec.) a defeat so crushing that they were compelled to sue for terms, and to conclude in February a separate treaty at Lunéville.

1801. The second Armed Neutrality.

Britain was thus isolated once more; and beyond that, she was finding herself embarrassed by the semi-hostile action of the Baltic Powers—Russia, Sweden, and Denmark; which, under pressure from Russia, revived the Armed Neutrality of 1780. Their professed object was to restrict the belligerents' right of searching neutral ships for an enemy's goods, and to prohibit the seizure of such goods, except munitions of war. The rights of search and of seizure are an advantage to the Power which has the naval superiority: hence Great Britain always maintained that enemy's property, of whatever kind, might be seized. It was felt however that the right of search was not the real question at issue—that the attitude of Russia pointed to the danger that the fleets of the Baltic Powers would soon be employed in aid of France.

Nelson at Copenhagen.

A fleet commanded by Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as his second in command, was dispatched to threaten the Danes. Parker allowed Nelson to force an entry into the harbour of Copenhagen, where there was an engagement so hot that the admiral signalled to discontinue the action; a signal which Nelson, with a telescope to his blind eye, declared he could not see. The Danes were forced to submit (April 2nd, 1801); the Swedes withdrew when the British sailed out of Copenhagen; and a collision with the Russian fleet was averted by the assassination of the Tsar Paul and the accession of Alexander I.; who thereupon signed a satisfactory treaty with Britain in June.

At the same time, the French occupation of Egypt was being brought to an end. A British force was landed at Aboukir Bay where, on March 21st, Sir Ralph Abercromby defeated the French and lost his own life. His death did not prevent the ensuing operations from being carried out successfully. Cairo was taken in June, and the whole French force capitulated at Alexandria in August.

Battle of Aboukir.

Peace was in sight at last. The feeble Addington administration was now in office, Pitt having resigned in March over the question of Catholic Emancipation; but the Government had his support. The preliminaries were signed in October; the actual Peace of Amiens was ratified in March, 1802. So little, however, was settled, and so much left unsettled, by the terms of the treaty, that the Peace very soon proved itself to be no more than an armistice. The First Consul was only at the beginning of his career of aggression.

1802. Peace of Amiens.

§ 3. *Ireland, the Rebellion of '98, and the Union with Great Britain*, 1793—1801.

In England, it does not appear that any more than a small section of the population were ever possessed with the ideas of the French Revolution, at least in a violent form. There was great alarm lest those ideas should spread; severely repressive measures were passed to prevent the diffusion of seditious doctrines—measures only to be excused by a very serious emergency. The Opposition clamoured, with perfect truth, that freedom of speech and the liberty of the subject were being tyrannously crushed; the Government argued that the safety of the State demanded their repression. In England, judges and juries administered the law impartially, without yielding to panic; in Scotland, some of the judges strained the law in most iniquitous fashion. But even in Scotland, no attempt at armed revolution, or at concert with the French, would ever have met with any general response. The support of Pitt in Parliament and in the country never weakened, though the scarcity and suffering in the towns produced occasional riots. The minister's resignation in 1801 was caused not by the war, but by the King's absolute refusal to accept the Catholic Emancipation to which Pitt had pledged himself.

Great Britain: Repressive measures.

In Ireland however matters went very differently. Parliament was independent of Westminster; but only the Protestants—about a fourth of the population—were represented

Irish grievances.

in it, and half the seats really represented no one but their proprietors. In 1793 the right of voting for members was extended to Catholics, but not that of sitting in Parliament or of holding office under Government: the Catholic gentry were still shut out from any active share in politics. The rural population suffered from impoverished landlords and landlords who never visited their estates. There was hot religious antagonism between the Catholics and the Protestant organisations of "Orangemen," as they began to call themselves in honour of William of Orange. Thus there were Protestants who demanded Parliamentary reform, Catholics who demanded political freedom, peasants who felt vaguely that Government was at the bottom of their troubles. The soil was prepared to receive the seeds of revolutionary doctrine. In the early days of the Revolution a society was formed called the "United Irishmen," which sought to unite Protestants and Catholics in the demand for sweeping reforms; while its leaders, Wolfe Tone and others, were Protestants whose real aim was separation from Great Britain. Hostility to the British, to the Government, to the Protestants, formed a vague but fierce revolutionary mixture in the minds of the uneducated Catholic peasantry. Wolfe Tone in 1796 persuaded the French to send an expedition to Ireland; fortunately it never succeeded in landing. In 1797 severe repressive measures were set on foot; Government employed the militia, nearly all Orangemen, to search for arms; many atrocities were committed; thousands of muskets and pikes were seized. In March, 1798, most of the members of the revolutionary committee were captured; in May, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in whom their hopes centred, was taken after a desperate resistance in which he was mortally wounded. Thereupon the two counties of Wicklow and Wexford, in the Province of Leinster, broke out into furious rebellion. It is difficult to say whether more appalling atrocities were committed or more desperate courage displayed by the rebels or by the Government forces: but the rebellion was very soon stamped out, and the attempt at organised resistance was ended by the battle of Vinegar Hill.

The Rebellion of '98.

At this stage, Lord Cornwallis (who had returned from India in 1794) was sent to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant. A French expedition under General Humbert arrived too late; though it routed the Government forces at the "Race of Castlebar," it was shortly after obliged to surrender to Cornwallis. The measures taken by the new Lord-Lieutenant were pacificatory. He felt much sympathy with the peasantry,

Cornwallis Lord-Lieutenant.

he detested Jacobinism, and he had no sympathy with the Irish governing class. Therefore he was autocratic, severe in dealing with the instigators of the rebellion, and lenient to the peasantry. But he very soon came to the definite conclusion that so long as Ireland was governed by a caste formed by a small religious minority, mostly of race alien to the bulk of the population, and guided entirely by the determination to preserve the completeness of its own ascendency, there could be no health for Ireland. He was equally convinced that the mere transfer of political power to the Catholics would result in frightful oppression of the minority who now ruled them. The necessary course was to give the Catholics their full rights as citizens, but to merge the Irish Parliament in that of Great Britain—in an assembly where the Catholics would not be predominant.

Engineering the Union.

This was also the view at which Pitt had arrived; but a Union could only be effected by the consent of the Irish Parliament. The efforts of Cornwallis and the Secretary Castlereagh were directed to procuring this consent. Naturally enough, patriotic members objected to surrendering national independence, as Scottish patriots had objected a century before; and members who were not moved by patriotic sentiments objected to surrendering the ascendency out of which they and their allies reaped great profits. By an unparalleled use of corruption; by offices, by honours, by hard cash; a majority was at last secured. Pocket boroughs were treated as property having a definite value for the loss of which the proprietors might legitimately demand compensation. On the other hand, it was universally understood that Catholic Emancipation was to be a part of the bargain.

1800. The Act of Union.

In 1800 the Bills for the Union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland were brought before the British and Irish Parliaments. Ireland was to have a hundred seats in the House of Commons, and thirty-two—four for bishops—in the Lords: she was to provide two-seventeenths of the revenue; there was to be complete freedom of trade between the united countries. But the Bills made no provision for a Catholic franchise. They were carried in both Parliaments. In January, 1801, the first Parliament of the United Kingdom met at Westminster.

1801. Catholic Emancipation refused.

In England, justice demanded Catholic Emancipation; but there the grievance, serious though it was, affected only a small minority. In Ireland it affected three-fourths of the population which at that time was little less than half that of Great Britain. Pitt, in accordance with his

pledges, was determined to bring in a Catholic Relief Bill. The King let him know that he would veto any such measure, which he regarded as contrary to his Coronation Oath. With both King and Minister, it was a point of conscience and honour not to give way; Pitt took the only course possible, and resigned, greatly to George's regret. The ablest of his colleagues followed his lead. The new ministry was formed by Addington, who had at one time been Speaker of the House of Commons; the retiring ministers giving a general support, but declining to be responsible for the acts of Government with which they were at variance on a fundamental point. Thus it was Addington who made the Peace of Amiens and renewed the war a year later. A temporary return of George's malady, which he attributed to Pitt's conduct in this matter, caused the ex-minister to promise that he would not, if he should return to office, raise the question again.

Pitt resigns.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE STRUGGLE WITH NAPOLEON: 1802—1815

§ 1. *Renewal of the war, and Pitt's last administration. The Third Coalition: Austerlitz, Trafalgar, and Assaye*, 1802—1806.

1802. An unreal Peace.

Even between the settlement of the Preliminaries and the actual signing of the Peace of Amiens, the First Consul had allowed it to be seen that the Batavian, Helvetic, and Cisalpine (*i.e.* North Italian) Republics were going to be treated as French dependencies: Buonaparte himself was nominated President of the last named. Moreover, after the Peace, he continued to compel the subordinate States to shut out British goods: and he continued his annexations in the south. In one respect, however, Britain had a hold over him; the command of the Mediterranean had given them possession of Malta, which, under the terms of the treaty, was to be restored to the Knights of St John. But so long as Buonaparte—known from the close of this year (when he was made First Consul for life) by his Christian name, Napoleon—was playing fast and loose with the terms of the treaty, the British could evade the demand for evacuating Malta. There were other causes of irritation. Royalist *émigrés* in England made violent personal attacks on the First Consul, and he made the impossible demand that they should be turned out of the country. Matters came to a head when the "commercial" report of Napoleon's commissioner, Colonel Sebastiani, on Egypt, was published, and was found to deal not with commercial affairs but with the practicability of French conquests.

1803. War with Napoleon.

In 1793 Pitt had gone to war to resist the aggression of the French Republic; but with half his supporters, the war-feeling then was inspired quite as much by dread of the doctrines of the French Revolution. In 1803, France

was hardly making a pretence of being the champion of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity: practically the whole British nation felt that she meant to become the tyrant of Europe and the destroyer of Britain. The country resolved on war with grim determination and almost with unanimity: war which was deliberately sought by Napoleon. In May, 1803, war was declared. The declaration was immediately followed by an unprecedented step on the part of Napoleon, who caused all the British subjects travelling in France to be arrested, and held them as prisoners of war till his own downfall.

Meanwhile, Irish discontent had been fomented by Napoleon's agents; and in the summer an abortive insurrection broke out, headed by an enthusiast named Robert Emmett, which was easily suppressed. But, since the measures imperatively needed for the removal of grievances were not taken, and discontent was repressed with a high hand, the feeling of bitterness in the sister island increased instead of diminishing: though Irishmen played a glorious part in the coming war.

The Shadow of Invasion, 1803—5.

In fact, however, two years passed before the French and British nations grappled with each other. Napoleon was organising a great invasion; Britain was organising to repel invasion. Napoleon gathered a great army and a great flotilla of transports at Boulogne, where his men were trained in the practice of instant embarkation. The avowed idea was that if the British fleet could be driven or enticed from the Channel for twenty-four hours, the army of invasion could be embarked and landed in that time: though Napoleon was perfectly aware that, if the invasion was to succeed, the British fleet must not recover the mastery of the channel till the French army had not only landed in England but completed the conquest. On the other side, half-a-million of men were under arms, across the channel, to resist the invader; and, though most of them were volunteers, they would take a good deal of conquering. So Britons ashore drilled and waited and watched, the army at Boulogne drilled and waited and watched, and British fleets blockaded French ports, while Nelson kept the Mediterranean under his own dominion.

1804. Napoleon I. Emperor.

Twelve months after the declaration of war, Addington resigned and Pitt again became Prime Minister. The unanimity of the country is illustrated by the fact that some of Fox's followers joined the administration, and Fox himself would have done so but for the King's opposition. About the same time, the French Republic came to an end, Buonaparte

being proclaimed Emperor of the French under the title of Napoleon I. Just before this, he had kidnapped on foreign soil the Duc d'Enghien, the representative of the younger branch of the Bourbons (descending from Condé, the uncle of Henri IV.), and had him shot: to the intense indignation of all Europe, and notably of the Tsar. This prepared the way for a fresh Coalition, in which Alexander, even more than Pitt, was the moving spirit. Before Russia and Britain came to terms (in April, 1805), Spain once more joined France; the expectation that she was on the point of doing so having led to the seizure of Spanish treasure-ships by the British. Somewhat later, Austria was induced to join the Coalition; but the King of Prussia was too much divided between irritation with Napoleon, fear of him, and uncertainty as to the policy out of which he could snatch most advantage for himself, to commit himself to any policy at all.

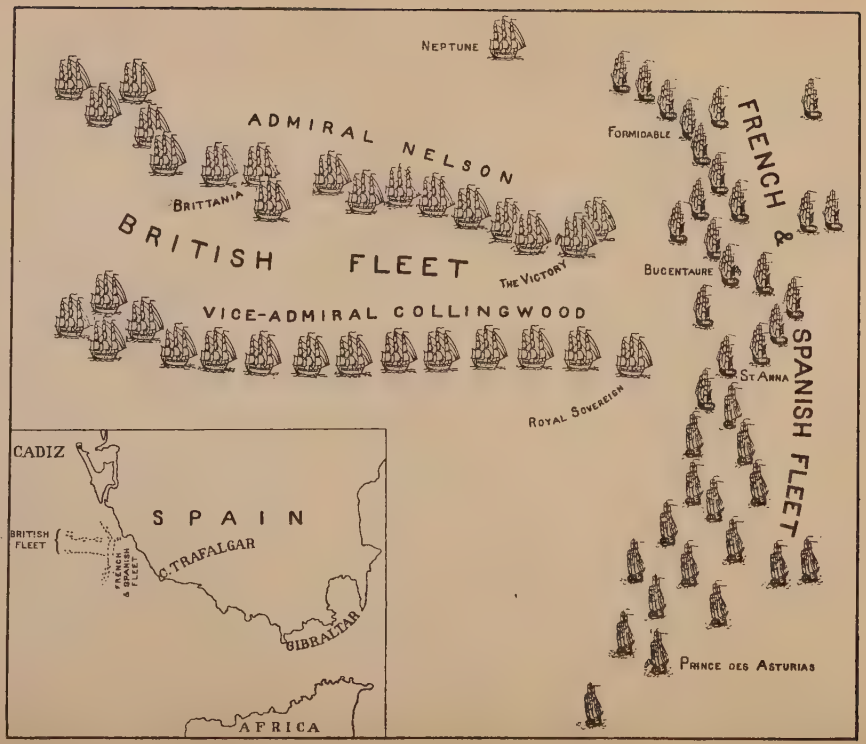
1805. The Third Coalition.

Before the Coalition was formed, Napoleon had begun to put in operation his plan for the invasion of England. The lines of the scheme were as follows. As things stood, the British Channel Fleet commanded the French ports; Nelson with the Mediterranean Fleet commanded the French and Spanish ports on that sea. So the Toulon fleet was to escape and cross the Atlantic, drawing Nelson in pursuit; it was then to double back, and, in conjunction with the Brest fleet, was to destroy the British fleet watching Brest, and then overwhelm the other British fleets in detail. Villeneuve, in command of the Toulon fleet, managed to carry out the first part of the programme. Nelson was driven off Toulon by weather; Villeneuve slipped out and made for the West Indies. Nelson set off in pursuit, hunting him as he had hunted, in 1798, the fleet which carried Buonaparte to Egypt. Villeneuve doubled back, evading his pursuer. Nelson also raced back, for the Mediterranean, thinking Villeneuve had gone thither; but he dispatched a warning to England, to look out for Villeneuve. The Brest fleet was safely blockaded by Cornwallis; Villeneuve was intercepted by Calder, who fought him with a much smaller squadron and drove him off to Corunna, whence in August he transferred himself to Cadiz. The plan of overwhelming the British Channel Fleet, in Nelson's absence, was already hopeless: with its failure, the prospect of a successful invasion of England vanished also.

The chase of Villeneuve.

Napoleon was extremely angry, and sent a stinging letter to Villeneuve; but dropping the whole scheme of invasion, he hurled his armies across Europe to smite the gathering

Austerlitz (Dec.).



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TRAFALGAR

Austro-Russian Coalition. An Austrian advance army was collected at Ulm; where Napoleon swooped on it, by a series of marches of extraordinary swiftness, and forced 30,000 men to capitulate on October 19th. Thence he swept on towards Vienna. The main Austrian army, which had been in North Italy engaging Marshal Masséna, hastened back to effect a junction with the advancing Russians; but at Austerlitz on Dec. 2nd, six weeks after Ulm, the allies were disastrously and decisively beaten.

If Napoleon triumphed on land, Britain had in the meantime triumphed no less decisively by sea. Nelson, reaching Gibraltar, and learning that Villeneuve had been foiled, returned to England for some weeks and then put to sea on his last voyage, to take up the command of the fleet off Cadiz, where Villeneuve lay. The French Admiral, stung by the Emperor's taunts, put to sea with a combined French and Spanish fleet of 33 sail of the line and five frigates. Nelson had 27 ships. On Oct. 21st they met off Trafalgar. The French line lay from south to north; the British were to windward, the wind blowing from the N.W. Nelson attacked in two columns at right angles to the French line, breaking it at two points, and severing the two wings from the centre. The leeward division, led by Collingwood, as they pierced the line in succession, passed down it, engaged the French left, or rear, ship by ship, and captured or destroyed every one. Nelson's division had the centre to treat in similar fashion, and also to keep the van in play. Eighteen of Villeneuve's ships were taken; four more afterwards fell a prey to the victors; very few managed to escape to Cadiz. From that day, the naval supremacy of Britain was no less overwhelming than it had been after Quiberon. Yet the great triumph was mingled with mourning. Nelson was dead.

Trafalgar (Oct.).

Three months later, with the shadow of Austerlitz upon him, passed away the statesman who had hitherto piloted Britain through the long struggle. Fate had been unkind to William Pitt. He had been formed to be, perhaps, the greatest peace-minister who ever guided the destinies of this country; from that career he was cut off, and forced to play the part of a war-minister in the most desperate struggle on which the country ever engaged, and to surrender in his home government the principles which the great convulsion of France made no longer practicable. It was not the part for which he was best fitted; but he played it with dogged resolution, better than any other man of his time could have done, and than all but a very few men of other times. He left the tradition of dogged persistence to men

1806. Death of Pitt (Jan.).

of less ability; who did in consequence weather the storm in spite of their faults and failings. To Nelson and Pitt, while they lived and after they were dead, Napoleon owed his defeat.

The sailor and the statesman were dead; Britain's third champion, the great soldier, was known as yet only as a "sepoy general." Arthur Wellesley, younger brother of the Governor-General of India, Lord Mornington, now Marquess Wellesley, held a command in the army which overthrew Tippu Sahib in 1799. Since then, he had rendered even more brilliant service.

1802—5. Lord Wellesley in India.

Clive had given to the British a dominion in India; Warren Hastings had established it, and Cornwallis had strengthened it, but neither of them had sought to extend it. Lord Wellesley adopted a policy which rapidly brought two-thirds of the great Peninsula under British control. He was the first aggressive Governor-General; the first who wished to extend British dominion. He did not make war wantonly; but a legitimate opportunity for interference pleased him, whereas his predecessors generally had only interfered when they felt that no other course was open. Broadly speaking, Wellesley realised that since the collapse of the authority of the Moguls, it was necessary for India that there should be a paramount Power—a Power to which the many States and groups of States could look, to preserve some kind of general order. It followed that Britain must be that paramount Power. British control could be obtained in three ways: by Annexation, by Protectorates, and by Influence. Wellesley's predecessors had depended mainly on Influence: though the Carnatic, and to some extent Oude, had become Protectorates. Wellesley's plan was in the main to combine annexation with the extension of Protectorates, by "subsidiary alliances."

Subsidiary Alliances.

Direct annexation was employed in the case of Mysore: as we saw. Shortly afterwards, the Carnatic was also annexed, because the misconduct of the native dynasty made it imperative that the British should assume the responsibility of government—as had happened with Bengal in Clive's day. The leading examples of Subsidiary Alliances were those with the Nizam and the Nawab of Oude. Thus the Nizam was compelled to disband troops organised under French officers; his throne therefore required the support of troops under British control—for which he must pay. The obvious way of securing payment was by the cession of territory; so that in effect the Nizam ceded territory for the privilege of being protected by troops under British control. Very much the same thing happened in Oude, which

was girdled round by the ceded territories to which the name of the North-West Provinces was given. The "subsidy" for maintenance of troops (whence the title, subsidiary alliance) was not always replaced by a cession of territory; but any failure to pay was regularly followed by such a cession.

The Maratha War.

Now the Maratha confederacy, dominating all central India, disapproved of the paramountcy of the British: it wished to be paramount itself. As a natural consequence, there was very soon friction between the Maratha chiefs and the Governor-General: resulting in the great Maratha War of 1803. In three great battles, the Marathas were completely routed; by Arthur Wellesley at Assaye and Argaon, and by Lord Lake at Laswari. The war resulted in the cession of important districts to the British, and in their being acknowledged by the Marathas as the paramount Power.

§ 2. *From Austerlitz to the Nationalist Reaction*, 1806—1808.

1806. The Grenville Administration.

On the death of Pitt, Grenville's "Ministry of all the Talents" was formed; into which Fox was at last admitted, with the King's assent. In the few months of life left to him, Fox learnt that his own generous belief that Napoleon would deal frankly and generously, if only he were generously and frankly dealt with, was grievously shattered. Fox died in September, and the Grenville administration lasted for six months more, having to its credit one admirable reform, the abolition of the slave-trade (1807). At the end of that time it was replaced by a Tory Government, of which the two ablest members were Canning and Castlereagh, and which was thoroughly imbued, through good and evil, with the conviction that, come what might, there must be no surrender to Napoleon.

Napoleon in Europe: Jena.

The Grenville administration would have sought peace on fair terms; Napoleon would have none of it. After Austerlitz, he began to parcel out Europe into subject principalities. He made one of his brothers King of Holland, and another King of Naples; dukedoms and princedoms were bestowed on his marshals and others. The territories of the German States were largely redistributed; several of them were formed into a subject "Confederation of the Rhine." At last the King of Prussia, finding that he was paying the penalty for his pusillanimous self-seeking, broke out in defiance, and declared war: he was immediately and utterly crushed at Jena and Auerstadt. All the Continent, except Russia, was at Napoleon's feet. His only

reverse of the year was in South Italy; where a small British force landed, and completely defeated the French General Regnier at Maida (July). The battle had no political consequences of importance, but somewhat weakened the prestige of Napoleon's soldiers.

The Berlin Decree.

In fact, Great Britain had now no means of fighting Napoleon ashore, and Napoleon had no means of fighting Great Britain on the sea. But the Emperor next attempted another method of destroying his enemy, by ruining her commerce. After Jena, he issued the Berlin Decree (Nov.). By this he absolutely prohibited the admission of British goods to any port in Europe under French domination, and declared the whole of the British Islands to be in a state of blockade, British subjects in any country occupied by French troops to be prisoners of war, and British property in such countries to be confiscated: establishing what was known as the "Continental System." The British Government retorted by the Orders in Council, prohibiting trade with any of the ports affected by the Berlin Decree, and declaring all such ports to be in a state of blockade. Napoleon and the British between them practically ruined the trade of neutrals; and Britain, having the effective mastery of the seas, held the carrying trade of the world. Moreover, as neither side could do without the goods of the other, an immense and highly remunerative smuggling trade immediately became extremely active. Taken altogether, in this new scheme of warfare which Napoleon created, his European subjects suffered a good deal more than Britain.

1807. The Orders in Council.

Treaty of Tilsit.

In other respects 1807 was chiefly remarkable for some ill-managed British expeditions to South America, the Dardanelles, and Egypt; for the occupation of Portugal by the French under command of Junot; and for the Treaty of Tilsit, between France and Russia, following on a Russian defeat at Friedland. Incidentally, Napoleon constructed a new "Kingdom of Westphalia" for the benefit of his younger brother Jerome, and Prussia was deprived of several provinces. The Tsar Alexander had taken umbrage at the conduct of his allies, the British, and completely changed his attitude towards Napoleon: he was to have his reward, from shares in Prussia, Turkey and Poland. The result of this change on the Tsar's part, which was known to be directed against Britain, was the high-handed seizure by the British of the neutral Danish fleet at Copenhagen, to prevent it from coming into the hands of Russia and France. In November, Russia declared war against Britain. Nevertheless, the merciless treatment now meted out to Prussia had another result

The Danish Fleet seized.

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THE SPANISH PENINSULA

which had not been calculated on—the reorganisation of that kingdom by Stein.

At the close of 1807, matters looked black enough for Britain. It only remained for Napoleon to take advantage of the dissensions between old King Charles IV. of Spain and his son Ferdinand—both of whom appealed to the French Emperor—and to transfer his own brother Joseph from the throne of Naples to that of Spain. But that event also emphasized the complete subversion of the theory on which France had defied the Governments of Europe fifteen years before. Then, she had proclaimed herself the Liberator of the Peoples, trodden down by their rulers; now, she was palpably over-riding Peoples and Governments alike, and subjecting them all to her own dominion. Now the Peoples were turned against her. The first to break out in open revolt was the last victim of Napoleon's family aggrandisement. All over Spain, the flames of insurrection blazed up; the new King Joseph was set at defiance, and the populace proclaimed Ferdinand King.

1808. Spain Revolts.

§ 3. *The Peninsula War: First Phase*, 1808—1811.

Now for the first time Britain took up the policy of a great military as well as a great naval Power; of throwing her own armies into Spain to challenge the armies of the great conqueror. Since the days of Henry V., she had never fought on the Continent except in alliance with great allied armies. Her troops had never formed even the bulk of the battalions led by William III. and Marlborough; so it had been in the Seven Years' War, and throughout the war which had been begun in 1793. But in the Peninsula War, the victories of Arthur Wellesley were the victories not only of a British General but of British troops; it was very rarely that our Spanish or Portuguese allies proved useful adjuncts to his armies in the field. Yet, when the first British regiments were thrown into Portugal, it was with the idea that they were going as auxiliaries to aid in the uprising of two nations—not themselves to bear the main brunt of the struggle.

1808. Britain takes up a new part.

Portugal, valiantly loyal to the old British alliance, refused to turn against us, till Napoleon threatened to overwhelm her in 1807; then she gave way—she had no choice—but still she remained loyal at heart, though she could not disobey Junot and his soldiers. Every district of

The situation in Portugal.

Spain had its "junta" or committee to organise resistance. The British Government resolved to send 20,000 men to Portugal, and to supply the Spaniards with arms and with money—though there were some 80,000 of Napoleon's soldiers in Spain. It was supposed, not without reason, that the insurgents would keep these sufficiently occupied; for at an early stage of the revolt, 15,000 of them were obliged to surrender to the Spaniards at Baylen.

Vimiero and Cintra.

A few days later Arthur Wellesley landed at the bay of Mondego, about half way between Oporto and Lisbon, with 12,000 men; he was to be followed by Sir John Moore with another 10,000; both were to be under the orders of two senior but incompetent Generals, Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple, when they should arrive on the scene. Wellesley at once advanced on Lisbon; Junot marched from the capital; the two armies met at Vimiero. Junot attacked and was decisively beaten. Burrard, just arrived, would not let Wellesley press forward. Dalrymple proved equally cautious. Moore joining a few days later, Junot entered on negotiations; which resulted in the Convention of Cintra. Under its terms, the French army evacuated Lisbon, and the ships of the Russian squadron then in the Tagus were surrendered to Britain; but the French troops were sent back to France, with their arms, in British ships. The Convention roused much indignation in England. Sir John Moore remained in command in Portugal, while the other three Generals were recalled to be court-martialled: with the result, however, that Wellesley alone was reinstated, returning as Commander-in-Chief of the troops in the Peninsula, in April of the following year (1809).

1808—9. Sir John Moore.

In the interval, Napoleon himself, having resolved to subjugate Spain and so to keep his hands free, crossed the Pyrenees in person, entered Madrid, and struck at the insurgent centres in the south. Moore, in Portugal, thereupon resolved to fall upon the line of communications with France. Marshal Soult at the head of a force very much greater than Moore's was thus drawn northwards to operate against him, relieving the pressure on the south of Spain. As Soult approached Moore retreated; for Napoleon himself was now also moving in pursuit. Moore's object, which was not the impossible one of overthrowing the French, but that of creating a diversion, was completely successful. His retreat was managed with extreme skill; but Soult was hard on his heels when he reached Corunna, the port at which he had arranged to embark his troops and so withdraw. Here he had to turn at bay, inflicting a decisive repulse

on Soult (Jan. 16th, 1809). He himself fell, mortally wounded, but his army was conveyed safely on board the waiting transports, and returned to England. On the other hand, the political situation demanded the return of Napoleon to Paris: and his Generals and armies in Spain continued to find that something more than an immense military superiority is required to crush a nation which is determined to fight to the last gasp, even when it is technically conquered.

1809. Napoleon's Austrian Campaign.

Napoleon withdrew from Spain in person, because the friendship of Russia was manifestly cooling and Austria was rousing herself for another struggle. He was on his way to the Danube when Wellesley returned to Portugal in April. In the course of the summer, he inflicted on the Austrians a series of defeats, culminating in the hardly-won victory of Wagram which compelled Austria again to submit to terms; although the stubborn peasants of the Tyrol, led by Hofer, maintained their resistance through the winter. But the humiliation of Austria was completed, when she assented to Napoleon's marriage with one of her Princesses—with a view to which marriage he had just divorced his wife Josephine.

The Walcheren Expedition.

Meanwhile the British, instead of concentrating their military efforts on the Spanish Peninsula, divided their forces, sending the Walcheren expedition to the North Sea coast. The plan, if swiftly and vigorously carried out, might have served a useful purpose: the intention being to seize Antwerp, and create a diversion for the benefit of Austria. The whole affair however was utterly mismanaged. While the expedition delayed to capture Flushing, Antwerp was strengthened for defence: so that, on advancing, the British were held in check in the island of Walcheren, where fevers and agues carried the men off in hundreds. It became apparent that in a very short time all the soldiers who were not in their graves would be in hospital; and the unhappy expedition had to be withdrawn.

Wellington's First Campaign.

In the Peninsula, however, Wellesley had opened the great series of campaigns which were a constant drain on the resources of France, whose forces were ultimately driven out of Spain. Wellington's scheme was clear. The mountainous character of Portugal's borders made her difficult to invade from Spain, while it was easy to enter her from the sea, of which the British had entire command. Portugal therefore could be defended and organised as a base from which Spain could be invaded. Soult was in the north of the country with a French

army: Wellesley advanced against him, and drove him over the northern border into Galicia before the end of May. Wellesley then proposed to advance on Madrid, being misinformed as to the strength both of the French and of the Spaniards who were to cooperate with him. At Talavera, in conjunction with a Spanish army, he met and routed the French (July), the brunt of the fighting falling on the British troops, who were less than half of his army. But the conduct of the Spanish General showed that to advance would be exceedingly dangerous; and in the meantime, Soult, descending from the north with 50,000 men, was threatening the line of communications with Lisbon. He was obliged to fall back into Portugal. From this time, we may call him by the familiar name of Wellington; as he was created Viscount Wellington after Talavera.

Talavera.

For a year he remained apparently inactive, organising the defence of Portugal and preparing the famous fortifications known as the "lines of Torres Vedras," which covered Lisbon. Meanwhile Napoleon, personally occupied with diplomacy and marriage, sent Masséna with a great army to drive the British into the sea. It was fortunate that jealousies between Soult and Masséna prevented them from co-operating. Wellington made no attempt to check Masséna's advance in the summer; but in Sept. (1810) repulsed his attack at the sanguinary battle of Busaco. Masséna however was still able to pass his flank, and he withdrew within the lines of Torres Vedras. Face to face with the impregnable fortifications, Masséna soon saw that to attack them was useless. The whole country had been wasted and he was in grievous need of supplies; Soult, operating in southern Spain, would not for a long time move to his assistance. As the winter advanced, Masséna gradually drew off to the (Spanish) northerly frontier fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. Soon after the turn of the year, Soult was ordered to move to his support, and secured Badajoz, the main frontier fortress southward, in February (1811). In March Masséna, his retreat perpetually harassed by Wellington, reached Ciudad Rodrigo: with the exception of Almeida, Portugal itself was cleared of the French. In May, after a desperate battle at Fuentes d'Oñoro, Almeida also fell. Napoleon recalled Masséna, who was replaced by Marmont; and the French did not again penetrate into Portugal. Ten days after Fuentes d'Oñoro, Soult attacked, at Albuera, an Anglo-Spanish force under Beresford which was trying to recover Badajoz. Beresford had with him a considerable body of Spaniards, who took

1810. Busaco and Torres Vedras.

1811. Fuentes d'Oñoro and Albuera.

little part in the fight, and 7500 British, nearly two-thirds of whom were killed or wounded in the battle; but the French were repulsed. The siege of Badajoz however had to be abandoned in June. As yet Wellington was not strong enough to assume the offensive against Marmont and Soult. The notable feature of the war in Spain hitherto was that the official Spanish armies and Generals habitually showed themselves of no use, whereas the local bands of insurgents, who carried on a guerilla warfare, offered an effective resistance to the whole power of the Buonapartist Government.

Yet Napoleon did not turn his whole force to the destruction of all resistance in the Peninsula. He was already planning a complete rupture with his now very half-hearted ally, the Tsar; and withdrew troops from Spain, in preparation for the great expedition against Russia in the following year, which may be said to have proved his ruin.

§ 4. *The Peninsula War: Second Phase. Napoleon's Russian Campaign and Fall*, 1812—1814. *Ministerial Changes in England*, 1807—1812.

With 1812, the war entered on a new phase. Suddenly, in January, Wellington fell upon Ciudad Rodrigo, and carried it by assault; the capture being accompanied by great excesses on the part of the British soldiery. Marmont drew back to Salamanca. Wellington then flung himself south upon Badajoz, which in its turn was stormed on April 6th, being carried by escalade—*i.e.* the walls were mounted by means of ladders—after several furious attacks had been repulsed. Again, unhappily, the soldiers who had covered themselves with glory in the fighting disgraced themselves, despite every effort of their officers, in the hour of victory.

1812. Ciudad Rodrigo.

Badajoz.

The presence, however, of Wellington and his army was more imperatively needed in the north; otherwise, he would have proceeded to attack Soult, who now lay between him and the Tagus. Marmont, as already observed, was further north in the neighbourhood of Salamanca. Wellington, then, returned to Ciudad Rodrigo; while one of his lieutenants, Hill, surprised the French who held the bridge of Almarez across the Tagus, and by securing the passage cut Soult off from joining Marmont. Wellington advanced against Marmont, capturing Salamanca and manœuvring to avoid a pitched battle; which Marmont sought, hoping to crush him. On July 22 was fought the great

Salamanca.

battle of Salamanca. The issue would have been more than doubtful; but Marmont, in executing an enveloping or turning movement—which if successfully carried out would have given him a great victory—could not avoid making a temporary gap in his line. Wellington saw and seized the opportunity, and in forty minutes the great victory was won—but not by Marmont. The Spaniards who ought to have cut off the retreat failed to do so; whence the disaster to the French was less complete than it ought to have been. Wellington advanced to Madrid where he was hailed with acclamation; but he failed to capture the strong and stubbornly defended fortress of Burgos, and once more had to fall back to the Portuguese frontier: though in order to force him to this course, the enemy had to withdraw his own armies from southern Spain, hitherto his main source of supplies. Wellington's definite triumph was deferred till the next year.

Napoleon's Moscow Campaign.

In the autumn and winter of 1812, Napoleon suffered the terrible disaster of his Moscow campaign. With an army of half-a-million men he marched to overthrow Russia; the Russians retreated before him, wasting the country. He brought them to bay at Borodino, where he defeated them, but at the cost of frightful carnage; he entered Moscow, to find the town deserted and emptied of supplies. Winter was approaching; he began to retreat, but too late to escape the deadly frosts and snows. It was but a fragment of the grand army that returned; and Europe, maddened by his tremendous exactions, ruined by the commercial policy of the Berlin decrees, and with the spirit of Nationalism once more alive, was on the verge of a general uprising to throw off his yoke. To meet that uprising he again had to recall troops from the Peninsula. Thus at the opening of the campaign of 1813, Wellington was no longer in perpetual danger of being overwhelmed by numbers. Moreover, he was better supported by his own Government, although his brother, Lord Wellesley, had just withdrawn from it.

1813. Vittoria.

Hence Wellington, when he crossed the Portuguese frontier in May, 1813, was confident of success. On June 21st was fought the decisive battle of Vittoria, when the French under Jourdan, with whom was King Joseph (Buonaparte), were driven in rout to the Pyrenees with the loss of all their guns and waggons—which contained, among other things, the valuables accumulated during the five years of their occupation of Spain. Soult, appointed to the supreme command, twice challenged him in the two "battles of the Pyrenees," but could do no more than

check him, and had to withdraw the remnants of the army of the Peninsula across the mountains into France. Elsewhere in Spain, British columns were less successful; but it was certain that the French resistance could not now be prolonged, and in October Wellington himself had passed on to French soil.

The Fourth Coalition.

Meanwhile, the Fourth Coalition against Napoleon had taken shape. The people of Prussia, and not of Prussia only, were now animated with the same spirit as the people of Spain. Europe at last united to crush Napoleon. In spite of the tremendous losses of the Moscow campaign, he still succeeded in defeating his foes, in a series of battles culminating with that of Dresden in August. But if he could defeat them, he could not crush them as in the past; their hosts gathered again, and in October, at the great three-days-fight of Leipsig, the "battle of the Nations," he was decisively beaten. All his skill could not hold back the allies at the beginning of 1814. A few days before Wellington won the battle of Toulouse (April 10) against Soult—a fight so equal that the French claimed it as a victory—Napoleon yielded to the overwhelming odds, and to the unanimous judgment of his marshals, and abdicated. Had Wellington and Soult known the fact, the battle might have been saved. Napoleon was granted the little island of Elba in the Mediterranean as a principality, and permitted to retire thither—leaving the settlement of Europe to a Congress in which he had no voice. The Bourbon monarchy was restored in France, and a brother of Louis XVI. was placed on the throne, with the title of Louis XVIII.

1814. Napoleon Abdicates.

Since 1812, Britain had also had on her hands a war with the United States; arising out of the friction and ill-feeling caused by the Orders in Council, which had a very injurious effect on American trade. Absorbed in the European War, Government gave insufficient attention to this minor contest; and though the Americans failed disastrously in attempting to invade Canada, several engagements took place by sea, chiefly between single ships, in which at the outset the British were worsted. This was presently stopped by the dispatch of larger squadrons to American waters. A military expedition was sent under General Ross, which won a battle at Bladensburg and burnt the United States capital at Washington: another, of Peninsula veterans led by General Pakenham, suffered a disastrous defeat at New Orleans in the south in January, 1815. With the withdrawal of the Orders in Council, there was no excuse for the continuation of the war, and in fact a peace had already been signed when the

1812—1815. The American War.

battle of New Orleans was fought. But, unhappily, the conflict left a great deal of bad blood between the two nations.

1807—1812. British Ministries.

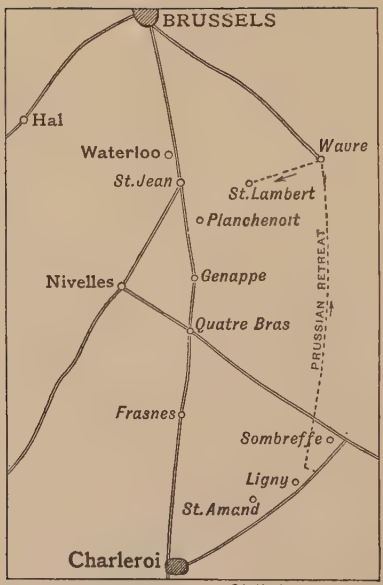
Before passing to the last episode in the struggle with Napoleon, it remains to give an account of affairs in England since the Grenville administration gave place to that of Portland in 1807. The ostensible cause of the fall of the former was a difference between King George and the ministers connected with the old question of Catholic Emancipation; George demanding a pledge that they should not offer him advice on the subject, which they very rightly refused. The new Portland administration had no qualms on the subject. It was not troubled with any fears as to the constitutional position of the King's ministers; and motions in the House declaring that ministers could not pledge themselves to abstain from offering such advice as they thought right, and that the King could act only on the advice of ministers, were rejected; though both principles are involved in the whole theory of ministerial responsibility for the acts of the Crown. The ideas of the Government, like those of its real chiefs Hawkesbury (afterwards Lord Liverpool) and Eldon, were Tory; though its most brilliant member, George Canning, was a disciple of Pitt, and in some degree of Pitt's father. As a body, they were inefficient and narrow minded; but, whatever their methods, they held stubbornly to the fight with Napoleon.

On Portland's death in 1809, the post of Prime Minister passed to Perceval, Canning being outside the Government, and Lord Wellesley—who left India in 1805—becoming Foreign Secretary. Yet he, like Canning, was unable to control the mediocrity of his colleagues. In 1811, the permanent return of the King's malady caused the Prince of Wales to be named Regent with limited powers. Differences in the Cabinet brought about Wellesley's resignation in Jan. 1812, and the assassination of Perceval three months later made Lord Liverpool Prime Minister, with no other material changes. Castlereagh had already become Foreign Secretary. The ministry, with modifications, remained in office till 1827.

§ 5. *The Treaty of Paris, the Congress of Vienna, and the Hundred Days*, 1814—1815.

1814. The Treaty of Paris.

The victorious allies had two tasks before them—the settlement of terms with France, and the reorganisation of Europe. As to the former, the influence of Britain and Russia held in check the animosity of the peoples who had been subjugated, and France was not ungenerously dealt with by the



THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN

Treaty of Paris (May). Her boundaries were restored, very much as they had stood in 1792 before her career of active aggression was in full progress. Britain restored also several of her own maritime conquests during the war. The Bourbon Louis XVIII. was placed on the throne as a constitutional monarch, with limitations to his powers after the English model. Napoleon's marshals accepted the new *régime*. Napoleon himself was relegated to Elba; and the Powers arranged for a Congress for the settlement of Europe, to be held in September at Vienna; where Castlereagh represented the United Kingdom.

Britain and Europe.

Here it is to be noted that Britain, seeking no territorial acquisitions in Europe, found her own interests engaged in the restoration of the "Balance of Power" between the great States, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France: the danger being that Russia and Prussia, acting in concert, might gain a perilous predominance. Broadly speaking, Britain, France, and Austria would have the same aims. It is also to be noted that Britain used the opportunity to urge upon the Powers the duty of a joint declaration against the Slave-trade. The progress of the settlement was suddenly checked by the startling news that Napoleon had slipped away from Elba, landed in France (March 1st, 1815), and was rapidly rallying the nation to his standard once more. Before the end of the month, Louis XVIII. was a refugee in Belgium, and Napoleon was re-established at the Tuileries. The "Hundred Days" of his last period of supremacy lasted from March 13th to June 22nd, when he abdicated for the second time. To France he issued promises of a less autocratic government, and to the Powers he made proposals for his own recognition. But the Powers had learnt by long experience that Napoleon's rule and a sense of security in Europe could not exist side by side. Each made haste to arm for a final conflict.

1815. Return of Napoleon (March).

As usual, Napoleon had the great advantage of concentration. Wellington, now a Duke, was able to take command of a mixed force of British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Belgians, in Belgium. Valiant old Field-Marshal Blücher had another Prussian army on the Lower Rhine. In course of time Austria and then Russia would be able to bring up their battalions and advance on the French frontier. Napoleon's chance was to shatter Blücher and Wellington first; for them it was necessary to be in touch, so that their forces might cooperate. In June, Wellington's head-quarters were at Brussels, those of Blücher at Namur; Napoleon's troops were massing on the Belgian frontier, at Valenciennes,

The advance against the allies (June).

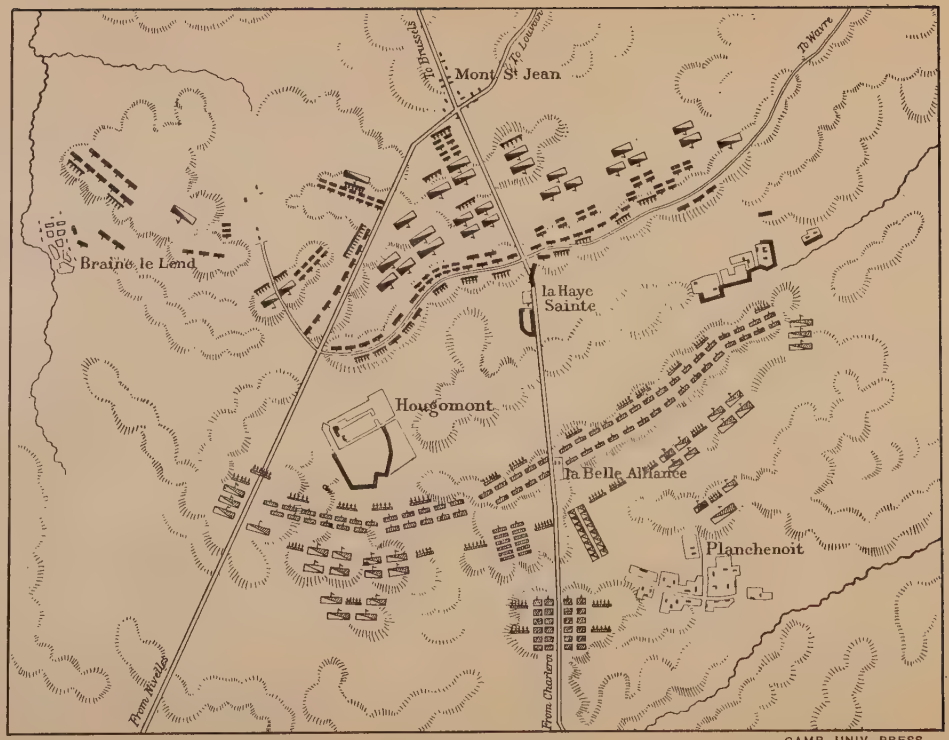
where he joined them, leaving Paris on June 12th. Roughly speaking, he had an army of 125,000 men, many of them veterans: Wellington had 30,000 British and 65,000 Hanoverians and others—a good many of the others being worthless: Blücher had 120,000. On the other hand, Napoleon had the advantage of attack. His plan was to strike between Wellington and Blücher, shattering one before the other could form an effective junction with him.

Napoleon advanced to Charleroi on June 15th. Looking at the accompanying sketch-map, and noting that the continuation of the road from Nivelles to Quatre Bras runs S.E. to Namur (Blücher's head-quarters)—about the same distance from Quatre Bras as Brussels (Wellington's head-quarters)—the plan was: to hold Wellington's advance in check at Quatre Bras, while falling upon Blücher and crushing him, or driving him S.E. In the latter event, while the main business would be the overwhelming of Wellington, the defeated Prussians were to be cut off from the possibility of rallying and forming a junction with the British. But, till Napoleon captured Charleroi, Wellington expected him to advance not in that direction but to the north-west, so as to cut the British communications with the coast: even after Quatre Bras, he still thought it necessary to guard against that contingency.

On the 16th, then, Napoleon ordered Ney to seize Quatre Bras, between Charleroi and Brussels, while he himself advanced against Blücher at Ligny, between Charleroi and Namur. Having secured Quatre Bras, Ney would be able to turn Blücher's flank.

Quatre Bras and Ligny, June 16.

Quatre Bras however was held against Ney by the advance guard of Wellington's army, reinforcements coming up during the fight. A corps commanded by D'Erlon received contradictory orders, so that it first failed to help Ney, and then joined the Emperor so late that the Prussians, though beaten at Ligny, were able to draw off in good order. The success of the allies at Quatre Bras was so far neutralised by Ligny that their troops fell back, covering Brussels; but it prevented Ligny from being turned into a rout, and gave Blücher several hours start on his retreat. It resulted that instead of being driven off to the S.E. Blücher was able to wheel northwards to Wavre, and so to come in touch again with Wellington at the crisis of the battle of Waterloo; as the force sent by Napoleon under Grouchy to hold him off misjudged the direction of his march and so failed to intercept him. Blücher regarded contact with Wellington as more important than the maintenance of his line of communications, which would have required him to fall back to Namur; as Grouchy imagined that he had done.



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WATERLOO

at the beginning of the battle

British

French

Wellington then took the risk of delivering battle to Napoleon at Waterloo on the 18th, in the expectation, but not with any certainty, that support would arrive from Blücher. The risk lay mainly in the fact that, whereas Napoleon's force was slightly the greater and consisted largely of veterans, very few of his own British soldiers had ever been under fire, and a considerable proportion of those who were not British were quite untrustworthy.

The Battlefield of Waterloo.

A year before, the Duke had noted the strength, for an army covering Brussels, of the position which he now occupied on June 17th. From east to west, across the road from Charleroi to Brussels, lie two low ranges of hills with a dip or valley between them. Wellington occupied the northern ridge, Napoleon the southern. On the slope, on his front, the Duke's troops occupied also the farm of Hougoumont on the right, La Haye Sainte in the centre, and the village of La Haye on the left. He reckoned that if he failed to hold his position, the wood of Soignies in his rear would not impede a retreat, but could easily be held against the pursuing force. His infantry formed his front line, his cavalry the second; with the Brunswickers, horse and foot, in reserve.

June 18. The Battle opens.

Napoleon, placing great reliance on his cavalry charges, and having a marked superiority in artillery, withheld his attack till nearly midday on Sunday, June 18th; to give the surface of the ground, drenched with rain, time to dry enough for the horses. Here, to explain the action of the Prussians, we may note that Grouchy was now on his way to Wavre—twelve miles west of Waterloo—where they were lying; while Blücher was beginning to move from Wavre to Waterloo, leaving a rear-guard detachment of sufficient strength to hold Grouchy in check. Messages to Grouchy, urging him to intercept Blücher's movement instead of marching on Wavre, reached him too late to be of any avail. The battle at Waterloo was still in its early stages when Napoleon became aware that the Prussians were approaching on his right flank; but he as yet supposed it to be unnecessary to oppose them in force.

The defence.

While Hougoumont was held, it was impossible to make a direct attack on the right of Wellington's line: and the place was held by desperate fighting against tremendous odds the whole day. But it was against La Haye Sainte and the right centre that Napoleon directed his most furious efforts. Storms of grape shot were poured upon the British and Hanoverian troops: masses of cavalry were hurled in column of attack on the disordered

lines, to be rolled back again by the stubborn musketry fire followed up by fierce cavalry charges. If the veterans who had burst through the ranks of one continental army after another reached the British lines, they still could not avail to break the obstinate squares which they repeatedly enveloped; and the columns were themselves shattered by the flank fire to which their formation exposed them. It was not till late in the afternoon, between four and six o'clock—authorities differ as to the hour—that the French had driven the British and Hanoverians out of La Haye Sainte. But by this time, so many of Napoleon's infantry were withdrawn to hold the advancing Prussians in check that sufficient supports could not be sent to maintain the ground that had been won.

The last effort.

A supreme effort was necessary. If it succeeded, the British line would be broken and would be rolled up. At seven o'clock, Napoleon hurled against the right centre the masses of the Old Guard. On front and flank the first column was received with a hail of musketry fire, and was rolled back: the second column was even more completely routed; and now moreover the advancing Prussians were fairly in touch with the British. Wellington gave the order for the whole line to advance. On his left, the Prussians drove in upon the French right. The shattered French army reeled and broke and fled; the rout became a general *sauve-qui-peut* as British and Prussians swept after the fugitives. The terrific nature of the struggle before the victory was decided is shown by the fact that more than a fourth of the British fell, and nearly 7000 Prussians. But the army of Napoleon was irretrievably shattered, and he himself escaped only by headlong flight.

Blücher.

St Helena.

In Paris, he attempted yet again to rally the nation to himself; the nation failed to respond; and the allies were advancing. He attempted to escape from Rochefort to America—a last chance for liberty: but he found British cruisers on the watch. Surrender was better than capture. Three weeks after Waterloo, he gave himself up to the commander of the *Bellerophon*. The conqueror of Europe was exiled for ever to the remote island of St Helena, fourteen hundred miles from the south-west African coast.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE TORY ASCENDENCY: 1815—1827.

§ 1. *The last years of George III.*, 1815—1820.

An era of peace.

Since Waterloo, more than ninety years ago, we have had wars in Asia and wars in Africa: but only once have we been at war with a European Power, and on that occasion France was not our foe but our ally. There has been no repetition of the great struggles of the Plantagenet with the Valois, of Elizabeth with Philip, or of William and Anne and the Hanoverians with the Bourbons. There has been no constitutional strife like that between the Stuarts and the Parliament, or between the mother country and the American Colonies. The sword has won for us fresh territories in Asia and in Africa, but the great colonial expansion of the century has been achieved not by soldiers but by peaceful settlers. History has become less picturesque; not indeed for lack of picturesque episodes, but because so many of the most important episodes, so much of the diplomacy, so much of the legislation, so much of the progress, has not been of the picturesque order. The era is great in literature, great in science, great in commercial and industrial development, great in philanthropic effort; but the political changes, great too, have for the most part come about in a comparatively commonplace way.

1815. Position and policy of Britain.

The peace which followed after the fall of Napoleon secured to Britain something but not all of what she might have claimed. Malta and the Ionian Islands, the Cape, Ceylon, some West Indian Islands, the Mauritius—all actual conquests—were a less portion of the spoils, in appearance, than fell to others who had played a much less uncompromising part in the twenty years' struggle. But we could afford not to be rapacious ourselves. For the weapon which Napoleon intended for our destruction had wrought more harm to every country

in Europe than to us; the commercial war had gone in our favour no less decisively than the war of navies and of armed battalions. We had absorbed the carrying-trade of the world and our manufactures had advanced while those of other nations had fallen behind. Moreover, expediency as well as magnanimity demanded that France should not be pressed too hard. It would not be to our advantage that she should be either too weak to take her place in the counsels of Europe, or too discontented to be peaceful. Provided that points vital to the peace of Europe were secured, ministers considered that the true British policy was that of non-intervention. Having re-established the Bourbons in France with constitutional safeguards, and generally speaking restored the pre-revolution dynasties, we would neither join the "Holy Alliance" of the Russian, Prussian and Austrian monarchs—which, as events showed, was to be used primarily in support of absolute rule on all sides—nor commit ourselves to supporting "popular" or even "constitutional" parties in other countries.

The Tory Government.

In fact, the British Government was Tory. It included no doubt men like young Lord Palmerston who ultimately joined the Whigs; but it did not include the men like Canning and Wellesley, whose ideas were most akin to those of Pitt. It still scented Jacobinism in popular discontent, and looked to repression rather than reform to prevent the revolution which it still dreaded. And discontent was rife. The commercial effect of the war had been to depress the other countries of Europe so much more than ourselves that we had obtained an immense start of them for the industrial race; but if we were more prosperous than they, there was still very wide-spread misery and suffering all through the labouring or wage-earning classes. We were going to be the workshop of Europe, but our neighbours would have to be prosperous enough to buy our goods before we could derive full benefit from the fact.

State of the Country.

Let us see how the war had worked on the mass of the population. Foreign supplies being cut off, the price of all agricultural produce became very high. But the money went first to the farmers and their landlords, not to the farm labourers. On the other hand, the supply of labour was ample; the competition for work enabled employers to keep wages low. Thus the labourer got less money for his work, while he had to pay more for his food. This was made worse by the preposterous arrangements of the Poor-law. To obtain some relief without going into the workhouse, the labourer had only to show that his wages were not sufficient to support himself and his family; the bigger his family

was, the bigger was the dole granted. If a farmer gave insufficient wages, his labourers came "on the parish"—that is, instead of being supported by their work, they were mainly supported by the rates. The process encouraged the farmers to give the lowest possible wages, and encouraged the men to have large families which they could not keep by their own labour. Thus there was an enormous public expenditure on poor-relief which just kept the labourer from starving, but gave him no sort of opportunity or encouragement to attempt to improve his position.

Manufacturers and working men.

On the other hand, the progress in manufactures did not for the time being help the labouring classes. Mechanical inventions made it possible for a very few workers to turn out a quantity of goods which it had previously required a great many men to produce. Those goods could be sold, in consequence, at a lower price than before. The demand for those goods—the number of purchasers—increased, and the manufacturers made substantial profits; but the increase in the demand did not at first keep pace with the diminution in the number of hands required to turn out a given quantity. If one man could turn out as much as ten had done, but only five times as much was wanted, then five men could meet the demand and the other five were out of work. Those who had work could not bargain for good wages, because the starving men outside were ready to take their places. In the long run, machinery so cheapened production that the demand for goods gave employment to an enormously greater number of hands; the employers required more labour not less, and the labourers in their turn were able to bargain for better terms. But at the start, the first effect of the machinery, which enabled the British manufacturer to undersell his foreign competitors, was to diminish the actual number of labourers required and so to drive wages down. While the war was still going on, there had been a number of "Luddite" riots, in which working men had banded together to smash up machinery; not realising—naturally enough—that everything which tended to cheapen production tended also, as time went on, to increase employment and raise wages. What they did realise was, that only one man was needed to do what had employed ten men before: that they were suffering, while employers were making increased profits.

Reformers and Radicals.

Thus the labouring population was seething with discontent, and found very little consolation in the glory won in distant battlefields. They saw that the war brought high prices and low wages; they did not see that it was laying the

foundations of industrial prosperity. The distress and discontent were made worse by repressive legislation. Wise men saw that the best remedy lay in taking the government of the country out of the hands of a class who feared the people, were not of them, and did not sympathise with their grievances, and putting it into the hands of men who did represent the people and understand their needs. But unwise men talked of insurrection and stirred up bad blood, increasing the alarm of the ruling class, and making them more determined than ever to make no concessions to mob violence.

1819. The Manchester Massacre.

Of the many riots, and dispersals of mass-meetings, which took place in the last years of old King George III., the most celebrated is the "Peterloo" or "Manchester Massacre" (August, 1819), when some 30,000 persons had assembled to listen to an agitator known as Orator Hunt. The magistrates ordered a regiment of cavalry to charge the crowd. Half-a-dozen persons were killed and three or four score were seriously injured. The charge had been quite unnecessary; but exaggerated ideas were spread about what had happened, and when the Government supported the conduct of the magistrates—which ought undoubtedly to have been severely censured—they became the objects of popular execration. Nevertheless, ministers stood their ground, and at the end of the year passed the Six Acts, for which Castlereagh and Sidmouth (the title which Addington had taken some years before) were mainly responsible. These Acts inflicted very heavy penalties intended to prevent the masses from arming and drilling, and to suppress publications which, attacking the Government and its methods, were therefore in its eyes branded as "seditious libels." These Acts only gave a somewhat more severe and uncompromising expression to the principles on which ministers had already been acting.

Death of George III.

The death of the old King in January, 1820, made no practical difference. He had been quite insane for nearly nine years, and his successor, George IV., merely became King instead of Regent. He had broken with his old Whig friends at the time of the Regency Bill. George III. had been narrow-minded, and unspeakably obstinate; he had been largely responsible for the breach with America, and entirely so for the breaking of Pitt's pledge to grant Catholic Emancipation to Ireland. But he had also been perfectly fearless and never consciously dishonest. His stubbornness had stiffened the resistance of ministers and people to Napoleon, and had greatly strengthened Pitt's hands in almost everything but the Irish question; and we must go back to

Charles I. to find a king whose domestic virtues were equally irreproachable. He was not a great man; but if he played his part in the disasters of his reign, he was not without his share in its glories also.

§ 2. *The Liverpool administration under George IV.*, 1820—1827.

George IV. had hardly succeeded George III. on the throne, when some little colour was given to the idea that what we should now call Anarchism was in the air by the discovery of the Cato Street conspiracy. A set of violent extremists formed a plot to murder the ministers at a ministerial dinner. The plot was betrayed; the conspirators were attacked in a house in Cato Street, where they offered determined resistance. The leaders were taken a few days later, and put to death; the most prominent of them being a ruffian named Thistlewood. This was the last occasion on which persons executed for treason were beheaded after being hanged.

1820. The Cato Street Conspiracy.

Another matter which caused much public stir, and diminished respect both for the Royal Family and the ruling classes generally, was the affair of Queen Caroline, the Brunswick Princess whom George IV. had married five-and-twenty years before. She had lived apart from her husband most of the time. His treatment of her had been scandalous, and her conduct, if excusable under the circumstances, certainly did not entitle her to respect. Now, at his instigation, ministers attempted by very discreditable means to obtain a dissolution of the marriage; while she, after a very undignified fashion, endeavoured to compel him to recognise her as Queen. The whole business caused immense scandal, and brought every one concerned into general contempt. Popular feeling—it can hardly be called sympathy—was on Caroline's side. The Ministerial Bill had to be dropped, but she failed to get herself recognised as Queen. The scandal was checked by her death in 1821; but it left a very nasty taste.

Caroline of Brunswick.

Castlereagh's conduct of foreign affairs did not increase the popularity of the ministry. The Despots of Spain and Naples were having troubles with their subjects; British sympathies were with the subjects, but while the autocrats of the Holy Alliance interfered on behalf of the monarchs, the British Government looked on: and the British people regarded this course as pusillanimous. In particular, the greatest sympathy was excited by the revolt of the Greeks against the rule of the Turks—a case which seemed to call for the concerted action of the

1822. Suicide of Castlereagh.

Powers. Lord Liverpool, to strengthen the administration, persuaded Wellesley to join it, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Robert Peel took Sidmouth's place at the Home Office, in the beginning of 1822. In August, Castlereagh, whose brain gave way under the strain of anxiety and unpopularity, committed suicide as he was about to set out for a European Conference at which the Greek question was to be dealt with; and George Canning gave up the post of Governor-General of India, for which he had just been selected, to take Castlereagh's place at the Foreign Office. The reconstruction of the ministry was completed when Huskisson, in the next year, became President of the Board of Trade, and started on a policy of removing the trade restrictions which interfered with foreign commerce.

George Canning.

Canning signalised his re-appearance in the ministry by at once showing that the British Government was capable of independent action. He refused point-blank to be a party to the theory of the Holy Alliance that it was the business of the monarchies to uphold despots; withdrew from the Conference of Verona, when the Powers, with this object in view, shelved the Greek question; and promptly recognised the independence of the Spanish Republics in South America which had just thrown off allegiance to the Spanish despotism in Europe. His action had a salutary effect in checking the activity of the Holy Alliance, and produced in the country a refreshing sense that it was no longer to be regarded as a mere cipher by the States of the Continent. The fact received striking illustration a little later (1826) when Spanish interference with Portugal, where constitutional principles were in the ascendent, was stopped by the mobilisation of British forces.

Robert Peel.

The accession of healthy ideas in the ministry was emphasized by Peel's tenure of the Home Office. To him we owe the reform of the Criminal Law, which in England was almost inconceivably backward. In 1515, Sir Thomas More had pointed out the evil effects of applying the death penalty to petty thefts: yet in 1820 there were some two hundred offences which were punished by hanging. The natural consequence was that when a man felt that he had forfeited his life by some trivial offence, there was nothing to deter him from doing something to be hanged for; and on the other hand, when offences had been committed, juries frequently refused to convict. Crime was multiplied by the excessive penalty instead of being checked. The reformation of the criminal code on rational principles, commenced at this time, was followed by an increase in the number of convictions and a diminution in the

number of crimes committed. Peel also substituted an organised force of able-bodied police for the decrepit old watchmen or "Charlies" who had been in charge of the streets of London.

Huskisson.

Equally significant of the revival of the intelligent spirit in which Pitt had approached social and economic problems, until all reform had been choked by the French Revolution, were the financial reforms of Huskisson. The Navigation Acts were practically withdrawn by what was known as the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, but neither ship-building nor the carrying trade suffered. The reduction of the duty on raw silk gave to British silk manufacture a stimulus which soon made high duties on foreign manufactured silks superfluous, because our own manufactures were of equal quality and cost less. In the case of wool again, there was a heavy duty on foreign wool for the benefit of the wool-growers at home: but there was a duty on the export of wool, to prevent it from leaving the country and so to keep the price of it down for the benefit of the wool-manufacturers. This class wanted to have the export duties kept up and the import duties taken off, so that they might get both foreign and home-grown wool at the lowest possible price. The wool-growers wanted the export duty taken off and the import duties kept up so that they might get the highest possible price for their wool. To protect the manufacturers injured the wool-growers; to protect the wool-growers injured the manufacturers. Huskisson retained both import and export duties, but so reduced both as very nearly to make the trade free; the result being that it increased greatly.

1827. Resignation of Liverpool.

But the combination of progressive Tories—Canning and Huskisson—in the same cabinet with the unyielding group of whom the Duke of Wellington was now perhaps the leader, was made possible only by the tact of the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool: and early in 1827, Liverpool was stricken with paralysis. It was clear that there must be a new ministry, from which one or other of these two sections would disappear. They were agreed in their opposition to Parliamentary Reform; but they were divided on the now pressing question of Catholic Emancipation, which was assuming very serious importance in Ireland, under the leadership of the great "agitator" Daniel O'Connell. Apart from the one question of Parliamentary Reform, the Canning group was already in closer sympathy with the Whigs than with the old Tories. The retirement of Liverpool made a split certain. Wellington and Peel declined the task of forming a new ministry, and when Canning accepted it refused to act with him. The Canning administration was the beginning of the end of the Tory ascendency.

§ 3. *British Expansion*, 1805—1828.

For some years past, Britain had been sowing the seeds of expansion in a new region of the globe. The Australian Continent, hitherto unexplored, had been appropriated; a penal settlement had been established for transported criminals, and lands allotted to the criminals on their release; and some few other settlers had been planted. But as yet Australasia had drawn no large number of emigrants. Her development was still to come.

The British expansion in India, however, demands closer attention.

The British in India, 1805—1813.

When Warren Hastings sailed for England, the British dominion covered only Bengal—*i.e.* the Ganges Basin up to Allahabad—the strip of territory on the east coast called the Cirkars, the strip lying near Madras, and the strip about Bombay. Twenty years later, when Wellesley left India, there had been added Orissa (the strip between Bengal and the Cirkars, ceded by the Marathas), the Carnatic, and half of Mysore, as well as the North-West Provinces, girdling Oude. Further, the Nawab of Oude, the Nizam, and the five Maratha principalities were all in varying degrees subjected to the British ascendency by subsidiary alliances, without being under direct British rule. With the north-western quarter of India we had not come practically into touch at all: of the rest we controlled about two-thirds and governed one-third.

The position remained unaltered during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto, Wellesley's successor. The period is chiefly noteworthy because relations were opened with the Panjab, and across the Indian border with Afghanistan and Persia: for Indian statesmen were already beginning to be aware that Russia was moving south-eastwards, and that it would be well to be on friendly terms with the Asiatic States lying between Russia and India. But in 1813, Lord Moira (who afterwards became Lord Hastings) succeeded Minto; and a fresh period of expansion and contest with native states began.

Lord Hastings. The Ghurka War.

First the hill State of Nepal, stretching along the mountains which lie on the north of the Ganges Basin, began aggressive movements, forcing upon us the Ghurka War. So great was the skill and tenacity of the Ghurka race, that in the opening stages of the war they more than held their own against the larger forces which we sent against them. The tide turned when inefficient generals were replaced by Ochterlony who overcame the valiant resistance of Nepal, of which the western portion was ceded to us; the rest retaining its independence. From

that day till now, Nepal has remained a loyal and independent ally; while that portion of the Ghurkas who were transferred to the British Raj has supplied us with some of the best fighting regiments in the world.

But Lord Hastings's great achievement was the "Pindari" War.

The Pindari War.

The Pindaris were in fact great organised armies of brigands who pillaged and robbed all central India, under favour of one or another of the Maratha Princes, to the great suffering of the minor States which were scattered through the area of Maratha domination, and of the agricultural population generally. The Maratha chiefs, though jealous of each other, were all anxious to substitute their own ascendency for that of the British, and had the idea that the Pindaris might be used to accomplish that end.

No one, however, could pretend that the interests of public order did not require the suppression of the Pindaris. In answer to the demands of Lord Hastings, the Peishwa, Sindhia, and the rest, made profession of good intentions, but did nothing. In fact, they meant to let the British get involved in an attack on the Pindaris, and then to take the part of the Pindaris. But the plan was foiled by the skill with which Hastings massed his troops, so that neither Sindhia from the Gwalior district nor the "Bhonsla" from Nagpur could move without bringing on themselves certain destruction. Both the Bhonsla and the Peishwa at Puna did make an attempt to overwhelm the British forces in the neighbourhood of their capitals; both were completely beaten in the brilliant fights of Kirki and Sitabaldi. The main British armies encircled the Pindari district; in a few months the brigand hordes were entirely crushed. But the Peishwa and the Bhonsla required to be brought into thorough subjection also. The Pindari and Maratha War, which began in 1817, was brought to a final conclusion eighteen months later: with the inevitable result of a great cession of territory, and the location in each district of a great military "contingent" paid for by the Marathas, and controlled by the British.

In 1823, Hastings was succeeded by Lord Amherst; who had

Lord Amherst: First Burmese War.

hardly arrived in India when he found himself deliberately and wantonly defied by the King of Burma which is on the east beyond the limits of India proper. The result was a war ending in the cession to the British of the northern territory of Assam and the coast district of Arakan (1826). After this there came another period of peace in India, and of great administrative progress under the rule of Lord William Bentinck.

CHAPTER XL.

THE ERA OF REFORM: 1828—1837.

§ 1. *George IV.: The end of Tory Ascendency*, 1827—1830.

Tory and Whig.

The meaning of the terms Whig and Tory had changed considerably between 1784 and 1828. When the younger Pitt became Prime Minister, he would have called himself a Whig. When Burke broke with Fox over the French Revolution each of them called himself a Whig. But in effect the French Revolution broke up the Whig party altogether. In 1784, the Shelburne Whigs and the real Tories combined to support Pitt and King George; the rest of the Whigs combined with North's followers in opposition. Then the old Whigs who went with Burke first supported and then merged with the Tories, while the new Whigs became the Whig Party, which professed admiration for the theories, if not for the practice, of the French Revolution. When the actual fear of anarchy and mob-rule faded, the Whig principles of Pitt's pre-revolution days began to re-assert themselves in a large section of what had now become the Tory party. The split between these Progressive Tories and the rest of their party brought the Tory ascendency to an end. Out of the fusion of this section with the new Whigs, leavened with ideas born of the French Revolution, was gradually created the new Liberal Party, with an extreme wing of "Radical Reformers."

Some time, however, was to elapse before party divisions became definite. There is a resemblance to the state of affairs when the Whig party broke into sections in the early years of George III. The Bedford, Rockingham, and Grafton administrations had all called themselves Whig: so now the Canningites were nominally Tories. But the most curious feature of the administrations for some years to come is that out of the three largest measures of Reform, two were carried by Prime Ministers who had constantly

opposed them—Wellington and Peel—and it was Wellington who induced his party to submit to the third. On the other hand, it is to be remarked that in foreign affairs, Whigs and Canningites had a strong inclination to intervene on behalf of oppressed nationalities and populations; whereas the old Tories were equally opposed to intervention on either side.

Canning himself had no opportunity for giving effect to his views, for he died in the August following his formation of a ministry.

Ministry of Goderich, 1827.

His successor as Prime Minister was his follower Lord Goderich. Wellington, who had refused to act with Canning, returned to the Government: but there was no force or cohesion in it, and in January Goderich resigned. Wellington became Prime Minister, with a cabinet as nearly as possible the same as Liverpool's. During 1827, Canning had made a treaty with Russia and France to compel Turkey to end her Greek war by granting Greece self-government; the intention being to avoid open hostilities but to bring strong pressure to bear on the Turks. In October, the French and British fleets in conjunction entered the Bay of Navarino where the Turkish and allied Egyptian navies lay, to insist upon their withdrawal. The Turks fired upon the allies, whereupon the allies annihilated the Turkish fleet. This vigorous action, however, was not followed up, Wellington being opposed to the policy which had brought it about, and referring to it in the House as an "untoward event."

"The Duke," 1828.

The Duke was not only a great General: he had also proved himself in 1814 and 1815 to have a real grasp of the European situation, and great power of exercising influence. But at that time Europe regarded his position in his own country as being that of a dictator; much as it had looked upon Marlborough in the height of his triumph. A soldier is often an admirable despot or dictator, but no soldier of renown has ever been the successful leader of a Parliamentary party. Wellington had no belief in popular government, either at home or abroad; but he would have surrendered any theory of his own if the alternative to his doing so would be civil war. He was the last man to yield a principle for the sake of holding office, or from fear of popular clamour; but when he felt that the nation had made up its mind irrevocably he would no longer counsel resistance, however stoutly he might have held out till the crisis arrived. Nor did he consider that it was his duty to throw up his command because he felt himself bound to advise retreat. On the other hand, the most powerful of his colleagues, Robert Peel, was no less honest, but spent his life

in gradually recognising the truth of views to which he had been consistently adverse; and, once convinced of his error, boldly acknowledged the change in his convictions.

Thus the Wellington ministry yielded one point after another to the clear demands of public opinion. An adroit party leader would probably have resigned, forced the Opposition to form an administration, and returned to power on their collapse—for a united Opposition may fail altogether to form a united Government. But Wellington, having undertaken to carry on the King's Government, stuck to his post. Thus in 1828, he resisted a proposal for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (which an annual Indemnity Bill had for long converted practically into a dead letter), but then gave way to the obvious feeling of the Commons and accepted a mild declaration in lieu of the sacramental test. Similarly he had resisted modifications in the Corn Law of 1815, which had shut out foreign corn in order to maintain high prices and preserve land in cultivation; but he now allowed Huskisson to introduce a "sliding scale," by which the tax on foreign corn was graduated, increasing as the price fell but almost disappearing when it rose to 80 shillings.

So far, the pressure from the Canningite members of his own cabinet may have forced his hand; but in the summer, their resignation on a side issue was accepted, and their places were taken by uncompromising Tories. Yet this change was followed by the greatest concession of all. The agitation for Catholic Emancipation in Ireland reached such a pitch that Daniel O'Connell was returned, without any acts of violence but with an overwhelming majority, as member for Clare; although, being a Catholic, he was not eligible. The event convinced Peel, hitherto a strong opponent of emancipation; Peel convinced Wellington; in 1829 the two ministers declared their change of view, and the Act emancipating the Catholics was passed in May. O'Connell appeared in Parliament; to take up a fresh agitation, for the Repeal of the Union. He did not think it politic to resist another Act, passed about the same time, raising the property qualification for Irish voters.

Catholic Emancipation, 1829.

Next year amid growing signs that the great question of Parliamentary Reform was on the verge of becoming the subject of a determined struggle, George IV. died (June, 1830). He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, William IV., the "sailor-king," a man with many of the characteristics of their father George III., but not so fatally persistent in his obstinacy. George IV. had prided himself on being the "first

Death of GeorgeIV., 1830.

Gentleman in Europe." He had exercised no marked influence on policy; for the degradation of morals, he had done more than any king except Charles II. His disappearance made it possible for the monarchy to recover the respect which it had forfeited.

§ 2. *William IV.: The Reform Bill and the Reformed Parliament*, 1830—1837.

1830. The Duke and Reform.

A general election and a new Parliament which met in November after George's death showed an immense accession of strength to the Opposition. Sixty years before, Chatham had declared that Parliament must reform itself. Thrice his son had been defeated on motions for reform; then the French Revolution had made him set his face against change. In the thirty years following that event, resolutions had been repeatedly moved, and rejected by sweeping majorities. Between 1820 and 1830, Lord John Russell had persistently, year by year, attacked the system of representation. An impulse had been given to the movement by the bloodless revolution in France which in 1830 caused the abdication of the French King Charles X. and the accession of his cousin of Orleans, Louis Philippe, as a "Constitutional" King. It was evident that some measure of Reform would have to be introduced by the new Parliament. Wellington, however, did not yet realise the situation. He declared his conviction that the country was satisfied with the existing system, and that no one could devise anything to improve it. It became abundantly clear that his position was untenable; the clamour of Reform associations all over the country gave a decisive answer to the Duke's speech; the ministry resigned when defeated on a side issue; and the Whig leader, Lord Grey, became Prime Minister, with a cabinet consisting of Whigs and Canningites. On March 1st, 1831, the Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, by Lord John Russell.

Parliamentary Representation.

In the year 1830, the whole government of the country was practically in the hands of a few families. The Peers not only had their own chamber; by the possession of "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs, one or another of them could nominate a very large proportion of the members of the Commons' House also. They might be Tories, or they might be Whigs—but the members for these boroughs represented not any body of electors, but the owner of the borough. The abolition of pocket boroughs would mean that the landed aristocracy would lose its almost exclusive control of government. Next, the existing

limitations of the franchise, varying in different places, restricted the power of voting in many constituencies to a very small number of persons, opening a fruitful field of corruption. Next, there was no sort of proportion between the size of constituencies and the number of members they returned. The number of electors sending a member to Westminster might be 2 and might be 50,000. Thus a remedy was required for (1) excessive influence of the landed aristocracy, (2) corruption, (3) excessive difference in the size of constituencies, (4) lack of uniformity in the qualification for voting; to which may be added the fifth point that, in order to make the House of Commons representative of the country, the lowest existing qualification required to be lowered, so as to give a voice in elections to classes which at present were excluded altogether. The opposition to reform rested (1) on the conviction of the governing classes that any diminution of their own influence would send the country to ruin, (2) on the objection of corrupt electorates to losing the bribes on which they flourished, (3) on the belief that uniformity is an evil in itself, and (4) on the belief that any extension of the franchise gives the vote to classes who are not fit to form a judgment on political questions. This last question, however, of extending the franchise so as to create new classes of voters, hardly as yet presented itself—except among the extreme Radical wing—as belonging to practical politics.

Need of Reform.

The Bill was introduced to disfranchise the rotten boroughs, and give members to a corresponding number of new constituencies. It passed the second reading in the Commons by one vote only. In Committee, when details are discussed, the Government were not secure of a majority at all. Parliament was dissolved; the appeal to the country produced a sweeping Reform majority. This time, the second reading gave a majority of 136: then, after long struggles over details, the majority for the third reading was 109 (Sept. 23). The Bill went up to the Lords, who threw it out on the first reading. This was a direct defiance of the Commons, and of the sentiment of the nation which had elected the Commons in order to get the Bill. The Commons passed a vote of confidence in the ministers, who refused to resign or to dissolve. The country broke out into riots, and gatherings met when incendiary and revolutionary language was used. The Bill was introduced again in the Commons on Dec. 12; on March 23 it had passed through all its stages in the Lower House. Some of the Peers had now taken fright, and they passed the second reading in April. The Easter holidays

1831. The Bill and the Peers.

1832. The Bill passed.

caused some delay, which was used by the supporters of the Bill in organising mass meetings; but its opponents in the Upper House had also been active, and in Committee a motion was carried which in effect killed the Bill. Lord Grey called upon the King to create a sufficient number of Whig Peers to secure a majority; the King refused, and the ministry resigned. Wellington attempted to form a ministry with a programme of limited Reform; but a revolutionary rising seemed imminent, and the army could not be trusted. Wellington failed. The King had to recall Grey and to let it be known that unless the Lords gave way, the majority would be swamped by a creation of Whig Peers. The Duke saw that continued resistance might mean civil war and would certainly mean that the character of the Peerage would be changed by a great addition to its numbers. Headed by him, a hundred peers withdrew from the House, and left it to pass the Bill.

Details of the Bill.

The great Reform Bill, thus passed in 1832, went a long way towards removing the four abuses. The rotten or pocket boroughs, of which there had been 56, returning 111 members, were abolished: 30 more boroughs were allowed only one member instead of two. The county representation was increased by 65 members; 22 new boroughs with two members and 21 with one member were created: eight more members were given to Scotland and five to Ireland. The county franchise was made uniform, with a property qualification; the borough franchise was made uniform also, all "Ten-pound householders" being qualified to vote. The representation of Scotland and Ireland was reformed on similar lines. The general effect was to transfer the balance of political power from the aristocracy and the landowners to the manufacturers and the middle classes.

In December the Parliament was dissolved; and in January, 1833, the first Reformed Parliament met, the Conservatives numbering less than a third of the House of Commons.

1830. Railways.

This political Revolution—for it was nothing less—was almost contemporaneous with another change, no less momentous to industry and commerce. The first great railway for carrying traffic by steam-traction was opened between Manchester and Liverpool in 1830. In a few years, a net-work of railways was spread over the country, superseding the coaches, horse-waggons, and canal-barges of the past. The enormous increase in the quantity of goods which could be carried and in the rapidity with which they could be conveyed, quickly revolutionised the industrial conditions not only of Britain but of all the civilised world.

The Reformed Parliament with its great Liberal majority—the terms Liberal and Conservative now take the place of Whig and Tory—set out on a further series of reforms. The year 1833 saw the emancipation of all slaves throughout the British dominions—the logical outcome of the abolition of the slave trade. £20,000,000 were cheerfully voted to compensate the slave-owners in the colonies. In the same year, in the face of much resistance, the first Act was passed regulating the work of children in factories; none under nine years of age might be employed; women and "young persons" —*i.e.* those under eighteen—might not be employed for more than twelve hours. It is somewhat appalling to think that such an Act was ever needed—and hardly less so to know that it was bitterly opposed not only by the manufacturers who lost so much cheap labour, but by the parents of the wretched little wage-earners. They did not see that the change would mean that there would be more work for grown up men to do, more demand for their labour, and therefore higher wages. Nor did some of the manufacturers see that it would mean better work, and therefore in the long run larger profits for themselves.

1833. Slavery abolished.

The Factory Act.

In 1834 the Poor Law was taken in hand, and the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed. The existing system provided outdoor relief paid out of the rates, in proportion to the size of the family, for every labourer whose wages were insufficient for maintenance. The result was that farmers paid very low wages and very high rates, while labourers accepted low wages and made up the deficiency by parish relief. The new Act abolished the relief for able-bodied workmen; the rates went down and wages went up. Parishes were combined into "Unions," and the "Union" workhouse remained to receive the decrepit; the able-bodied received relief only in return for work. There was an outcry on the part of sentimentalists, but the effect of the measure was a great if gradual improvement both in the material condition and in the self-respect of the labouring class. Nevertheless, at the outset, much hardship was inflicted on those who had been in the habit of receiving relief; discontent increased instead of diminishing, and in the early years of the ensuing reign took the form of Chartism.

1834. Poor Law Reform.

While the Bill was passing through Parliament, Lord Grey resigned, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord Melbourne, one of the group who had been supporters of Canning. Ireland was greatly disturbed by the agitation for "Repeal"—*i.e.* the repeal of the Union—and by that known as

1834—5. Ministerial changes.

the Tithe War, for a redistribution of the endowments of the Irish Church, the Church of a Protestant minority maintained at the cost of a community mainly Romanist. This matter, and the coercive measures adopted for the repression of agitation, caused the dissensions in the cabinet which led to Grey's resignation. A few months later the King dismissed Melbourne. In December, Peel—now Sir Robert—formed an administration, and dissolved Parliament; but the Conservatives were still much in the minority in the new House. In April (1835) Melbourne had to be recalled. He remained in office for six years. The only Parliamentary measure we need notice, before the death of William IV. in June, 1837, is the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, based on the principles of the great Reform Bill. The local government of the towns was in the hands of close corporations, with no popular elections, and in no sense representing either the intelligence, the property, or the general interests of the local community. The Act provided that the government should be in the hands of a Town Council elected by the whole body of ratepayers who had been resident in the district for three years. Thus Local Government as well as Parliamentary Government was placed under the immediate control of the middle classes.

1835. Municipal Reform.

§ 3. *Foreign, Indian, and Colonial affairs*, 1828—1837.

A few words remain to be said as to Foreign, Colonial, and Indian affairs during the years between 1828 and 1837.

After Navarino, the British Government, guided by the Duke of Wellington, withdrew from active interference in the Eastern troubles, and Russia was left to manage Turkey; which she did by attacking the Ottoman Empire. The result was that the independence of Greece was acknowledged in 1829. It was not till 1832 that a King was found, in the person of the Bavarian Prince Otto, for the new State. In 1830 the Revolution in France, which placed Louis Philippe on the throne, gave an impulse to the movement of small nationalities to freeing themselves from foreign dominion, and of constitutional or democratic parties to resist absolutist rulers. Belgium, which the Powers had thought fit to yoke to Holland in 1815, obtained her separation from that country, partly through the joint intervention of the British and of Louis Philippe. The crown of Belgium was accepted by Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (1831). In Portugal, the dynastic struggle between the constitutional Queen and her absolutist uncle was brought to an

1828—1837. Foreign affairs.

end in favour of the former; and in Italy there began risings against foreign rulers which were suppressed at the time, but later issued in the series of revolts which finally for the first time made Italy a single nation under a single government. Of more direct importance to us was the development in the mind of Palmerston, who was generally in charge of the Foreign Office, of a lively jealousy of Russian policy in the Black Sea—which afterwards led to the Crimean War—and in Central Asia; where from that day to this the Russian advance has demanded the constant attention of every Indian statesman.

India. In India itself there was peace, the British Government devoting itself to great administrative reforms within its dominions. Notable among these were the land-settlement of the North-West Provinces, the introduction of a great educational system, and the suppression of the barbarous practices of Suttee and Thuggee. Suttee refers to the custom of Hindu wives being burned (as a voluntary act of religious self-devotion or dedication on their part) on the husband's death. Thuggee was the great murder-organisation of the Thugs, a hereditary caste whose members it was exceedingly difficult to discover, who made away with an immense number of victims annually—as a rule by strangulation. The great difficulty in suppressing the Thugs was due to the popular superstition which regarded them as being under the protection of the bloodthirsty goddess who was their tutelary deity.

The Cape. The Australasian Colonies had not yet progressed far enough to demand our attention. But the seeds of future troubles were being sown in South Africa, where we had taken Cape Colony from the Dutch during the Napoleonic War, and had retained possession at its close, paying compensation to Holland. The population however consisted mainly of Dutch, who had enjoyed self-government in the past and resented having their traditional ideas and institutions set aside by the foreign authority imposed upon them. The abolition of slavery was the last straw; immediately after it began the great "Trek" or migration beyond what was recognised as British territory. In course of time those Dutchmen and their sons were to form the Boer States.

Canada. Finally, in Canada the settlement of 1791 had proved thoroughly successful for many years, and Canadian loyalty had been conspicuous in the American War of 1812. But there too the demand for self-government was growing, and in 1837 assumed the form of active resistance to the Government. How those troubles were dealt with is matter for a later chapter.

BOOK VI.

THE VICTORIAN ERA.

1837—1901.

CHAPTER XLI.

MIDDLE-CLASS RULE (i): 1837—1853.

§ 1. *Lord Melbourne*, 1837—1841.

Queen Victoria.

GEORGE III. had been succeeded by his eldest son, who left no children. The second son, the Duke of York, died, likewise leaving no children, before George IV., who was consequently succeeded by the third brother, William IV. William's heir on the British throne was the young Princess Victoria, the daughter of the next brother, the Duke of Kent. Her accession at last severed Hanover from Britain, since in Hanover the law of male succession prevailed; so that the German State, with which we had been connected for more than a hundred years, passed to the new British Queen's eldest surviving uncle, the Duke of Cumberland.

No political changes marked Victoria's accession. But she was destined to reign for a longer period than any previous monarch of these islands, and to prove herself a model for constitutional rulers. Hence there is a distinguishing unity about the whole period of her rule, which justifies us in speaking and writing of it as a distinct era. Her personality has set its stamp on the Constitution, although her political influence did not take the form of an active exercise of political power.

The direction of public affairs remained for four years in the hands of Lord Melbourne and his Whig or Canningite colleagues; and his wise guidance and advice did much towards moulding the mind of the young Queen and training her in the duties of the very

difficult position to which she had been called. As her personal counsellor, his services to the nation were very great; great also were those rendered by his successor in that position, Albert of Saxe-Coburg, the Prince Consort, who was married to Victoria in 1840.

The Ministry.

Melbourne's ministry however was not a strong one; it was faced with many difficulties, and was not very successful in dealing with them. There were troubles on the north-west frontier of India, and in Canada, with which we shall deal in another section of this chapter; only noting here that to this Government falls the credit of passing the Canadian Act of Reunion in 1840. In foreign affairs, the activity of the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, who was practically allowed a free hand, maintained British prestige. Palmerston had fixed upon Russian ambitions, both in the near East and in Central Asia, as the great source of danger, and on the maintenance of Turkey as an essential check thereon; it became a prime object with him to prevent the domination of Turkey by Russia.

1839. Mehemet Ali.

In 1839 the Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, resolved to establish a Power independent of Turkey in Egypt and Syria. He defeated the Turkish forces sent to bring him into subjection; and there was every likelihood that Russia would step in and obtain control of the situation. The rest of the European Powers agreed that the question was one for united Europe to settle; but, acting nominally in concert with them—France alone remaining in opposition—Palmerston succeeded in striking at Mehemet Ali in Syria before any of the other Powers moved effectively. Russia's chance of posing as Turkey's friend and protector was destroyed; and at the same time a severe defeat was administered to French diplomacy, which had aimed at the establishment of the Egyptian Power under French influence. Under the treaty which followed, it was agreed that no war-ships of any of the Powers should be allowed to pass through the Dardanelles and the Bosporus.

Ireland.

At home, however, the Reform Act had not settled the social and industrial troubles, and Catholic Emancipation had not brought peace to Ireland. The Whigs or Liberals were in fact almost paralysed by what was to remain a fixed feature of Government throughout the whole era—the presence of a permanent Conservative majority in the House of Peers, which could whittle down into insignificance, if it did not totally reject, any measures which were not supported by an overwhelming force of public opinion. And among the classes who possessed the franchise, there

was certainly no overwhelming public opinion in favour of governing Ireland according to the ideas of the Irish popular leaders, or of placing political control in England in the hands of the classes to whom the franchise had not been extended.

Thus the Government were allowed to pass an Act for Ireland on the lines of the English Poor Law; which, however valuable, was exceedingly unpopular with the labouring classes in England, and was not less unpopular in Ireland. But their attempt to deal with the Tithe question was cut down into the commutation of tithes into a permanent rent-charge, which did not really touch the grievance. So O'Connell continued to clamour for the repeal of the Union; and Irish discontent continued to grow.

Chartism.

On the other hand, in England industrial legislation had passed mainly into the hands of the manufacturing class, who believed that the concession to the working classes of what they were now demanding as rights would put an end to commercial prosperity. In 1838 the popular discontent took shape under the name of "Chartism"—the demand for the "six points" laid down in the "People's Charter" drawn up by their leaders. These were: universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, abolition of a property qualification for members of Parliament, equal electoral districts, and payment of members. Men could not be disabused of the conviction that, when they were possessed of political power, the millennium would follow. The ruling classes were equally confident that the result would not be the millennium but chaos. For ten years the labouring classes continued in a state of ferment, while their rulers, of every political party, turned a deaf ear to their demands.

One minor episode of the Melbourne administration requires notice.

The Bedchamber Question.

In 1839 serious disturbances in Jamaica led the Government to propose that the existing Constitution of the colony should be suspended, and control temporarily placed in the hands of a Governor with a small Council. The proposal was carried in the House of Commons by so small a majority that Melbourne resigned. Peel, as leader of the Opposition, was invited to form a Cabinet. He undertook the task; but, seeing that the ladies in attendance on the Queen—the "ladies of the Bedchamber"—were members of Whig families, and judging that their influence with the Queen would be used to counteract his own, Peel insisted that they should be dismissed, as a condition of his taking office. The Queen was advised that ministers had no constitutional right to make such a demand. She refused; Peel would not give way; and the Melbourne Cabinet was recalled. At a later stage a

repetition of the difficulty was evaded by the voluntary resignation of the ladies whose position had been in question.

In 1841 the Cabinet found itself too weak to maintain its position, and dissolved. The general election resulted in the return of a Conservative majority, and Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister.

§ 2. *Sir Robert Peel and Free Trade*, 1842—1846.

We have seen that the Chartists sought to relieve the misery and poverty of the labouring classes by giving them political power: but at the time, the Chartist programme was one which no responsible politician was prepared to accept. The causes at the root of the evil were not nearly so much political as economic. The most fervid of Protectionists to-day has no sort of desire to go back to the Protectionist conditions of 1842. Huskisson had moved in the direction of Free Trade by the reduction of some duties: but there were still considerably more than 1000 imported articles on which heavy duties had to be paid; notably, there was the tax on imported corn. This had been modified by Huskisson's "sliding scale," which regulated the amount of the tax by the price of home-grown corn, so that foreign-grown corn could not compete in price with that grown in England. A great deal of the land which was under wheat in England could not possibly pay, unless the price of wheat was so high that the price of bread must be very high: and the sliding scale always kept the price of foreign corn higher than the price which the British farmer required, to make a profit out of his most expensively-grown crops. Thus the landowners and farmers —the "agricultural interest"—were naturally opposed to any measures which would force down the price of British corn by lowering that of foreign corn. On the other hand, the manufacturers were realising that if corn, and consequently bread, were cheaper, the working-man could live on smaller wages; while the working-men's friends were reckoning that wages could be prevented from falling to the same extent as the price of bread, and that the distress of the labouring classes would therefore be alleviated. But in no case could the cheapening of bread injure either the working-man or the manufacturer. The philanthropic and the selfish manufacturers, as well as the working-men, were consequently beginning to clamour for a reduction of the corn-duties; and in 1838 the Anti-Corn-Law League had already been formed, with Richard Cobden as its great apostle. The Melbourne Ministry when it fell had already taken up the idea; but the Conservatives,

The Corn Laws.

Anti-Corn-Law League.

among whom the agricultural interest carried great weight, had defeated them; and Peel was the Conservative leader.

The Budget of 1842.

In other respects, however, Peel was not committed to a Protectionist policy; and his first budget in 1842 was a marked advance along the lines initiated by Huskisson. He reduced about two-thirds of the duties laid on imports; especially on raw materials, and to a less extent on partly manufactured goods; which cheapened production for British manufacturers. At the same time, he made up for the anticipated loss to the revenue, by imposing an Income Tax, to be maintained for three years, of sevenpence in the pound. His own conviction was that this would only be a temporary burden—that the normal revenue from indirect taxes would soon overtake the normal expenditure of government. But as a matter of fact, revenue never has so far overtaken expenditure as to permit the removal of the Income Tax. With regard to the Corn-Laws he proposed nothing more than a revision of the sliding scale; whereas the official Whig remedy had been an unvarying duty fixed comparatively low.

It was evident, however, that Peel's mind was steadily moving in the direction of complete conversion to the doctrines of Free Trade—of buying in the cheapest market without restriction. His budget three years later went very much farther in the reduction of duties on imports, abolished those on exports, and renewed the Income Tax; though still with the hope that the reduction of duties would in the long run, by lowering prices, bring about such an increase in the demand that the revenue from customs would be rather increased than diminished. The budget was carried, in spite of vehement opposition from a very large section of Peel's own party; who considered that Peel was proving false to his colours, and stigmatised the Government as an "organised hypocrisy." Then in the course of the year, Ireland was visited by a potato-famine. There was a frightful mortality from sheer starvation. At last Peel made up his mind that a cheap food-supply was a necessity—not merely to meet an emergency, which was generally recognised, but as a permanency. In December, 1845, he declared himself in favour of the repeal of the Corn-Laws, and resigned office; the principle just announced being in contradiction to that on which he had taken office four years before. The Whig leader, however—Lord John Russell—was unable to form a ministry, and Peel resumed office. In 1846 the further reduction or abolition of numerous import duties was carried; and finally, with the solid support of the Liberals, and

The Budget of 1845.

1846. Repeal of the Corn-Laws.

in the teeth of virulent opposition from the Protectionist Conservatives, headed by Lord George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli, Peel's Corn Bill was passed. It provided for the disappearance, at the end of three years, of all but a fixed duty of one shilling on corn.

Meanwhile, Peel's economic legislation had been attended by some improvement in the condition of the working classes: and in 1844 a Factory Act had placed further restrictions on the employment of children and "young persons," and also on that of women. But in Ireland, disaffection and agitation had been increasing. The popular leader, Daniel O'Connell, consistently set his face against the employment of physical force; but there were others who would not be held in check. Organised crimes of violence became so alarmingly frequent that in 1846—while the Corn Bill was going through the Commons—the Government introduced in the House of Lords a Coercion Bill for Ireland; giving the Lord-Lieutenant power to "proclaim" a disturbed district, and forbidding anyone in such a district to be out of doors between sunset and sunrise. The Bill passed readily enough through the Upper House; but in the Commons the Liberals opposed it. On May 15th the Corn Bill was passed in the House of Commons; on the 28th the Duke of Wellington secured the passage of the second reading through the House of Lords. The Protectionists in the Commons were furious at what they regarded as their betrayal by the Conservative chiefs; they turned against the Coercion Bill—which they had been eager to force through before the Corn Bill, as a matter of urgency—and joined the Liberals in throwing it out on June 9th. Peel resigned: but the Corn Bill was already Law. The minister had split his party irretrievably. It was no longer possible for the Peelites to work with the Protectionists; in course of time—but not immediately—they were to coalesce with the Liberals. Most notable, though not as yet most prominent, of the Peelite group was William Ewart Gladstone; as the most notable, though not as yet the chief, of the other party, was his life-long rival Benjamin Disraeli.

The Irish Coercion Bill.

Peel Resigns.

The years of Peel's administration are also noteworthy on account of ecclesiastical matters both in England and Scotland. In England, what is called the Tractarian or Oxford movement was attracting much attention; through its endeavour to give fresh life to the National Church by insisting on sundry doctrines which had passed out of the ordinary teaching of the clergy. To their opponents this savoured of an attempt to carry the English Church back to the Romanist fold: the more so when some of the

The Tractarians.

leaders, notably John Henry Newman, in 1845, felt themselves impelled actually to join the Roman communion. In Scotland, 1843 witnessed the great "Disruption." The question at issue was one not of theology but of Church government—whether the congregations should have the right of rejecting the ministers selected by the patrons of livings. The point of law was carried to the House of Lords, the highest legal tribunal of the United Kingdom, and was decided in favour of the patrons; whereupon there was an immense secession of ministers, with their congregations, from the established Church; resulting in the formation of the Free Church. The secession involved immense self-sacrifice on the part of a large number of the seceders.

The "Disruption" in Scotland.

§ 3. *From Peel to Aberdeen*, 1846—1852.

On Peel's resignation, the task of Government was transferred to the Liberals under the leadership of Lord John Russell; an arrangement made possible only by the effective support given to the ministry by the Peelites. Next year, however (1847), a general election considerably increased the strength of the avowed ministerialists. Before this the distress in Ireland, and the disaffection which usually accompanied increased distress, were intensified by a second and still more destructive potato-famine. Honest efforts were made to relieve the starving peasantry. Nevertheless, the standing grievances were embittered by suffering, and bred political sedition and agrarian crime. These were met by repressive measures, which in turn strengthened the underlying animosity of the Irish people to the British rule.

Irish Distress.

In England, a new Factory Act made further restrictions on the employment of young persons; in spite of the argument that such limitations interfered with "freedom of contract": and in the same year a grant was obtained for educational purposes, which may be regarded as the real beginning of education under the direction of the State. In 1848, the Chartist agitation, which had recently been vigorously renewed, reached its climax—and collapsed. A monster petition was sent up, and a vast procession was to march into London; there was much alarm lest there should be an attempt at armed revolution. Numbers of special constables were enrolled, while troops—under the direction of the old Duke of Wellington—were unostentatiously disposed in such a manner that the processionists would have been promptly annihilated if they had broken out into violence. The leaders realised

The Chartist Fiasco.

then, if they had not done so before, that they could not terrorise the authorities; the supposed thunder-cloud simply dissolved itself. Yet to-day, two of the "six points" have been law for many years; we have nearly reached manhood suffrage; and if practical politicians look upon the two remaining points as injudicious, no one regards them as revolutionary.

In fact, whatever the causes, the condition of the working classes had improved enormously during the decade, and there was far less revolutionary feeling in Great Britain than in most continental countries. In France, at the beginning of 1848, the rule of Louis Philippe was quite suddenly and quietly overturned, and a Republic constituted. Directly afterwards the Italians rose against the rule of the Austrian monarchy; the Hungarians, headed by Kossuth, did likewise; all over Germany, Princes and Kings found themselves compelled to concede constitutional reforms; but in England nothing more serious occurred than the Chartist affair. British sympathy was almost entirely on the side of these movements.

The year of Revolutions.

Lord Palmerston, at the head of the Foreign Office, maintained his old practice of asserting British rights, and the rights of British subjects abroad, in a very uncompromising manner, without consulting his colleagues or the Crown to the extent which constitutional usage demands. He instructed British envoys to tender to the Courts of Europe advice which, in the eyes of those Courts, promoted the revolutionary movement. He sent the British fleet to blockade the Piraeus (the port of Athens, the capital of the recently constituted Greek kingdom) in order to enforce compensation for injuries suffered by a certain Don Pacifico, a British subject from Gibraltar; and he permitted himself to express his sympathies with the Hungarian leader, Kossuth—technically, a rebel against the Austrian Emperor, the ally of Britain—thereby committing a grave breach of international etiquette. As a result (1850), the Queen sent him a memorandum, requiring that the Crown should be kept fully informed of any steps he intended to take, and of any changes he designed after such information had been given. Palmerston however did not resign, and the Government gave him an opportunity of defending his principles in a speech which carried the House and the country with him. Yet the next year he again committed the indiscretion of recognising the *coup d'état*, by which the President of the French Republic—Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great Buonaparte—made himself "President for life." In Dec. 1852, Napoleon followed this up by assuming the Imperial dignity under

Palmerston.

the title of Napoleon III. Palmerston, however, in this case, had gone too far. Lord John Russell demanded his resignation; and shortly afterwards Palmerston took his revenge by heading a successful attack upon the ministry which drove it from office (Feb. 1852).

Fall of the Ministry.

For the rest of the year, the Conservatives ruled under the leadership of Lord Derby and Disraeli; but they were not strong enough to maintain their position; and in December, after a general election, a coalition was formed between the Liberals and the Peelites. The Peelite Lord Aberdeen became Prime Minister, with Russell as Foreign Secretary and Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer: Palmerston again joining the Cabinet as Home Secretary.

Here, before passing on, we must note the opening in 1851 of the first great International Exhibition of Industries; which was held in Hyde Park, in the great "Crystal" palace, designed by Paxton, and afterwards set up at Sydenham. We must record also the death, in 1850, of Sir Robert Peel; and in 1852 of the great Duke. With the exception of Marlborough, Wellington was the greatest soldier to whom Britain has given birth; in 1815 he was the greatest figure in Europe. At that time he proved himself to be possessed of high qualities of statesmanship; but they were not such as fitted him for a Parliamentary chief. As minister, he fought a stubborn fight and effected an honourable retreat in the days of the Reform Bill. After that he was never at the head of an administration; but he was wise and weighty in counsel, and men of all parties held him in honour, esteem, and reverence which did not diminish. And when he died, he was buried "to the noise of the mourning of a mighty nation."

Death of the Duke.

§ 4. *The Colonies and India*, 1837—1852.

Meanwhile, since the close of the reign of William IV., events of importance had been taking place in the Empire beyond the seas.

There were two Canadas: Lower Canada with a population largely French; Upper Canada, where there was little division of races. But, in both, the Government was in the hands of officials, partly appointed from home, partly taken from a few families which had secured an influential position. In both colonies, there was an active demand for much larger powers of self-government: and the discontent in 1837 became so acute that, in both, the Reformers and the Loyalists took up arms. The rising, generally known as Papineau's Insurrection, from its leader in the

Canada.

Lower Province, was suppressed without much difficulty. It was felt, however, that a reorganisation was necessary, and the Melbourne Ministry sent out Lord Durham as High Commissioner to take over temporary control and devise measures so as to establish a more satisfactory system.

Lord Durham's policy.

Lord Durham exceeded his powers as Governor, and was soon recalled; but the Report which he prepared was made the basis for a new Constitution embodied in the Act of Reunion of 1840. The extension of self-government, and the removal of distinctions which tended to keep up a race-antagonism between French and British, were the great principles at the bottom of the new scheme. The result was that the two provinces were united with a single legislature (consisting of an elected Assembly and a Legislative Council) so as to foster the idea of a single nationality. The powers of this Assembly were much increased, while the Legislative Council—consisting of Government nominees—was enlarged so that its members were chosen from a wider area; the Administration, which hitherto had been responsible to the Governor (as in England it had been responsible to the Crown before the accession of William III.), was made responsible to the Parliament (as it had become in England since that time). It may be said that the Report of Lord Durham has practically been the basis of the policy by which the British Government has sought to establish the maximum of self-government in all the greater colonies.

South Africa.

In South Africa the Dutch in 1836 had "trekked" beyond what were regarded as the limits of Cape Colony, in order to free themselves from British control. A portion of them had established themselves in what is now Natal; but in 1842 the British took possession of the district, and most of the Dutch again trekked to join their compatriots beyond the Orange and Vaal rivers, with their animosity towards the British increased. In 1852 and 1854 respectively the British acknowledged the independence of the two Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. It was not till 1853 that representative government was introduced in Cape Colony; but for some years longer (till 1872) the Executive continued to be responsible not to the Colonial Parliament but to the Crown.

Australasia.

During the same period, the organisation of the settlements in Australasia progressed so far that they gradually ceased to be employed as a dumping-ground for convicts; representative government was introduced in New South Wales in 1842. The discovery of the Australian gold-fields gave such an impetus to the activity of these colonies that, in 1854, four of them were granted

Constitutions; which in effect converted them into responsible self-governing colonies, with—for the first time—the right of regulating their own taxation, even to the extent of imposing duties on imports from the Mother-country. This, however, carries us into the period of the Aberdeen administration, whose career at home we have not yet entered upon.

In India, too, momentous events were taking place during the first fifteen years of Queen Victoria's reign.

India: The north-west.

On the north-west of India, the whole of the territories watered by the Indus and its tributaries were beyond British control; the southern part forming the Sindh confederacy, the northern constituting the Panjab or Lahore State under the sway of the Sikhs. Beyond the mountains lay Afghanistan, beyond Afghanistan Persia, and beyond Persia Russia. The ruler of the Panjab was friendly to the British: Dost Mohammed, the principal ruler in Afghanistan, preferred the British to the Russians: Persia had been allowed to fall under Russian influence. About the time of Victoria's accession, Persia, relying on Russian support, was full of aggressive schemes. Half the Mohammedan world recognised the Shah as its religious head. The idea was that Persia should first absorb Afghanistan, and then call the Mohammedans of India to arms; in order to oust the British, and once more to substitute for their rule a great Mohammedan supremacy. After which Russia would have something to say.

In 1837 Persia invaded Afghanistan and besieged Herat; which held out stubbornly and successfully, under the direction of an English subaltern, Eldred Pottinger, who happened to be there. The Persian attempt failed; but the Indian government realised the advisability of establishing British influence in Afghanistan. Instead, however, of accepting the overtures of Dost Mohammed, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, resolved to restore a previous ruler, Shah Shuja, who had been long resident in British territory as an exile. British troops overcame the resistance of Dost Mohammed's followers; Shah Shuja was reinstated, British troops were placed in cantonments at Kabul and garrisoned Kandahar; and presently Dost Mohammed surrendered himself, and was withdrawn into British territory. Then, at the end of 1841, came disaster. The British Resident, Macnaghten, misjudged native sentiment; the British General at Kabul was quite incompetent; the cantonments were without proper means of defence. The Afghans rose; the British at Kabul agreed to retire on ignominious terms; Macnaghten was murdered, and the British were treacherously cut to pieces while retiring. At Kandahar, however,

The Afghan War.

the position was maintained, and also at the frontier post of Jellalabad in the Khyber pass. By the summer of 1842, Kabul was once more in the hands of the British; the blunder of Lord Auckland's policy was recognised by his successor Lord Ellenborough; Dost Mohammed was restored, as our ally; and the British occupation came to an end.

Sindh and Gwalior.

British prestige had suffered terribly by the disaster. To a certain extent it was restored by the brilliant victory of Miani, whereby in 1843 Sir Charles Napier accomplished the annexation of Sindh. But Sindh is the single instance in India of the seizure of territory without our having met with such persistent provocation and defiance as to leave no other course open. Consequently it created great alarm and suspicion of British intentions throughout the states which were still independent or semi-independent. At the end of the year, the rulers at Gwalior—the capital of one of the Maratha principalities—defied the British and were crushed in the very brief but sharp campaign of Maharajpur.

The first Sikh War.

But for this successful campaign, the British would have been in great danger, from having a hostile army on their flank, in the very serious struggle in which, two years later, we became involved with the Sikhs of the Panjab. During the earlier years of the century, the great Maharajah Ranjit Singh had organised the Panjab into a great military State. He himself had studiously avoided any collision with the British; but after he died in 1839, the government fell into a condition of anarchy, the real power lying in the hands of the "Khalsa," the army which he had organised. At the end of 1845, the Khalsa resolved to make a bid for Empire, and advanced in force across the river Satlej. British troops were hurried forward to meet them. There was a sharp engagement with their advance guard at Mudki; then a desperate struggle at Firozshah, where for a time it was doubtful whether the British would escape annihilation, though the Sikhs ultimately retired. On Feb. 10th, 1846, just two months after the Sikhs had crossed the Satlej, the campaign was decided, and the Sikhs were vanquished in another furious conflict at Sobraon. A praiseworthy attempt was made to recognise the government of the Panjab as an independent State; though it was placed under the control of British officials—notably Henry Lawrence—till the young Maharajah Dhulip Singh should be of age to assume real authority.

Second Sikh War.

In 1848 Lord Dalhousie became Governor-General; and he had hardly landed when the southern Panjab was again in revolt. In the view of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord

Gough, nothing short of a large army of invasion would suffice to prevent disaster. While the invasion was being organised, the revolt spread. By the time Gough crossed the Satlej in November, the whole Sikh nation was in arms. Again, after a hot skirmish at Ramnagar and an engagement at Sadulapur, there was a desperate struggle at Chillianwalla, where the British remained masters of the field; but the Sikhs fell back on a very strong position where they could not be attacked (Jan. 13). In February, however, they attempted an aggressive movement on Lahore; but were intercepted at Gujerat where they met with a final and quite decisive defeat.

Dalhousie's Annexations.

After this, hardly a voice was raised against annexation as the only possible course. The Panjab was organised as a new British Province under the administration of Henry and John Lawrence; Henry being withdrawn after a time, while John remained in supreme control.

In the same year, the Maratha state of Satara was annexed; on the principle that it had lapsed to the Supreme Government by the failure of heirs by blood. The Raja had adopted an heir, in accordance with custom; but without the sanction of the British Government, which was legally requisite. This principle, of annexation consequent upon the refusal to sanction adoption, was the one on which Dalhousie habitually acted; whereas his predecessors had rarely done so. Thus during his rule, vast dominions were absorbed under direct British control; besides his two military conquests. Of these, the Panjab annexation has been described. The other was that of Pegu, beyond the bay of Bengal; which was annexed in consequence of a war forced upon Dalhousie (1852) by the persistent defiance of the Government of Burma, of which Pegu was a province.

CHAPTER XLII.

MIDDLE-CLASS RULE (ii): 1853—1868.

§ 1. *The Aberdeen Ministry, and the Crimean War*, 1852—1857.

The great Exhibition of 1851 was to have inaugurated an era of universal peace and amity among the nations. The ministry which took office at the end of 1852 found itself obliged fifteen months later, in alliance with France and Turkey, to declare war upon Russia.

Turkey.

The Tsar had made up his own mind that the Ottoman Empire could not be held together—that Turkey was a "very sick man," and that it would be well to settle, before the sick man died, how his estate was to be divided. To persuade Britain to adopt this view, he suggested that when the time came she should take Egypt and Crete. Britain declined; the Powers, with the exception of Russia, were agreed that the Ottoman Empire must be maintained in its integrity.

France and Russia.

In France, the "Prince-President" of the Republic, Louis Napoleon, had just been declared Emperor under the title of Napoleon III., and was on the look out for a chance of achieving military glory, or at least of asserting the importance of France in the world; he saw an opportunity, in opposing the designs of Russia. For there was a keen rivalry among the Christians in the East between the "Greek" and "Latin" churches; each of which claimed for itself privileges in connexion with the sacred places in Palestine. France had constantly posed as the protector of the Latins, and Russia as that of the Greeks; while the Turks tried to conciliate both parties, and satisfied neither. In 1853, a concession to the Romanists gave the Tsar his opportunity for bringing pressure to bear on the Turks, by claiming to be officially recognised as protector of the "Greek" Christians in the Turkish Empire. The quarrel between Greeks and Latins was in itself of no

consequence to Britain; but the domination of Russia mattered no less to her than to France. Thus France and Britain were in concert, in supporting Turkey's refusal to accede to the Russian demands. To enforce them, Russia, about midsummer, occupied the northern Provinces of Turkey beyond the Danube. Austria and Prussia gave the two Western Powers diplomatic support; but these latter committed themselves to an attitude so hostile to Russia that the others felt they could leave the fighting—if there was to be fighting—to them. In October, the French and British fleets entered the Dardanelles. A few days later, Turkey declared war on Russia; Russia announced that she would not advance against Turkey. The Turks crossed the Danube; and on Nov. 30th the Russians destroyed a Turkish squadron in the harbour of Sinope. Thereupon, the allied fleets entered the Black Sea; before the end of March, England and France had declared war on Russia; and, soon after, their troops were assembling at Varna, on the coast half-way between Constantinople and the mouth of the Danube.

Approach of Hostilities.

War declared, 1854.

Meanwhile the Turks, single handed, held the Russians completely in check. Before the end of June, the Russians, who had set about the siege of Silistria, on the Danube, had fallen back; Austria was threatening to intervene. At this stage, not content with the practical certainty that the Tsar must withdraw his demands and come to reasonable terms, the British ministry and the French Government resolved to strike a decisive blow; to put an end finally to all danger from the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, to invade the Crimea, and to seize Sevastopol.

But it was not till the middle of September that the allied troops were landed on the Crimean peninsula, at Eupatoria, 30 miles north of Sevastopol. A sudden blow might have been immediately decisive; but neither British nor French forces had been organised so as to strike with the necessary promptitude; and in the interval, the enemy's preparations for defence had been progressing. A Russian army now lay between the allies and Sevastopol. On Sept. 20th was fought the battle of the Alma; in which the British and French, not without heavy losses, finally succeeded in driving their opponents from the field. The Russian commander Menschikoff withdrew into the interior with his main army; leaving in Sevastopol a garrison which mostly consisted of the sailors of the fleet; the ships themselves he had caused to be sunk in the mouth of the harbour, so as to make the entry of the allied squadrons impossible.

The Crimea invaded (Sept.).

Now the essential idea of the Sevastopol expedition was promptitude, the dealing of a sudden decisive blow: the allied armies not being organised for a prolonged campaign. But the allies suffered from a divided command. After the Alma, a rapid advance of the French, whose troops were comparatively fresh, should have broken up Menschikoff's force; but the French did not advance. Again, when the armies marched on Sevastopol, the French, not realising the weakness of the defences, would not agree to an immediate assault. French and British together were not enough to encircle Sevastopol; what they did was to march round it and besiege the southern side, leaving the communications open between the fortress and Menschikoff. The French occupied the lines on the west, the British on the east; the latter being in the more dangerous position, as they lay between their allies and Menschikoff. The French drew their supplies from harbours on the west, the British from the port of Balaclava on the south. The delay in the attack enabled the great engineer Todleben to strengthen the defences so skilfully as to minimise the dangers both of bombardment and of direct assault. A great bombardment was opened on Oct. 16th, but without effective result.

Sevastopol besieged.

It was now the business of the Russian army of Menschikoff to attempt to relieve the beleaguered garrison. Accordingly a large force descended to seize Balaclava; which was guarded by a few Turkish troops and two brigades of British cavalry. The Turks after stubborn resistance were driven from their positions, but the advance of the Russians was checked and rolled back by the magnificent charge of the Heavy Brigade, who hurled themselves against a column of five times their own numbers. The Light Brigade then received an order to advance so as to prevent the retreating foe from carrying off some guns. The order was misinterpreted; and, with amazing valour, the Brigade made their famous charge through a storm of shot and shell right at a Russian battery; but having captured it, there was nothing to be done but to ride back, still exposed to a deadly fire. Two-thirds of the Brigade fell in the battle. Nothing had been gained by the Light Brigade, save imperishable fame. But the attempt to cut off the British communications with the sea had failed (Oct. 25).

Balaclava.

On Nov. 4th, the Russians again made a movement for the relief of Sevastopol, attacking the north-eastern British position at Inkerman. The battle raged in a thick mist, which prevented the combatants from seeing what was going on except in their immediate neighbourhood, and the fight resolved itself into

Inkerman.

a series of desperate struggles, in which detached parties of soldiers fought, without concert and almost without commanders. More than once the British were nearly engulfed by the immensely superior numbers of the foe; but in the end the Russians were completely and triumphantly repulsed.

The Crimean winter.

Yet Inkerman in effect decided the French commander, to whom the British chief, Lord Raglan, gave way, against the immediate attack on Sevastopol which had been planned; and the army settled down to the ghastly miseries of a winter siege; for which no sort of adequate provision had been made. The stores which reached Balaclava were destroyed in a gale before disembarkation; there were no means of transporting to the front the supplies which were actually landed; and month after month the men in the trenches suffered frightfully. Popular indignation at home led to the resignation of Lord Aberdeen, and Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister (Feb. 1855).

Palmerston Prime Minister, 1855.

With the Palmerston administration matters improved; the shockingly bad hospital arrangements were reformed, invaluable work being done by Miss Florence Nightingale and her staff of nurses; work such as had never before been undertaken. Supplies and reinforcements were poured into the Crimea; a railway was built from Balaclava to the front. In March a conference of the Powers was called at Vienna to negotiate terms of peace. After three months it came to an end with nothing accomplished. The allies having declined the Austrian proposals as inadequate, Austria attributed the failure of the Conference to their action, and declined to join them in the war.

Fall of Sevastopol, Sept.

It was not till September that the allies made a great assault upon the two positions either of which might serve as a key to Sevastopol. One, the Redan, was actually entered by the British, but they were unable to hold their ground. At the other, the Malakoff, the French were more successful. On Sept. 8th the Russian troops withdrew from Sevastopol.

1856. Treaty of Paris.

Peace negotiations were now renewed; the terms of the Treaty of Paris received the final assent of all the Powers in March of the next year (1856). The Russians were to keep no arsenal and not more than six ships of war in the Black Sea, which was neutralised. Any dispute between Turkey and any of the Powers who signed the Treaty was to be referred to the Powers. Conquests were to be restored. The trans-Danube

provinces were to remain practically independent principalities, recognising the Sultan as suzerain. Finally, in a separate Declaration signed by the Powers, Britain gave way on one point of the old dispute which had caused the "Armed Neutralities" at the end of the 18th century; she agreed that the goods of neutrals, though carried on a hostile ship, should not be liable to seizure, and that a neutral flag should protect all goods at sea except contraband of war and goods destined for a blockaded port. On the other hand, no port was to be regarded as under blockade unless the blockade was effective; and privateers were no longer to be licensed.

Persia.

The country was as thoroughly satisfied with Palmerston's management of affairs as it had been dissatisfied with that of the Aberdeen ministry, though the latter had been held responsible for much which was more their misfortune than their fault. Palmerston had hardly finished with the Crimean difficulty when he found himself obliged to send an expedition to Persia to stop that Power from aggression against Afghanistan, where a treaty with the Amir, Dost Mohammed, proved of no little service to us during the next year.

1857. China.

In 1857 hostilities were commenced against China. In 1840 a quarrel with that country—always hostile to foreign intercourse of any kind—due to the prohibition of the import of Indian opium, had led to the acquisition of Hong Kong by the British. In 1856 the Hong Kong authorities quarrelled with the Chinese over the *Arrow* incident; a Chinese vessel, sailing under the British flag, had been seized as a pirate by the Chinese authorities. When adequate reparation and apology were not forthcoming, British warships were called into play; China was defiant, and at the beginning of 1857 the quarrel had developed into open war.

The conduct of the British in the matter was undoubtedly high-handed; but it was held that, if a less arbitrary attitude had been adopted towards such a Power as China, the Oriental mind would have supposed it due not to magnanimity or to justice but to weakness. The Government was hotly attacked from every quarter of the House, and met with a defeat; but Palmerston appealed to the country, with the result that he was returned to power with a triumphant majority. Yet, within a very few weeks, the nation was suddenly appalled by a tremendous catastrophe.

§ 2. *India and the Great Mutiny*, 1856—1858.

Dalhousie's policy.

We have already noted that in India the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie was distinguished by a policy of annexation; broadly speaking, of bringing under direct British dominion any territories which could be claimed as lapsing to us under the law of succession, in distinction from the custom, which had hitherto prevailed generally, of maintaining the native rule unless annexation had become a palpable necessity. On the east half Burma, and on the west the Panjab, had been conquered. Satara on the borders of Bombay, Jhansi on the borders of the "North-West Provinces," Nagpur a great Central Indian principality, and several minor states, were absorbed, through the refusal to recognise heirs by adoption. Finally, in 1856, the Mohammedan kingdom of Oude, on the Ganges above Bengal, was annexed on the plain ground of the persistent misrule of its kings, who had been warned over and over again that, if they did not amend their ways, their dynasty would be deposed. These events created general alarm among all the remaining native princes.

Sources of unrest.

Again Dalhousie did everything in his power to extend railways, to introduce the telegraph—a recent invention—and to bring in innumerable improvements. But the improvements, in the eyes of large classes of natives, were only insidious methods of tightening the grip of the "sahibs" on India; besides savouring of sorcery. Moreover, the strong hand of government had deprived the lawless sections of society of their old license; and both Mohammedans and Hindus were filled with suspicions that the British intended to convert them forcibly to Christianity. With all these elements of danger, the British position had been weakened in a military point of view; by the multiplication of sepoys or native soldiers, necessitated by the annexations; by the actual reduction in the number of white troops, owing to the recall of some regiments for service in the Crimea; and by the absorption of a large proportion of the rest in the new provinces, especially in the Panjab.

The Caste panic.

In 1856 Dalhousie was replaced by Lord Canning, who, under ill advice, issued an Act under which all recruits in the Bengal army would in future be liable for service abroad. But the bulk of the recruits came from high-caste families who would lose caste if they crossed the sea. The Hindu believes that his life beyond the grave is affected by caste; to preserve caste he will suffer anything. The military class found themselves threatened

with the loss either of caste or of the career they had counted on adopting. On the other hand, there was an extensive Mohammedan conspiracy afoot for restoring the Mogul dynasty and the Mohammedan ascendency. For their own ends, the conspirators fomented the alarm among the Hindus. And then came the report that Hindus and Mohammedans alike would suffer contamination by the use of the new rifles and cartridges just issued to the troops; since the cartridges were said to be greased with the fat of pigs which the Mohammedan reckons unclean, and of cows which the Hindu accounts sacred. Lastly, there was a prophecy current among the natives that the British Raj was to last a hundred years and no more; and the British Raj had begun with Clive's victories in 1757.

Yet, with hardly an exception, the authorities in India were perfectly unsuspicious. Lower Bengal, from Patna to the coast, was fairly well supplied with white troops. But between Patna and the Panjab frontier there were only five white regiments and some batteries of artillery; while the whole great district was full of sepoys. Some mutinous outbreaks in connexion with the cartridges were readily suppressed. Then suddenly, on May 10th, 1857, the sepoys at Mirat rose, massacred every European they could lay hands on, and marched to Delhi, where the Mogul still lived. There the natives at once rose, massacred the Europeans, and proclaimed the restoration of the Mogul Empire. Yet the telegraph operator had first managed to flash half his warning message through to the Panjab; and the Europeans had succeeded in blowing up the arsenal. A month later a small British force had occupied the Ridge in front of Delhi; Henry Lawrence in Lucknow, the capital of Oude, had brought the Residency into a state of defence; the tiny garrison at Cawnpore had begun its desperate resistance to the overwhelming forces led by the Maratha, Nana Sahib; and all the sepoys in the Ganges districts above Patna were in revolt. By the end of June, the force in front of Delhi had much ado to hold its own; the Cawnpore garrison had been shot down when withdrawing under a safe-conduct, though the women and children were kept prisoners—as yet; and the Lucknow garrison was shut up in the Residency, where Henry Lawrence was mortally wounded two days later. But Henry Havelock was beginning to advance from Allahabad.

1857. The Mogul proclaimed (May).

June.

Outside the Ganges basin, the sepoys in the districts to the south and south-west of Agra also revolted; though the Maratha prince, Sindhia himself, at Gwalior, remained loyal. In fact, the native princes all held aloof from the revolt—partly, it may

Limits of the Revolt.

be, because they had no desire for the restoration of a Mohammedan Empire. But the general effect was that the rising was confined to Northern India; excluding lower Bengal on the east and the Panjab on the north-west, where any tendency to mutiny had been promptly mastered. And presently troops were on the march from the Panjab to join the force at Delhi, as well as from Allahabad to relieve Lucknow.

Delhi captured, Sept.

It was not, however, till September that the force on the Delhi Ridge had been sufficiently strengthened to make an attack on the city. On the 14th the outer defences were successfully stormed, John Nicholson losing his life at the head of one of the columns of attack. Even then it was not till the 21st that the whole city—with the Mogul himself—was in the hands of the British, and the rebels were in full retreat to join their associates at Lucknow.

Lucknow (June–Sept.).

Here a stubborn defence had been maintained, with a success chiefly due to the unceasing vigilance and energy of the Engineer department, whose counter-mines frustrated no fewer than twenty-five of the enemy's mines. Only once did the rebels explode a mine successfully, and then the damage was repaired before they attempted to take advantage of it. But the loyal sepoys were beginning to lose heart, in the belief that the defence was hopeless; and, if no relief had arrived before the end of the month, they would probably have marched out. But relief came. Havelock, with his little force, advanced with sharp fighting to Cawnpore, only to find that Nana Sahib had butchered the women and children in cold blood before his arrival. Then he marched towards Lucknow, but was forced to fall back. In the middle of September he was joined by Outram with fresh forces. On the 23rd the troops were four miles from Lucknow; on the 25th they fought their way in. With its garrison thus reinforced, there was no more fear that the Residency would be captured.

Sir Colin Campbell, 1857–8.

By this time Sir Colin Campbell had come out to Calcutta to organise a campaign of conquest; troops had arrived; others, on the way to the China War, had been diverted to help in the much more serious emergency in India. In November Campbell relieved the Lucknow Residency, withdrawing the non-combatants and leaving a garrison under Outram. In March (1858) the mutineer army was in its turn besieged in Lucknow, and shattered; Sir Hugh Rose, advancing from the west, overcame the forces which opposed him and captured Jhansi. But it was not till the end of the year that the last embers of the great revolt were finally stamped out.

India transferred to the Crown, 1858.

One main result of the Mutiny was that the curious system, under which a mercantile company had for a century been the dominant Power in India, was brought to an end. It was resolved that the Company's control should cease, and the government of India should be transferred to the Crown. To this end, Palmerston brought in a Bill in February, 1858; but other events causing his resignation at this time, a very similar Act was passed in August by the ministry of Lord Derby, who succeeded him. The Company's Governor-General became the British Viceroy; the Board of Control became the India Office; and the Company vanished.

Meanwhile the Chinese war was also apparently brought to a satisfactory conclusion by the Treaty of Tien Tsin (June). It broke out again, however, in the next year, and was not really ended till Pekin was captured in 1860.

§ 3. *Palmerston*, 1858—1865.

1858. Fall of the Ministry.

The fall of Lord Palmerston's ministry had been the result of his introducing the "Conspiracy to Murder" Bill. An Italian named Orsini had tried to kill the French Emperor by means of a bomb; the protection extended by England to foreign political refugees gave rise to the belief that plots like Orsini's were mostly hatched in England. There was a good deal of blustering over the matter in France. Palmerston proposed to make conspiracy to murder—whether the proposed victim were a British subject or not, or whether he were resident in England or not—a felony. Popular irritation against the French caused the proposal to be looked on as a pusillanimous concession to French threats; the Bill was thrown out, Palmerston resigned, and Lord Derby took office.

The Derby Administration, 1858—9.

The new ministry lasted for something over a year. The period of its rule was notable for the Act transferring the government of India to the Crown; and for the organisation of the Volunteer movement, creating the force of Volunteers for home defence—the reply of the nation to the bluster of the French. But Disraeli was endeavouring to "educate the party" in a democratic direction. Early in 1859 the Government brought in a Bill for extending the Franchise; which alarmed the old Tories, and to the Liberals appeared to be merely a party measure intended to increase the number of Conservative voters. The Bill was thrown out, Lord Derby appealed to the country, and the elections showed a considerable Liberal majority. The Liberal

leaders made up their differences, and in June Palmerston once more became Prime Minister, retaining that position to the end of his life.

Palmerston was no enthusiast for further advance along the path to democracy; though there was in the country a growing demand for the extension of the Franchise. The Reform motions in the Commons, brought forward by the more advanced sections of the party, were rejected during his ascendency, and though one Government Reform Bill was introduced in 1860, it was withdrawn. But, on the other hand, when the House of Lords tried, in the same year, to revive their obsolete power of interference in finance, by rejecting a bill for the abolition of the Paper duties, Palmerston secured the bill by including it in the Budget; while the Commons, by resolution, repudiated the claim put forward by the Upper Chamber; a claim which was not repeated.

Palmerston returns, 1859.

The beginning of the Palmerston ministry in England was accompanied abroad by the outbreak of the great Italian struggle for liberty and unification; which finally resulted in the establishment of the kingdom of Italy under the Savoy dynasty of Victor Emmanuel. At the outset, Napoleon III. took part with the Italians against Austria; but retired at an early stage, after having acquired Savoy and Nice for himself. Britain remained neutral, though the national sympathies were entirely on the side of the Italians. That sympathy, however, had its effect on the policy both of France and of Austria, and was a considerable source of encouragement to the Italians themselves. The British Government in fact had to steer its course through a very difficult passage, and accomplished its task with credit and success. The triumph of Victor Emmanuel and his great minister Cavour was completed in 1861.

Foreign Affairs.

Before Napoleon deserted the Italian cause—a step which aroused much hostility and suspicion in England—an important commercial treaty, associated with the name of Richard Cobden, was negotiated with France; a treaty which, without establishing free trade between the two countries, materially reduced on both sides of the channel many duties which had hitherto greatly hindered commerce.

Very careful management was also needed in another quarter of the globe. Civil war broke out in the United States of America; a group of the Southern States desiring to secede from the Union, and asserting their right to do so, while the Northern States denied the right of secession. The technical ground of quarrel was that, in the view of the South, the central or "Federal" government carried its interference in the

The American Civil War.

domestic affairs of the separate States further than it was constitutionally entitled to do. The practical cause of friction was the intention of the North to enforce, through the Federal Government, the abolition of slavery. For the cultivation by which the South lived was carried on by negro slaves. On many of the plantations, the negroes were perfectly happy and contented, and attached to their owners; on others they were treated with extreme brutality. To the planters of the South, the slavery of the negro appealed, not only as a practical necessity, but as an institution with scriptural authority. To the more industrial population of the North, where slavery would have been of no use whatever, it presented itself as a hideous blot on American civilisation: as a thing the suppression of which was an imperative moral duty. Apart from the slave-question, the industrial North desired the protection of native industries and the exclusion of foreign competitors by high tariffs; the South had no competitors to fear, and objected to being obliged to buy goods at the high prices demanded by the American manufacturer, instead of at the low prices at which foreigners were prepared to supply them. So the South claimed the right of secession, and proclaimed itself an independent nation; a confederation prepared to maintain its independence by force of arms. The North denied the right of secession, and called the attitude of the South rebellion. It is clear that the maintenance of the United States as a single great nation was an ideal which appealed to a large patriotism. But, considering that the nation had only come into separate being by asserting the right of secession from the British Empire of which it had formed a portion, it is difficult to deny that the Southern States were within their rights.

British neutrality.

From 1861 to 1865, war raged between North and South. Fanatical sentiment ran high on both sides; both sides found fanatical partisans in England. The position of the Government was one of great difficulty: were the Southerners—the "Confederates"—to be treated as an independent nation, or not? The ministry held to a consistent line. They kept strictly neutral, and refused to pronounce upon the quarrel. But in May, 1861, they declared that the Confederates must be treated as belligerents, that is, not as rebels unlawfully in arms against the legitimate government. Some months later, the Confederates despatched two Commissioners, to visit England and France respectively. The Commissioners made their way to Havana, a neutral port, and there embarked on an English ship, the *Trent*. The *Trent* was overtaken, boarded, and compelled to surrender the two Commissioners, by a Federal (*i.e.* Northern) ship. This was a manifest

breach of international law; and for a time it seemed that the British Government would have no choice but to declare war against the Federals. Happily, however, the President, Abraham Lincoln, gave way, the Commissioners were set at liberty, and British neutrality was preserved.

The Cotton Famine.

The continuation of the war had a directly disastrous effect in these islands, more particularly in Lancashire; since the blockade of the Southern ports prevented the exportation from the Southern States of the cotton on which Lancashire depended for its main industry. The prolonged cotton famine reduced the cotton-mill hands to a state of terrible misery, which they endured with an admirable fortitude. In spite of their distress, the working-men resisted the temptation to support the party who were clamouring for the recognition of the Confederate State, and for a declaration that the blockade of the Southern ports was inefficient and might therefore be legally ignored by neutral traders. The distress in Lancashire reached its worst point in the winter of 1862; after that it gradually diminished. Government measures of relief were well organised and carried out; and very much was also done by the voluntary relief funds which were generously supported by the public.

American ill-feeling.

In 1862 a new British ship named the *Alabama* was being fitted out at Birkenhead. Her destination was suspected, and orders were issued for her detention in the Mersey, but not in time. She escaped to sea, was handed over to the Confederates, and was then employed by them as a cruiser; in which capacity she did much damage to the Federal shipping. It was believed by the Northerners that the British Government had connived at the *Alabama's* escape from Liverpool, and there was a violent outburst of anti-British feeling. At the same time, Southern sentiment was hardly less hostile; the Confederates having expected interposition on their behalf, or at least the definite recognition of their position as an independent state. Nevertheless, in spite of all inducements to the contrary, the Government had the strength to persist in the neutrality which it looked upon as a duty. In 1865 the war, which had turned in favour of the North during the previous year, was brought definitely to a conclusion by the submission of the South.

Denmark and Poland.

The ministry deserved no little credit for its management in relation to the American and Italian troubles. It was less successful in the affairs of Schleswig-Holstein and Poland. In the former case, the two provinces, which

had been attached to Denmark, were absorbed into Germany; Denmark yielding to pressure from Prussia and Austria, although the integrity of the Danish kingdom had been guaranteed. Palmerston threatened to intervene, but was not prepared to do so single-handed, when he found that France would not support him. Much the same thing happened, when he protested against the savage suppression by Russia of an insurrection in Poland, but could not venture on backing his protest by force of arms.

In the summer of 1865 there was a general election, the Liberals returning to office with a slightly increased majority. In October, Palmerston died. Lord Russell became Prime Minister, with Gladstone as leader of the party in the House of Commons: the latter statesman having, as Palmerston's Chancellor of the Exchequer, greatly increased his reputation by a series of brilliant budgets.

§ 4. *The Approach of Democracy*, 1865—1868.

The new Liberal Party.

With Palmerston's death, the Liberal party began to assume a new character. During his latter years, the old minister —he was eighty-one when he died—had maintained his hold on the confidence of the country at large, and his policy had always been predominant. Since he was cold to the democratic movement, the movement itself had been held in check. Now the dominant personalities in the party belonged to the advanced section; and from them the bulk of the party took its tone. Yet there was a section which maintained Palmerston's attitude, and refused to be carried along by the democratic tide. Hence the rule of the Russell Government was brief. For the Franchise question, which had been in effect shelved for so long a time, soon came prominently to the front, split the party, and expelled it from office.

Ireland.

The ministry had other troubles too to deal with. Irish disaffection was taking a new form, known as Fenianism, from the secret society calling itself the Fenian Brotherhood: a movement for the overthrow of the existing system of government by means of physical force. Agricultural distress had driven immense numbers of Irishmen to emigrate to America, cherishing in their hearts an intense animosity to the British dominion, which became intensified in their new surroundings. The arrest of some leading members of the Fenian Brotherhood in Ireland led to a renewal of repressive measures, such as the suspension of

the Habeas Corpus Act; with the usual effect of driving conspiracy beneath the surface.

Jamaica.

In Jamaica too there were troubles, between the black population and the whites. Race hostility, stirred up by inflammatory language, resulted in a rising of the Blacks which was repressed with energy and severity by Governor Eyre. The methods, however, which he adopted, were severely criticised as barbarous; and at home much strong language was used by the partisans of both sides—by those who thought first of the necessity for maintaining the unqualified supremacy of the white man, and by those who declined to regard a difference of colour (and all that difference implies) as a ground for applying different methods of control.

Fall of the Russell Ministry.

It was not till February, 1866, that the new Parliament met. Ministers at once placed before it their Bill for the extension of the Franchise. Its main proposals were, the reduction of the qualification for voting in the counties to a rental of £14, and in the boroughs to £7; and the admission of lodgers paying £10 per annum. The Bill, however, was strenuously opposed, not only by the Conservatives but also by a section of the Liberals; who were known by the nickname of Adullamites, being likened to the followers who gathered round David when he escaped from king Saul to the cave of Adullam. The Bill was carried by a very small majority on the second reading, but the Government were soon afterwards (June) defeated in committee, on an amendment. Thereupon they resigned, and once more a Derby administration was formed, which remained in office for two years.

We may note in passing that at the moment when the change of ministry was taking place in England, Prussia and Austria were engaged in the remarkable "three weeks war." The first movement of troops took place on June 15th, and on July 3rd the Prussians won the decisive victory of Sadowa, which gave them the definite leadership of the German States.

The defeat of the Liberal Reform Bill was followed by an energetic agitation and a riot in London, when the mob pulled down the railings of Hyde Park. The excitement was sufficient to induce the new ministry, under the effective leadership of Disraeli, to bring in a Reform Bill of their own. Disraeli's purpose was on the one hand to admit the labouring classes to the Franchise, from which they were still excluded; but, on the other hand, in view of their numerical preponderance, and of the danger of their votes giving them as a class too much

Disraeli's Reform Bill.

political weight in comparison with other classes, he desired at the same time to increase the voting power of other sections of the community. Hence, he proposed, while lowering the franchise so as to admit working-men to the political privileges of householders, to grant also a variety of what were called "fancy" franchises, tending to multiply the number of votes which could be cast by persons who were better off than the simple wage-earner. The nature of the scheme brought about the immediate retirement of some members of the ministry, including Lord Cranborne (afterwards Lord Salisbury); but their places were promptly filled. The Bill when introduced was found to contain the fancy franchises, and to fix not rental but rating value as the basis of the household franchise; the amount being £6 for boroughs and £20 for the counties. But residence for two years, and personal payment of the rates, were required; an arrangement which shut out the "compound householder," who was so called because the landlord compounded for the rates instead of the tenant paying them personally. Disraeli, however, found himself obliged to accept, one after another, amendments of his scheme which were demanded by the Opposition. The final result was that the fancy franchises disappeared; the £12 lodger was admitted; a rateable value of £10 in the counties was adopted as the franchise limit; while in the boroughs every rate-paying householder had the vote, after one year's occupation. In effect the Conservative Government passed a Liberal Reform Bill which made the House of Commons essentially democratic. The agricultural labourer still had to await the equalisation of the borough and county franchises which came in 1884. But in effect, since 1867, the dominant factor at elections has been the working-class vote.

1868. Disraeli Prime Minister.

In the same year (1867) it was necessary to send a strong expedition—conducted with complete success by Sir Robert Napier—to Abyssinia, where King Theodore had incarcerated some British subjects. In the following February, Lord Derby retired from the formal leadership of the Conservatives and Disraeli became Prime Minister. An outbreak of Fenianism was perhaps the cause which now led Gladstone to press for the immediate removal of the grievances which he had latterly come to regard as the fundamental sources of Irish disaffection; and he carried against the Government a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The result was that Disraeli dissolved at the end of the year and appealed to the new democratically constructed constituencies; which returned the Liberals to power under the leadership of Gladstone.

Canada.

This Conservative Administration is notable for an important colonial measure towards which events in North America had been tending since the Canadian Reunion Act. This was the incorporation, on Federal lines, in the single Dominion of Canada, of the other British North American territories with the exception of Newfoundland: the Dominion being in possession of full responsible government.

CHAPTER XLIII.

DEMOCRACY: 1868—1885.

§ 1. *The First Gladstone Administration*, 1869—1874.

The first Parliament of the Democracy met, full of legislative zeal: bent on conducting its proceedings on the highest principles of abstract justice, at home and abroad.

Irish Disestablishment, 1869.

Ireland occupied the first place on the programme. The Liberals were convinced that the unrest and disaffection in that country arose from two causes: agrarian discontent, resulting from the land system; and religious discontent, resulting from the establishment of a Protestant Church, in a country where three-fourths of the population belonged to the Roman communion. The Tudors had imposed the Anglican Reformation on the ecclesiastical organisation in Ireland; as in England, the endowments of the Church passed to a Protestant body, while, not as in England, the great bulk of the people held to the old doctrines and practices. The Church to which the people were attached was bereft of any but voluntary support; the Church which they repudiated was maintained by the old national endowments as a national Church. It was only very recently that Gladstone had made up his mind that the time had come for putting an end to this state of things: and in 1869, this change of view took shape in his Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. The property of the Church was valued at about £16,000.000; the Act as finally passed restored about two-thirds of that amount—including the churches and the parsonage-houses—to the disestablished clerical body; while the uses to which the surplus was to be devoted were left to Parliament to settle. During the passage of the Bill, it appeared likely that there would be a sharp conflict between the Peers and the Commons, the latter rejecting the amendments sent down to them; but a compromise was arrived at, the Peers yielding most of the points.

Next year came the first of Gladstone's Irish Land Bills: securing to tenants compensation for eviction from their holdings (except for non-payment of rent), and for the value of improvements they had made; and providing also for loans from Government to assist tenants who desired to purchase their holdings with the landlord's consent. Nevertheless, agrarian disturbances and political agitation went on unabated, and the Government found themselves obliged, later in the year, to send additional troops to Ireland, and to pass a coercive measure known as the Peace Preservation Act. The reply to this was the formation of the Home Government Association, which later became the Home Rule League; having for its avowed object the restoration of a Parliament in Dublin to control all the internal affairs of the country.

1870. Irish Land Act.

The Government's attention was not confined to Ireland. There was passed also for England the Compulsory Education Act of 1870, associated with the name of Mr Forster. Hitherto, the State had only apportioned sums to be granted in aid of education. These grants were to be continued, but now powers were granted for local school-boards to erect and maintain schools, out of rates levied for that purpose: with the proviso that, in the rate-supported schools, religious instruction should be given, but no creeds, catechisms, or formularies distinctive of particular sects were to be admitted. The existing schools, maintained by voluntary contributions and aided by Government grants, were also required to admit children who might be exempted from sectarian instruction under a "conscience-clause."

Forster's Education Act.

In 1871 a Ballot Bill was introduced. Hitherto, when an elector recorded his vote for a Parliamentary candidate, he gave it openly: it was known for whom he had voted. The Ballot Bill was intended to secure secret voting; so that no one need be afraid to vote for the candidate he favoured, and bribery might be checked, since there was no security that a man would not take his bribe and then vote contrary to his promise, knowing that he could not be detected. But when the Bill became law in 1872—having been rejected by the Peers in 1871—it did not appear that bribery was much affected, since persons who took the bribe without shame still felt an obligation to carry out their promise.

1871. The Ballot.

The ministry also undertook the reorganisation of the army, which was contrasted with that of Prussia, whose wars of 1866 and 1870 had raised her to the position of the first

Army Reform.

military Power in Europe. The system under which wealthy men could obtain rapid promotion by purchase was abolished by a Royal Warrant (1871), when it was found that the Peers might succeed in preventing the change from being made by Act of Parliament. Otherwise, the most prominent feature of the new scheme was the change from "long service" with the colours to "short service"; the men passing, after seven years with the colours, into the reserves; which were liable to be called up to the colours on any emergency.

Meanwhile, the Government's conduct of foreign affairs had not been giving satisfaction. Ever since the *Alabama* affair of 1862, America had been demanding compensation for the injuries inflicted by that vessel and some others during the Civil War; on the ground that the British had been guilty of a breach of International Law in not preventing those vessels from putting to sea. In 1871, the Treaty of Washington was drawn up between Britain and the United States; arranging to submit the whole question of compensation to the arbitration of a special and partly foreign tribunal. It was felt that the conditions of the enquiry, insisted upon by America and conceded by the British, were by no means fair to us; and the indignation was increased when the Geneva tribunal awarded damages against us amounting to £3,000,000 (1872).

The Alabama Claim.

In this matter it was considered that Government had neglected to maintain British rights, for the sake of making a show of elevated principles. Nor was this their only offence of the kind. In 1870 the great Franco-Prussian war broke out; which resulted in the complete defeat of France, and in the acceptance by the German States of the King of Prussia as German Emperor. It also brought about the downfall of the French Emperor—who found an asylum in England—and the establishment of the French Republic. In the war, Britain preserved a strict neutrality; and against this there was nothing to be said. But the overthrow of France and the fall of Napoleon emboldened Russia to repudiate the Treaty of Paris which had closed the Crimean war. A conference of the Powers who had signed that Treaty was called; at which Russia won a complete diplomatic victory, while Great Britain met with a complete diplomatic defeat. Russia gained every point she cared about. Sundry clauses of the Treaty were cancelled, notably those neutralising the Black Sea and forbidding the presence there of Russian or Turkish ships of war. It appeared that the checks on Russian aggression, which had been the fruit of the Crimean war, had been sacrificed.

Foreign Affairs.

Thus the ministry had been steadily losing popularity. In 1873, Mr Gladstone introduced a Bill with the object of establishing an Irish University, of which Catholics as well as Protestants might take advantage. Neither Catholics nor Protestants were pleased; the Bill was rejected, and Gladstone resigned. Disraeli, however, refused to take office. The Liberals therefore resumed control for some months; during which we were engaged in military operations on the east of Africa against the Ashantees, where the commanders did their work successfully and well. Within the ministry, however, there was a lack of unanimity, and in January, 1874, Parliament was suddenly dissolved. The General Election gave the Conservatives a majority, Gladstone resigned, and Disraeli became Prime Minister.

Close of the Administration.

§ 2. *Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield*, 1874—1880.

The main causes of the Liberal defeat were two: their domestic policy threatened vested interests which united in opposing them; and their conduct of foreign affairs had involved a series of diplomatic reverses. For attacks upon vested interests, the Conservative leader proposed to substitute minor social reforms, while in foreign affairs he was bent on asserting the ascendency of Great Britain in the counsels of Europe.

The drastic legislation of Mr Gladstone was arrested. Several measures were brought in with the intention of improving the position of the working classes: such as the Agricultural Holdings Act, providing for compensation for tenant's improvements, a Labourers' Dwellings Act, and others. In the eyes of Liberals, the weak point in all the Conservative legislation of this kind was, that it left masters and workmen, landlords and tenants, legally free to make contracts which exempted them from the operation of the Acts; in effect, the Acts were not compulsory but permissive. This course was defended on the broad principle of freedom of contract, which in turn depends on the assumption that the parties to a contract make it on even terms; whereas those who were dissatisfied with these measures argued that the masters or the landlords on the one side could dictate the terms, which the tenants or workmen were practically unable to refuse. Hence very little benefit actually fell to the latter, if the former wished to evade the Acts.

Social Legislation.

Foreign affairs, however, were to be the main interest of the Disraeli administration. A few years earlier, a French company had been enabled to cut, through the Isthmus of Suez, a canal joining the Mediterranean and the Red Seas. There was every likelihood that the French—who had made the canal—would get the control of it. But Disraeli found that the Khedive of Egypt, who was in want of cash, wished to sell his shares in the undertaking; and he forestalled other purchasers by promptly buying them for the British Government, which thus became very much the largest share-holder, and could in consequence exercise a dominant influence (1875). The purchase cost £4,000,000; and was well worth while as a commercial speculation, apart from the political advantages that might accrue.

The Suez Canal Shares.

The acquisition of the Suez Canal shares was not intended, as some people supposed, to be the first step in a policy of aggression in the East; but the East was very soon to absorb public attention. The Crimean War had been fought partly to prevent Russia from establishing herself as Protector of the Christian populations within the Turkish Empire; the terms of the Peace of Paris pledged Turkey to reform the government of the Christian provinces. Turkey stolidly abstained from carrying out her promises; in 1875 the people of Herzegovina and Bosnia rose against their rulers. The Powers called upon Turkey to carry out her pledges; which she renewed, but did not act upon. Then came frightful reports of atrocities committed by the Turks in suppressing the insurgents, in Bulgaria. Feeling against the Turks ran high. Servia rose against them, supported more and more openly by Russia. In fact, Britain and Russia each distrusted the other so intensely that they could not act in concert; and the British policy was directed rather to holding Russia in check than to coercing Turkey. Turkey relied on the divisions among the Powers, and remained obstinate. At last in April, 1877, the Tsar declared war against Turkey, on the theory that he was merely carrying out the obligations of Europe in general. The impression began to prevail in England that Russia had all along been working precisely with the object of getting the coercion of Turkey into her own hands; the anti-Russian feeling predominated over the anti-Turkish feeling born of the Bulgarian atrocities. Moreover the Turks won sympathy by the magnificent fight they made against immense odds; holding the Russians at bay at Plevna till the middle of December. Then the Russians forced their way through the Balkans into

Troubles in Turkey.

The Russo-Turkish War, 1877—8.

the Roumelian plain, and advanced towards Constantinople. Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli had taken the title at the end of 1876) was determined at all costs to prevent a Russian occupation of the Turkish capital; it seemed that we were on the verge of plunging into a Russian war. The British fleet was hurried up to the sea of Marmora, and energetic preparations were in progress; when the excitement was somewhat allayed by the publication of the Treaty of San Stefano between Turkey and Russia.

That Treaty was less dangerous than had been feared, but it was by no means satisfactory from a British point of view. Lord Beaconsfield insisted that it must be submitted to a Conference of the Powers, who were pledged to maintain the modified Treaty of Paris. Preparations for war went on, and Indian troops were summoned to Malta, while Parliament was in recess. The methods of Government were criticised as unconstitutional; but their effect was, that Russia consented to submit the Treaty of San Stefano to a Congress of the Powers, to be assembled at Berlin.

The Congress of Berlin.

To that Congress went Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury—having already concluded private agreements with both Russia and Turkey. The results of the Congress were: that what are known as the Balkan States were declared independent principalities; that the concessions made by Turkey to Russia in the Treaty of San Stefano were modified; and that Britain occupied Cyprus in exchange for guaranteeing the integrity of the Turkish dominions in Asia. British diplomacy, whether wisely directed or not, had been undoubtedly successful. But the method of perpetual surprises, of taking one step after another without giving the nation an inkling of what was coming, had rendered the country much more nervous than the Prime Minister suspected.

The Empress of India.

Nor was the course of events in India and in South Africa such as to allay anxiety. Lord Beaconsfield probably showed a shrewd appreciation of Oriental sentiment when, in 1877, he proclaimed Queen Victoria Empress of India and practically heir of the Moguls; though his action did not appeal to Western minds. But in Asia, as in Europe, his great aim was to keep Russia in check; and with that end in view, he reversed the policy towards Afghanistan which had been pursued by the Indian Government ever since Dost Mohammed had been restored at Kabul. The basis of that policy had been, abstention from all interference with Afghanistan; on the understanding that no other Power should be admitted to

Afghanistan.

influence there. Now, however, Lord Beaconsfield, through the viceroy Lord Lytton, demanded that a British Resident should be received at Kabul, and that the frontier should be so rectified that the British would have complete control of the passes into Afghanistan. In return, the British were to guarantee the security of the existing dynasty. As a preliminary, a British mission was to discuss matters at Kabul with the Amir, Shere Ali. To the Afghans, the proposal appeared to be merely a plan for bringing the country under the British flag. They rejected it, and at the same time, a Russian mission was received at Kabul. Lord Lytton declared that if a Russian mission could be admitted there was no excuse for rejecting a British one: he sent his mission, which was turned back.

Coercion of Afghanistan.

The maintenance of British prestige required that the rebuff should be met by coercion. In November, 1878, three armies made their way through the passes into Afghanistan; Shere Ali fled; on his death, the British established his son Yakoub Khan at Kabul, while another son, Ayoub Khan, took possession of Herat. The new Amir and his British supporters were now in precisely the same position as Shah Shuja and Macnaghten in 1840; save that now there was not, as there had then been, a large British force at Kabul. History repeated itself; there was a sudden rising against the British, and the Resident (Sir Louis Cavagnari) and his escort were cut to pieces (Sept. 1879).

The Afghan War, 1879—80.

Within six weeks, General Roberts had entered Kabul at the head of an army, deposed Yakoub Khan, and assumed authority. But the tribes were in arms everywhere, and the area of the General's authority was circumscribed. Military operations were restricted throughout the winter. The British did not desire to remain in permanent occupation. It was proposed to break up Afghanistan into two provinces; and to permit Abdurahman, a nephew of Shere Ali, to establish himself in the North, while another Shere Ali, a cousin, was to be established in the South as governor of Kandahar. But the new Shere Ail was not acceptable. The tribes remained in arms. Sir Donald Stewart marched from Kandahar, routed the insurgents at Ahmed Khel, and made his way to join Roberts at Kabul. Such was the position in the summer of 1880; when the Beaconsfield Government in England was ejected at a general election, and Lord Lytton was replaced as Viceroy by Lord Ripon. The concluding phase of the war falls to our next section.

Meanwhile, troubles had assailed us in South Africa. To the

East and North of the Transvaal and Natal, the stalwart Zulu tribes had organised themselves into a powerful military community. Their collisions with the Boers threatened to wipe out the Transvaal Republic; as a measure of protection for all the Whites in South Africa, the Transvaal was annexed in 1877. But the attitude of the Zulus appeared to the British Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, to be so threatening that he sent their king Cetewayo an ultimatum; requiring him to abandon his military organisation and to act under the control of a British Resident. Cetewayo made no sign of submission, and in November, 1878, Zululand was invaded. In January a British camp at Isandlana was attacked by the Zulus, and the troops there were cut to pieces. The splendid defence of Rorke's Drift, by the small force which had been left at that post with the hospital, checked the Zulus from pouring into Natal; at other points on the frontier, the British held their own. It was not till Lord Chelmsford had been reinforced, so that he had more than 20,000 men under his command, that the Zulus were finally defeated in July, at Ulundi, and the settlement of the country was placed in the hands of Sir Garnet Wolseley.

The Zulus.

In 1880, the end of the Parliament elected in 1874 was necessarily approaching. Government made a proposal for buying out the London Water Companies, and placing the control of the water-supply in the hands of a Board. The scheme was unfavourably received, as giving the Companies an unnecessarily high price. Lord Beaconsfield took the opportunity to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the electors; and the electors returned a solid majority of Liberal members.

Fall of the Ministry.

§ 3. *The Second Gladstone Administration*, 1880—1885.

The advent to power of a Liberal Government made it quite certain that Afghanistan would be evacuated at the earliest possible moment. They accepted the view of Abdurahman—that he could establish himself if left to himself, but not by the support of British troops, whose presence was inevitably the cause of irritation and distrust. But the fighting was not yet over. Ayoub Khan came down from Herat towards Kandahar, raising the Afghan tribesmen. A force partly British advanced against him from Kandahar under General Burrows; which was disastrously routed at Maiwand in July, so that the British in Southern Afghanistan were cooped up again in Kandahar. Transport difficulties prevented immediate relief from being sent up

The Afghan War: last phase.

from Quetta on the southern frontier. Therefore, while Sir Donald Stewart withdrew a part of the Kabul army to Peshawar, Roberts, with the pick of the troops, started on the famous march to Kandahar; in which he covered 318 miles in 23 days. Kandahar was relieved; and the insurgents were dispersed after a severe defeat, inflicted upon them close to the city. In the following spring (1881), the British troops were finally withdrawn, and Abdurahman proceeded successfully to secure his position as Amir. The British Government, in spite of much pressure, maintained the old policy of leaving the Amir to maintain his own government uncontrolled; on the understanding that he would not admit Russian influence and would be protected against Russian force. At the same time, the British frontier was strategically very much strengthened by fortifications and railways.

The Transvaal War, 1881.

Meanwhile, the overthrow of the Zulus had not brought rest to South Africa. The Transvaal had been annexed to protect it against the Zulus; and, with that danger reduced, the Boers wished to recover the independence which they had surrendered very much against their will. They also argued that the conditions of the annexation had been transgressed by the British; and in December, 1880, they revolted and declared their independence. In February a small British force, led by Sir George Colley, was defeated at Majuba Hill. The British Government had already made up its mind that the annexation had been neither just nor expedient. It refused to recognise that what might have been done with credit before Majuba assumed after that defeat the appearance of a cowardly surrender, not that of an act of magnanimity. Without any British demonstration of superior military force, the independence of the Transvaal was restored. The independence was not, indeed, to be complete, but its limitations were very insufficiently defined; and the Boers unfortunately believed that they would be able in the future to set the British Government at defiance with impunity.

In April, Lord Beaconsfield died, and the leadership of the Opposition passed to Lord Salisbury.

The Irish difficulty.

In domestic affairs, Government had contented itself with minor measures so far as England was concerned; but Ireland had been receiving very serious attention. In that country, the Home-Rule movement had become exceedingly active, and was now coupled with a no-rent agitation conducted by the recently-formed Land-League. Meanwhile the Irish Home-Rulers in Parliament, under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell,

were developing an unprecedented capacity for the organised obstruction of all business. Gladstone's belief in conciliatory measures led him, on taking office, to withdraw the Peace Preservation Act, and to introduce an Act for the relief of agricultural distress. Nevertheless, agitation only increased, and was accompanied by numerous outrages; while immense numbers of the peasantry were evicted from their holdings for refusing to pay rent. Hence in the spring of 1881, a fresh "Protection of Life and Property" Act was brought in by Mr Forster the Irish Secretary.

When this was passed, a Land Bill was introduced; of which the leading feature was the creation of a Land-Court, for fixing fair rents. Instead of rents being fixed by competition and bargaining, tenants or landlords might obtain from this Land-Court a decision as to what the fair rental for a particular holding would be. The Bill also made provision for giving assistance to people who wished to emigrate, and for giving additional assistance to tenants who wished to purchase their holdings. After a sharp conflict with the Peers, and without support from the Home-Rule members, the Act was passed; but it had no effect on the outrages or on the agitation, which seemed so threatening that Mr Parnell and other Land-League leaders were arrested. On their part, a manifesto was issued calling upon tenants to pay no rent till the leaders should be released; while the Government declared the Land-League itself illegal.

New Irish Land Act, 1881.

In the following spring (1882), the Irish leaders were liberated, and Mr Forster resigned. There was an impression that a bargain had been struck, to obtain the support of Irish members for the Government programme; and this supposed bargain was known as the Kilmainham Treaty. But the extremists seized this moment to strike a fatal blow. The new Irish Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and the Under Secretary, Mr Burke, were murdered in Dublin. There was a new Prevention of Crimes Act in consequence. The Phoenix Park murder shocked the public so much that there was after this some diminution of crime; but the hostility of the Home-Rule members to the Government was by no means allayed.

The Phoenix Park murder, 1882.

Abroad, fresh difficulties appeared for the ministry to cope with. In the time of Lord Beaconsfield's administration, the condition of Egypt had led to the establishment of the "Dual Control"; that is, France and Britain, without taking over the Government, exercised a joint control over the Khedive and his administration. In 1881, the anti-European party, headed by Arabi Pasha, succeeded in dominating the Egyptian

Egypt: Arabi Pasha.

Government. As a result, in 1882, a riot broke out in Alexandria, in which a number of Europeans were killed. It appeared to the admiral of the British squadron lying at Alexandria that Arabi was aiming at a military dictatorship. After sundry warnings to Arabi, Admiral Seymour decided to bombard the Pasha's fortifications; the French refused to support the British, and he carried out the operation by himself (July). A direct struggle with Arabi and the Egyptian army was now inevitable. The French declined to intervene; an expedition was despatched under Sir Garnet Wolseley. Two months after the bombardment of Alexandria, Arabi was completely crushed at Tel-el-Kebir.

British control established, 1882.

Under all the circumstances, the establishment of a British Protectorate would hardly have been demurred to by the European Powers; but the Government preferred to try the experiment of re-establishing an Egyptian Government under British advice—and it soon became evident that "advice" must mean "orders" if it was to have any effect. An English financial adviser was appointed, and a new army and a new constabulary were organised under British chiefs. It was explained that the British control would certainly be withdrawn, as soon as the Egyptian Government could be trusted to stand by itself.

To Egypt itself, the new arrangement brought great material advantages. But south of Egypt proper lies the great district of the Soudan, which was beyond the range of effective control. Here there rose up a Mohammedan fanatic, claiming to be Mohammed's successor, and calling himself the Mahdi; who set himself up as ruler of the Soudan (1883). The British declined all responsibility for that region. The Egyptian Government sent troops to suppress the Mahdi, and the troops were annihilated (Nov.). It was then decided that the garrisons in the Soudan should be withdrawn and the whole region should be evacuated. The task of withdrawing the garrisons was entrusted to Charles George Gordon, a British officer who had previously acquired great influence with the natives. The Mahdi however was pursuing a course of active aggression. Some garrisons were captured, others were being attacked: Gordon himself was shut up in Khartum (March, 1884), though the northward advance of the Mahdi's followers was checked near Suakim by General Graham at the battle of El Teb. Gordon had undertaken his task, on the understanding that no military expedition was to assist him; but such an understanding could not release the British from the obligation to rescue

The Mahdi.

Gordon and Khartum, 1884—5.

him. An expedition was resolved on; but the pressing nature of the danger was not realised and precious time was wasted. At last everything was ready—but not till September. The advance to the relief of Khartum was skilfully conducted, in the face of great difficulties, and with some sharp fighting on the way. On the 28th of January, 1885, Sir Charles Wilson with the advance force reached Khartum. Too late. Two days earlier, Khartum had fallen and the garrison had been cut to pieces. To hold the Soudan was impossible, and the troops fell back within the borders of Egypt proper.

The death of Gordon was a fatal blow to the prestige of the Gladstone ministry; but, during the year while Gordon was at Khartum, it had given logical completeness to the democratic reform of Parliament. In 1884 a Franchise Bill was introduced; giving to the agricultural labourer the Parliamentary vote already possessed by the town labourer, and applying the same principles in Ireland as in England. In the Commons, the Government was strong enough to be sure of carrying every point which it deemed essential. But when the Bill was introduced in the Upper House, an amendment was carried which, while conceding the main principle of the Bill, demanded that it should be accompanied by Redistribution—that is, that the constituencies should be rearranged, and the principles of the rearrangement should be settled, before the Franchise Bill should itself be passed. During the summer there was a storm of democratic agitation, and much talk of measures for "mending or ending" the House of Lords. When Parliament met in autumn, for the express purpose of dealing with the Franchise question, the Bill was reintroduced without modification. But compromise was in the air, and the Liberal leaders were prepared to give pledges as to the character of the Redistribution Bill. When the Commons had passed the Franchise Bill, the principle of the Redistribution Bill was settled by consultation between the leaders of the two parties. The Bill was introduced; its second reading was carried in the Commons without a division; and on the same day the Lords passed the Franchise Bill without alteration (Dec. 5th, 1884).

The Franchise Bill, 1884.

A few weeks later, the position of the Government was gravely weakened by the news of the fall of Khartum. A vote of censure was defeated in the Commons, but only by a narrow majority; a similar vote in the Lords was easily carried. No attention was paid to the action of the Lords. But fresh troubles

1885: Penjdeh.

arose in the east, where Russians and Afghans (whom we were now pledged to protect) came into collision at Penjdeh. War seemed inevitable; but the affair was settled by arbitration, which hardly gave satisfaction at home. The position of ministers was now so uneasy that Mr Gladstone resigned, on being defeated by a chance vote on the Budget. The Conservatives accepted office; but after a few weeks dissolved Parliament and appealed to the new electorate. During their brief period of office they had passed the Ashbourn Act, which gave the Land Commissioners in Ireland additional powers of advancing money to enable tenants to purchase their holdings. The result of the election was that the number of Home-Rule members from Ireland was doubled; and that the Liberals, without the Home-Rulers, numbered just one half of the entire House of Commons.

CHAPTER XLIV.

REACTION: 1886—1901.

§ 1. *The Battle of Home-Rule*, 1886—1895.

The Home-Rule Question.

Lord Salisbury retained office till the Government was defeated on an amendment to the address (Jan.). He then resigned: and Mr Gladstone again formed a ministry. The great increase in the number of Home-Rule members returned from Ireland under the new Franchise convinced the Liberal leader that Ireland ought to have what so great a majority of Irishmen demanded; and for the rest of his life every other object was subordinated by him to the development of a practicable scheme of Home-Rule; that is, to the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin for the management of exclusively Irish affairs. On the other hand, a solid majority of Englishmen, including many leading Liberals, held that party spirit in Ireland ran so high that Irishmen could not be trusted to govern Ireland with justice; and also that Irish disaffection was so strong that an Irish Legislature would be used as an instrument for obtaining the separation of Ireland from the British Empire. Moreover, if the Irish, having their own Legislature, continued to be represented in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster, their vote would still control the government of England and of Scotland, while the English and Scots would have no corresponding control over Ireland: but if, on the other hand, they ceased to be represented at Westminster, then they would no longer have any voice in Imperial matters, and would lose all sense of citizenship in the Empire. To the majority of Englishmen, neither alternative appeared tolerable.

Home-Rule defeated, 1886.

At the very outset therefore, some of the most influential of the Prime Minister's old colleagues refused to join his Cabinet; others withdrew, the moment his proposals were formulated. Mr Gladstone, however, held to his course; and the majority of his party followed his lead. In April he brought in two Irish measures. The first was to

establish an Irish Parliament in Dublin, while it abolished the Irish representation at Westminster. The second was a Land-Bill, intended to secure the landlords against the ruin with which they seemed to be threatened when the government of Ireland should be controlled mainly by the vote of the peasantry. In effect, the State was to buy out the landlords, at a huge expenditure, and then to sell the land back to the peasantry. Both jointly and separately, the two schemes aroused a storm of opposition. The Home-Rule Bill was thrown out by the Commons on the second reading; Gladstone dissolved Parliament. The Conservatives did not contest the seats of "Dissentient" or Unionist Liberals; but they were returned with an actual majority to which for practical purposes the 78 Liberal Unionists were to be added. Lord Salisbury again became Prime Minister: with a strong consciousness that the wishes of the Liberal Unionists must be allowed to have a marked influence on his measures.

Lord Salisbury's Administration.

Under these conditions, the new Government designed to curb the prevalent lawlessness in Ireland and when that was accomplished to confer extended powers of local self-government. In 1887 was passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which gave the Lord-Lieutenant power to proclaim disturbed districts and establish within them a practically arbitrary government. This was followed up by a Land Act, which, under pressure from the Liberal Unionists, authorised some revision of the rents settled by the land courts and some relief for tenants who were in arrear with their payments. Yet the continued violence of the struggle between the Government and its opponents in Ireland was an unfortunate accompaniment of the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, the fiftieth year of her reign.

1887.

1888.

In the next year, the Government introduced a Local Government Bill for England; establishing, for the control of local affairs, County Councils and District Councils; whose members were to be elected by the rate-payers. Boroughs with a population of more than 50,000 were treated as separate counties. Ireland, however, was not included in the scheme.

1888—92: Irish affairs.

Great public interest was aroused by the appointment of a Special Commission (1888–9) to investigate charges of complicity in and incitement to crime and treason, which had been levelled against Mr Parnell and other Irish leaders; charges proved, in the course of the trial, to have been based largely on forgeries and other false evidence. A year

afterwards, the Irish party was temporarily broken up by a scandal in which their able chief was the principal figure. Meanwhile, the state of Ireland had been in some degree improving; and a new Land-purchase Act was followed in 1891 by a considerable relaxation of coercion and by the replacement under the ordinary law of districts which had been proclaimed. Finally, in 1892, an Irish Local Government Bill was introduced; but the Parliament was dissolved before it could be passed.

Domestic Legislation.

Before this, two English Acts had been passed, in the field of social legislation. One was an Allotments Act, to enable local authorities to buy land for the purpose of letting it out in small allotments for cultivation by workingmen. The other was the Free Education Act. It appeared logical that, if all parents were compelled by the State to send their children to school, the State should enable them to do so free of charge; although many people doubted the wisdom of relieving parents of this responsibility. Abroad, Lord Salisbury's administration was marked in Asia by the final annexation of the whole of Burma—portions of which had previously been added to the British Empire when Lord Amherst and Lord Dalhousie were Governors-General; and, in Africa, by a series of agreements fixing the boundaries of the territories which were to be regarded as within the "sphere of influence" of different European states. In order to secure for ourselves a free hand in Egypt, concessions were made both to Germany and to France for which there was very reasonable justification, but which would certainly have been condemned in the strongest terms if they had been made by a Liberal Government.

Foreign Affairs.

The General Election, 1892.

In the summer of 1892, Parliament, having sat for six years, was dissolved. At the General Election, the number returned, on one side, of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists together, exceeded that of the Gladstonians by forty; but there were over eighty Irish Home-Rulers. With a Home-Rule Bill as the first item to be expected in the Liberal programme, the Irish made common cause with that party; Parliament had no sooner met, than a vote of no-confidence was carried against ministers, Lord Salisbury resigned, and Mr Gladstone once again took office.

Gladstone's last Administration, 1892—4.

Under such conditions, however, the House of Lords adopted the view that in opposing the will of the House of Commons they would not be opposing the expressed will of the nation. A new Home-Rule Bill was passed in the Lower Chamber; this time, admitting the Irish

Representatives to Westminster, but with restrictions as to the subjects on which they might vote. The Peers rejected the Bill (1893). The Commons resolved to "fill up the cup" as the phrase went. A Parish Councils Bill was carried, but only after it had been so modified as to satisfy the Opposition; an Employers' Liability Bill was practically killed by the Peers, who insisted that it should be in effect not compulsory but permissive (1894). But the time had now come when the great leader—he was already eighty-four—no longer felt equal to his task. Mr Gladstone retired, and Lord Rosebery was chosen as the new Liberal chief.

Lord Rosebery's Administration, 1894—5.

The one achievement of the Liberal ministry was Sir William Harcourt's Budget of this year: for the Peers could not handle that. A new plan was introduced which has greatly added to the National Revenue. This was the establishment of the Death-duties—a tax on the value of the real and the personal property left to the owner's heirs on his death, graduated according to the amount of the estate; a heavier toll in proportion being exacted from large properties than from small, ranging from one per cent. up to eight per cent. of the whole value. In other respects, the Government continued the process of "filling up the cup" by introducing various measures of reform which were either rejected by the Peers or dropped because they were certain to be rejected. Once more, the ministry took the opportunity of resigning, when accidentally defeated on a chance vote in the Commons. Lord Salisbury accepted office, and dissolved forthwith. The attitude of the Peers was justified by the result; the nation declared emphatically in favour of the Unionists, who came back with a majority of 150 over Liberals and Irish Home-Rulers combined.

§ 2. *The Reign of the Unionist Party*, 1895—1905.

The Unionist Party.

Not till more than ten years had passed was the Party, which now came into office, to be again defeated at the Polls. The great Queen herself had passed away, and Edward VII. was on the throne, before Lord Salisbury resigned the party leadership to Mr Balfour. From 1886 to 1905 the Conservatives or Unionists ruled, with only the three years break just recorded; during which break their opponents, blocked by the solid resistance of the Peers, had attempted much and accomplished very little. But before the break, Conservatives had only been supported by the Liberal Unionists; the two parties had not amalgamated.

Now they were practically merged in one. The new Salisbury Cabinet was joined by the Liberal Unionist chiefs.

Domestic Legislation.

In English domestic affairs, Acts were passed which were intended for the relief of the working classes, such as the Agricultural Rating Bill, and the Employers' Liability Bill; but in the view of the Opposition, it was not the labourer but the landlord who profited by the former, while the complications and restrictions in the latter made it of very little real advantage to the working-man. Similarly an Act providing for the assistance of Voluntary Schools (that is, those which were supported by contributions from Denominational Bodies, and were not under popular control) out of public funds was described as a "dole" to the Church. A Bill which broke up the London district into Boroughs under independent control was looked upon as being really aimed against the great powers which were being accumulated in the hands of the democratic London County Council.

Irish Measures.

In Ireland, a period of comparative peace and prosperity had set in. There was no need for irritating repression. A Land Bill was introduced which found more favour with the Opposition than with the Landlord element among the Unionists (1896). This was presently followed (1898) by an Irish Local Government Act, which went far towards giving the same popular control over local affairs which had been established in England by the Local Government Act of Lord Salisbury's previous administration. These new County Councillors, in spite of their occasional wild talk, have not shown themselves (as was feared) unfit for their responsibilities. But again the Act was condemned by many Unionists, and not unfavourably received by the Opposition. It in fact gave an opportunity of testing the capacity for self-government of the Irish democracy; and, as such, was approved by those who trusted that democracy, and detested by those who dreaded it.

Foreign Affairs.

In the field of diplomacy, there were the usual complaints when a disagreement with the United States about Venezuela was referred to arbitration in certain particulars. When, after a long enquiry, the arbitrators decided in favour of most of the British claims (1899), Lord Salisbury's action was justified. Less successful were his efforts to compel Turkey to carry out promised reforms in her Asiatic province of Armenia. Public feeling was highly excited by authentic stories of massacres in that district; many Liberals demanded that Great Britain should intervene by force of arms, whether the rest of Europe supported her or not. But the Sultan calculated correctly that the Powers would not

combine to employ force; and Lord Salisbury, with the strongly expressed approval of Lord Rosebery, declined to make war single-handed; foreseeing the grave probability that a general European conflagration might result. A war between China and Japan, in which the former was badly beaten, seemed likely to be followed by a partition of the Chinese territories between the European Powers. Lord Salisbury, however, directed his diplomatic efforts to preserving the integrity of that Empire and securing an "open door" for trade. He met with only partial success, as Russia practically made prize of Manchuria, and Germany of Kiao Chow (1898).

Re-conquest of the Soudan, 1896—8.

In Egypt, every year that passed gave the British occupation an increasing aspect of permanency. The country was steadily advancing in material prosperity, and that prosperity evidently depended on British control and organisation. It was at least clear that while the Mahdi ruled in the Soudan, the withdrawal of the British would leave Egypt at his mercy. At last, however, in 1896, it was resolved to advance the Egyptian frontier southwards so far as to recover Dongola, the northern province of the Soudan. The work was entrusted to Sir Herbert Kitchener. The expedition was not to be a military display; every mile of the advance was to be a mile of territory permanently secured by an efficiently guarded railway. Before the end of the year, Dongola was once more a part of Egypt. For another year Kitchener was organising the next move, working up the Nile towards Khartum. Then in 1898, Kitchener destroyed the Mahdist power, defeating the Dervish forces at the Atbara (April) and shattering them in the great battle of Omdurman (Sept). The re-conquest of the Soudan terminated with the Fashoda episode. A French expedition from the Niger had made its way to Fashoda, far up the Nile; where it was in danger of immediate annihilation by the Dervishes, but was saved by Kitchener's advance. The French leader, however, Captain Marchand, laid claim to Fashoda as French territory; and it was only through the display of consummate tact by Kitchener and skilful diplomacy on the part of the British Government, that the French pretensions were ultimately withdrawn. So closed an incident which for a moment threatened to land us in a war with France.

Fashoda.

The Transvaal.

This was fortunate; for we were on the eve of a serious struggle in South Africa. The Transvaal Republic, which in the British view was subject, by treaty, to British suzerainty, was in its own view practically independent. It was ambi-

tions of extending its territories, and aggrieved to find itself being encircled with territories appropriated by the British. The discovery of the gold-mines of Johannesburg within the Transvaal brought a great influx of British and other foreigners into that district. The Boers taxed the mining industry—in other words, these foreigners or Uitlanders—very heavily; without permitting them to become citizens of the Republic. The Uitlanders claimed that their position was becoming intolerable, but the Boer President, Mr Kruger, was deaf to remonstrances. Suddenly, in the expectation that the Uitlanders of Johannesburg would rise and effect a successful revolution, Dr Jameson—the official administrator of British Mashonaland, on the west—headed a party of British volunteers in a dash on Johannesburg (Dec. 1895). The raid was a dead failure; the Uitlanders did not rise, and the raiders were compelled to surrender to the Boer Government. A British official's monstrous blunder had made the Transvaal President master of the situation.

The Jameson Raid.

With his hand thus strengthened, Mr Kruger's attitude towards the Uitlanders became increasingly oppressive, and towards the British Government increasingly arrogant. At last, three years after the raid, Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner in South Africa, advised Mr Chamberlain, who was at the head of the Colonial Office, that it was time for the Home Government to insist imperatively on the legitimate grievances of the Uitlanders being remedied. It was the firm conviction of nearly all the British in South Africa that the Boer President was deliberately working for the establishment of Dutch supremacy. A conference between Kruger and Milner proved only that the former would concede nothing unless the full independence of the Transvaal were acknowledged. The British Government began to accumulate troops in Cape Colony. The Boer Government demanded their withdrawal. Britain refused. The Orange Free State had pledged itself to stand by the Transvaal, and in October troops from both the Republics crossed the British border.

President Kruger.

In England, neither the ministers nor any one else had in the least realised the magnitude of the task before the nation. The great majority of the country, including a large proportion of the Liberals, were convinced that the British demands were both just and necessary, and on the other hand that the Boers would never have conceded them except to force. There were other Liberals, perhaps the majority of the party, who believed that time and a less irritating diplomacy might have procured the necessary

British opinion.

concessions without war. There was a small minority who, in their enthusiastic sympathy for oppressed nationalities, managed to persuade themselves that the Boers were innocent of anything but a perfectly legitimate desire for the freedom which every Englishman regards as his own birthright. But when a voice was raised here and there to say that it would take a quarter of a million of men to overcome the resistance of the Republics, the idea was received with general derision.

The Boer War: First phase.

So Britain took up the challenge with a light heart. The advanced posts at Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking, would hold their own till the reinforcements arrived and scattered the burghers. But the Boers invested the advanced posts, and intrenched themselves on the Tugela and the Modder to meet the reinforcements advancing under Methuen to relieve Kimberley and under Buller to relieve Ladysmith. Then in one "black week" of December, the British met with three severe repulses, at Colenso, at Magersfontein, and at Stormberg.

Second phase.

These reverses awoke the Government and the nation to the fact that they had before them not one of the familiar "little wars" but a big one: against a foe bent on the most stubborn resistance, endowed with a thorough appreciation of the tactics suited to a country with which they were familiar, perfect masters of their horses and of their rifles, and armed with an artillery of greater range than our own. The national spirit and the spirit of the colonies rose to the emergency; Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were selected to conduct the operations; regulars and volunteers were poured into Cape Colony; Canadians and Australians fought shoulder to shoulder with English, Scots and Irish. Lord Roberts concentrated his forces on the Western line; by a great turning movement, he relieved Kimberley, overwhelmed the Boer General Kronje at Paardeberg, and marched on Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State. These operations diverted some of the Boers from the East. Buller was enabled at last to cross the Tugela, defeat the enemy at Pieter's Hill, and relieve Ladysmith (Feb. 1900). In April, the annexation of the Orange Free State was proclaimed; for it was now felt that nothing short of annexation would be possible. In May, Mafeking was relieved, and Roberts reached Johannesburg; on June 5th, Pretoria, the Transvaal capital, was occupied. In September, President Kruger embarked for Europe from a Portuguese port. Lord Roberts believed that the war was over, and returned to England, leaving Lord Kitchener in supreme command.

Third phase.

Yet the stubborn resistance of the Boers was not yet ended. For nearly two years longer, they kept up an unceasing guerilla warfare, in which their most conspicuous leader was De Wet. It was not till June, 1902, that the grim persistence with which Lord Kitchener carried on his military operations, and the tact with which he conducted negotiations, resulted in the final conclusion of peace, and the incorporation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in the British Empire.

The death of Queen Victoria.

At the moment when the British arms seemed to have triumphed decisively, in the autumn of 1900, Lord Salisbury dissolved Parliament, and was returned to power with a scarcely diminished majority. But the career of the new Parliament belongs to the reign of Edward VII. For in January, 1901, while her people yet lay under the black shadow of war, the great Queen, whose rule had lasted into its sixty-fourth year—longer than that of any other monarch in our history—passed away; honoured, loved, and mourned by her subjects more deeply, more universally, and certainly not less deservedly, than any among her predecessors.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

More than a year passed after the accession of King Edward VII. before the leaders of the Boers made up their minds that nothing was to be gained by a continued resistance. Lord Rosebery emerged from his retirement to insist that the grand defect of the Government was lack of efficiency, that it was preposterous to pretend that the country was incapable of producing an efficient Government, and in effect that tactful management was the only thing needful to bring the war to an end. The tactful management was supplied by Lord Kitchener, who being entrusted with large powers of negotiation came to satisfactory terms with the Boer leaders; and at the close of May, 1902, the former republics were incorporated in the British Empire as Crown colonies with a prospect of the gradual extension of powers of self-government.

End of the War.

At home the reappearance of Lord Rosebery failed to re-unite the Opposition, and he again withdrew himself. But the great source of dissension disappeared when the war came to an end; the Liberals began to co-operate more vigorously when in 1902 ministers brought in an Education Bill, providing that the Church schools should be maintained almost entirely out of public funds while the denominational atmosphere was to be retained, the teachers might be required to pass religious tests, and the management remained in the hands of Churchmen.

The Education Bill.

But all other questions dropped into comparative insignificance when Mr Chamberlain, on his return from a tour in South Africa, announced in May, 1903, that the unity of the Empire demanded a tightening of the fiscal bonds between the mother country and the Colonies. Not merely sentiment but interest of the most tangible kind would ensure the loyalty of the Colonies to the British flag, if their membership of the British Empire secured them a material commercial advantage. The principles of Free Trade ought to be so far suspended as to give preferential treatment to colonial produce. Economically Great Britain might suffer to a slight extent; but even this was doubtful;

Colonial Preference.

and in any case the economic loss would be more than counterbalanced by the political gain, while the imposition of tariffs would provide a source of revenue out of which pensions might be provided for the aged poor.

A few Liberals hailed this doctrine with acclamation; all but the few declined to permit their faith in Free Trade to be shaken. It was seen that colonial preference to be effective involved the imposition of tariffs upon foodstuffs and raw materials; and apart from abstract theories there were many of the Unionists who would countenance nothing which, as they argued, would increase the cost of living. On the other hand when once the universal application of Free Trade had been challenged, the doctrine was attacked on every side. The imposition of tariffs would enable Great Britain to bargain for the reduction of foreign tariffs. The protection of home industries against the illegitimate competition of bounty-fed producers would provide increased employment. The British Empire would become self-supporting and independent of supplies from foreign nations. Finally, nothing but the practical exclusion of foreign competition would save many British industries from impending dissolution; and the cost of living would not be materially raised because after all it was not the consumer but the foreign producer who would pay the duty.

Fiscal Reform.

The argument was denounced by Freetraders as fallacious and self-contradictory. If the foreigner paid the duties, the British producer would not be delivered from his competition and decaying industries would not be saved from collapse. Protection would only be effective if it raised prices, and any benefits to the workman would then be more than counterbalanced by the increased cost of living. The taxation of raw materials would destroy the advantages at present possessed by British manufacturers who were dependent on foreign supplies. Retaliation almost invariably fails to achieve its object. And finally, preferential tariffs imposed for the sake of the Colonies at the expense of the British consumer would weaken instead of strengthening the bonds of Empire.

Mr Balfour had taken Lord Salisbury's place at the head of the ministry in 1902. The battle of fiscal reform was vigorously waged till the close of 1905, on the lines indicated. In December of that year Mr Balfour resigned; the Liberals accepted office under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and immediately afterwards appealed to the electorate, definitely pledging themselves that if they were returned to power they would not use their majority to give Home

Fall of the Unionist Government.

Rule to Ireland without another general election. The result was that the Liberals were returned with a majority of more than eighty over all the other parties combined, while the Unionists formed less than one-fourth of the whole House of Commons. The Liberals had received the solid support of the Unionist Freetraders. The Opposition however were satisfied that the election meant no more than that the country had not as yet had time to adjust its mind to the doctrines of the fiscal reformers, and had no desire for Liberal legislation. This view was adopted by the House of Lords in its treatment of most of the measures introduced by the new Government.

1906. The first act of the Liberal ministry was to deal with the problem in South Africa by proclaiming its complete confidence in the future loyalty of the Boers to the British flag, and bestowing complete responsible self-government upon the Orange River colony and the Transvaal colony. The Opposition, while denouncing the measure as exceedingly rash and dangerous, did not call on the House of Lords to reject it; and the hopes and expectations of the Liberals have admittedly been fulfilled.

In domestic legislation, the Government passed an act securing the funds of trade unions from liability in case of strikes. This security was previously supposed to have been given by a measure of the Conservative Government in 1875; but a recent decision of the law courts had overthrown this interpretation of the Act. A bill for the Abolition of Plural Voting—that is, depriving any individual of the power of voting in more than one constituency—was rejected by the House of Lords; and an Education bill for the withdrawal of public maintenance from Church schools, and for the transfer of those which could not maintain themselves to the local authority, was so drastically amended by the Peers that it was dropped by the Government.

1907. In 1907 the Income Tax was modified by reducing the proportion claimed upon incomes which were directly earned as compared with those derived from the possession of property and investments. Also a large scheme of army reform was carried out, which reorganised the bodies constituted for home defence—volunteers, militia, and yeomanry—as one body called the Territorials. The aim was to procure the maximum of efficiency without departing from the principle of voluntary enlistment.

1908. In 1908 the retirement and death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman transferred the leadership of the Liberal Party to Mr Asquith, who introduced the scheme long

promised by both political parties, when opportunity should arise, for providing old age pensions. The Opposition while expressing a theoretical approval raised two objections; the first, that the opportunity had not arisen, because the money was more needed for the strengthening of the navy and for national defence in general; and the second that any scheme ought to be contributory—that is, that pensions should only be given to those who had realised the duty of thrift, and earned their right to it by their savings. A vigorous opposition however was practically out of the question.

The Licensing Bill.

The Government again returned to the attack on the education question; but again it was found impossible to arrive at any solution which both Anglicans and Nonconformists would accept as final, and the bill was withdrawn. Another highly controversial measure was rejected by the House of Lords. This was a Licensing Bill, providing for the extinction during a period of fourteen years of one-third of the licences permitting the sale of alcoholic liquors. The houses thus struck out were to receive compensation from a fund provided by the licensed trade at large. It was claimed on the one side that the annual renewal of licences was in any case a matter of grace not of legal right, and that those who had entered the trade had done so with the knowledge that it was the avowed intention of the Liberals when they came into power to cut the number of licences down without recognising claims to renewal. On the other side it was urged that the reduction of the number of public houses would increase rather than diminish the amount of drunkenness by encouraging drinking in private, and that in effect the bill was robbery of those who had sunk capital in the licensed trade. The Lords' rejection of the bill was met by the warning that other means would be found for attaining the object desired.

1909. The Budget.

This was done in the budget of 1909, which enormously increased the price which had to be paid for the annual licence. Forming a part of the budget, the House of Lords could not touch the proposal unless they rejected the budget in its entirety; since it was universally admitted constitutional doctrine that the Lords have no power to amend a money bill. But this famous "Lloyd George Budget" embodied a whole series of democratic doctrines besides providing other grounds for furious controversy. Ministers announced that the ship-building programmes of other countries demanded an immensely increased expenditure on the navy. The force of their argument was admitted only with reluctance by the school of economists who, following Mr Gladstone, viewed expenditure

upon armaments with intense jealousy. These however were to be found almost exclusively amongst the ranks of the Liberals; from the other side came the cry that the proposed expenditure fell very far short of what was imperatively demanded for the safety of the country; while ministers held without qualification to their view that what they asked was neither more nor less than what a reasonable caution required.

Taxation of Land Values.

But the increased expenditure demanded either borrowing on a large scale or a great increase of revenue. The Government was resolved not to borrow; it was equally resolved not to obtain an increased revenue by the imposition of tariffs. Something was to come from the revised scale of licences; the working man was to pay his share by an increase in the duties on tobacco and spirits, which would raise the price of those articles. But the great source of revenue was to be the taxation of land values. Land which has acquired an increased value not from skilful development by its proprietors but from accidental circumstances—the demand for building plots, the discovery of minerals, and the like—was to pay a proportion of that increased value to the State. To give effect to this scheme, an exceedingly elaborate system of revaluation was required, imposing upon all landed proprietors small or great the irritating and elaborate task of providing a mass of detailed information not at all readily available.

The huge majority secured by the Liberals at the last general election had been admittedly an accident. At many bye-elections seats had since been recovered by the Unionists. Every Government upon record which has aroused the antagonism of the licensed trade has done so at the price of many votes. It was believed that the country was dissatisfied with the insufficiency of the Government scheme of national defence. The taxation of land values was by many regarded as only the first step in attacking property and capital. Every landholder, whether his pocket was likely to be affected or not, resented the inquisition involved by the new scheme of valuation. In the belief that the Government had lost the confidence of the country and would be defeated at a general election, the House of Lords rejected the counsels of caution and threw out the Budget. Ministers proclaimed that the time had come when it was no longer possible to defer dealing drastically with the powers of the House of Lords, since it was now proved to demonstration that it was a farce for any Liberal Government however strong to attempt to carry out a Liberal programme. No Liberal Government, it was said, could thenceforth

The Lords reject the Budget.

hold office without a guarantee that the House of Lords should be compelled to submit to reconstruction. The Government declined to remodel its budget and there was no alternative to a dissolution.

The Election of Jan. 1910.

The general election of January, 1910, may be said to have been fought mainly upon three leading issues—the Budget, Tariff Reform, and, in an indefinite shape, the reform of the House of Lords. The result was that the Liberals had a bare majority over the Unionists in the United Kingdom; but since they could count generally upon solid support from the representatives of the Labour Party in Great Britain and from the Irish Nationalists, their effective majority was still overwhelming. An advanced section, who believed that Mr Asquith had already obtained guarantees from the king that the House of Lords if it proved recalcitrant should be coerced by an overwhelming creation of Peers, expected that the Government would at once proceed to the attack on the Peers. Government however gave precedence to the Budget, since the prolonged delay in passing it had already been the source of serious administrative inconvenience. Soon also it became known that the king had not yet been asked for guarantees.

King Edward VII.

The utmost confidence was reposed in the shrewdness of King Edward's judgment as to the best course to be followed. The whole nation therefore felt as a stunning shock the alarming announcement on May 5th that the king was seriously ill. Within forty-eight hours the reign of Edward VII. was ended. Popular for many years as the Prince of Wales, he had during the closing years of Queen Victoria's life discharged many of those public functions which were distasteful to the Queen herself. During the nine years of his reign he had shown a firm grip of his duties as a constitutional monarch, an unfailing tact, and an admirable diplomatic skill which had been of immense service in removing sources of friction with other nations.

Another Dissolution.

Whatever course might have been followed if King Edward's life had not been cut short, ministers were not disposed to throw upon the statecraft of the new king such a burden of responsibility as might well have been laid upon so experienced a monarch as King Edward. While the air was thick with variegated schemes for the revised constitution of the Second Chamber, since it was generally recognised that the country had no inclination to abolish it altogether, the Government took the line that the first question to be dealt with was not reconstruction but the abolition of the veto. If the House of Lords were determined not to accept their scheme, they did not intend to apply coercion

until the scheme itself had been endorsed by the country. The House of Lords made its own attitude clear, ministers advised King George V. to dissolve Parliament, and for the second time within twelve months the country was in the throes of a general election. It was made clear that if the Liberals were again returned to power their first step would be to carry the Veto Bill, and that having done so they would proceed with their full programme.

The Parliament Bill, 1911.

The election showed no appreciable alteration in the position of parties. The Government carried through the Commons the Parliament Bill which had in effect been before the electorate. It made no alteration in the composition of the House of Lords while declaring in the Preamble that a reconstruction was essential. It dealt with the two immediate questions, expressly depriving the Second Chamber of any powers of touching a finance bill, and making its veto effective for two years only. If a bill were rejected by the House of Lords, and were again carried by the House of Commons after two years, it was to become law, whether a dissolution had intervened or not. The life of the House of Commons was at the same time reduced from seven years to five. It was made known that if the Lords refused to give way, the Prime Minister had the King's promise to create if called upon the four hundred Peers required to give a Government majority. Obviously such a creation would have entirely destroyed the peculiar character of the Peerage socially as well as politically. In spite of the defiant attitude of a section of the Peers, who would have preferred annihilation to surrender, the recognised leaders of the Unionists were not prepared to face the alternative to submission; and the Parliament Bill was passed. The question of reconstruction was left to be dealt with in the future.

Payment of Members. National Insurance.

In this year the payment of M.P.s at the rate of £400 *per annum* was introduced and also a comprehensive measure of National Insurance. Of this the aim was to provide medical benefits and a weekly allowance in case of sickness for wage-earners with an income of less than £160 per annum. The funds were to be provided by a fixed weekly payment, to be made by all workers and by their employers, to which was to be added a Government grant. The contributions were to be compulsory, and demands made for the exclusion of particular classes, notably domestic servants, from the operations of the Act were rejected. Serious difficulties were raised by a general refusal on the part of the medical profession to accept the terms on which they were invited to give their services, and the financial soundness

of the whole scheme was freely challenged. The root principle however was accepted by both parties; and the bill, considerably modified since its first promulgation, came into operation in July, 1912.

Here we can do no more than indicate the large measures introduced in 1912. Three in particular have to be named.

1912.

A Home-Rule Bill for Ireland provided for the establishment of a legislature in Dublin to deal with Irish concerns; while the number of Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster was to be reduced to forty. The bill aimed at providing guarantees against misuse of its powers by the new legislature; guarantees which the opponents of the bill pronounced to be worthless. The avowed intention was to follow lines compatible with the ultimate establishment of corresponding legislatures for Scotland, Wales and England, should there be any effective demand for them; but always on condition of preserving the principle of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. A second measure was to abolish plural voting, and, chiefly by reducing the period of residence necessary before a vote could be registered in any constituency, to extend the franchise to a considerable number of persons who were practically excluded by the existing arrangements. It was to be left to the House to decide, irrespective of party, whether women should be admitted to the franchise, and if so on what terms; but before the introduction of the bill, it had become quite clear that many theoretical advocates of a women's franchise had been alienated by the extravagant conduct of some reckless supporters of the movement; and that all chance of women's suffrage had disappeared for the time. The third bill referred to was that for the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, a measure following broadly the lines of the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland in 1869; though here the argument was that the majority of the Welsh people were not Anglicans but Protestant Nonconformists, whereas in Ireland it had been that the majority were not Anglicans but Roman Catholics.

Finally it may here be noted that in the last year of the nineteenth century the several Australian colonies had federated themselves as the Commonwealth of Australia, the separate states retaining their own self-government after a like fashion with the dominion of Canada. The example was followed by South Africa in 1909, when the colonies federated themselves as the Union of South Africa. The period has been marked by the development of recurring Imperial conferences, in London, between the gathered representatives of the Imperial Government and of the Overseas dominions.

The Dominions.

APPENDICES.

A. SUMMARIES.

CONSTITUTIONAL SUMMARY.

Saxon Times.

THE early English kingdoms were ruled by kings chosen from the Royal family by the Witenagemot or Council of Wise Men. The most powerful of these kings was usually acknowledged by the rest as "Bretwalda." From the time of Egbert of Wessex, the supremacy always lay with the kings of Wessex, who were recognised as kings of all England. For a long time there was no written law, and no law-making. Law meant the settled customs which were established by common consent and enforced by the local Assemblies of the Hundred and the Shire and by their officers, the reeves and the ealdormen. After the laws began to be written down, the kings with their Witan began to make such changes or additions as seemed advisable. The law took definite shape in the "Dooms" of Alfred the Great. But there was rarely a strong central government; and, after Canute, the great earls at the head of the earldoms into which the country was divided threatened to break the kingdom up again into a collection of practically independent monarchies.

The Conquest.

This was prevented by the Norman Conquest. William I. made two great changes. He established (1) a strong central government, (2) the feudal system of land tenure. In England, the second change meant that all land was treated as being the king's property, which the land-owner held from him upon condition of military service. Except the Royal demesnes, or lands which the king kept as his private personal estates, there was no land which was not held from the king by some one who was called a tenant-in-chief; though sub-tenants might hold from the tenant-in-chief and have sub-tenants of their own, and so on. But, while every sub-tenant owed allegiance to his immediate superior tenant or "lord," that allegiance was in England subordinate to his allegiance to the king. Moreover no one was allowed, like the Saxon earls, to rule over districts so large that he could levy war against the king. No rebellion would have a chance of success unless a large number of barons joined in a conspiracy; which they would not do for the sake of the aggrandisement of one or two. So that a vigorous king could always force recalcitrant barons into submission.

The Crown.

Since the greatest danger to the Royal authority lay in the desire of the greater barons to make themselves independent of control, it was the policy of the kings to limit the power of the barons and to keep the free men of the country on the side of the central authority. Therefore, though the king might be an oppressor himself, his

government aimed at preventing the barons from having the power to be oppressive, and the free local institutions of the Saxons were kept alive. Henry I. and—after Stephen had given the country an example of the miseries of anarchy—Henry II. organised the methods of administering even-handed justice which checked the local magnates from becoming local tyrants. But they also kept up the practice of ruling with the consent of the Great Council, that is, of the tenants-in-chief, both clerical and lay. And Henry II. brought the Crown to the height of its power by the substitution of money payments (*scutage*) for military service, since this enabled him to hire soldiers instead of being dependent on troops brought into the field by barons who might be disaffected.

Crown and Baronage.

Thus the Norman kings and the first Plantagenet (1) magnified the power of the Crown in order to retain their own control and to prevent individual barons from becoming too powerful; and (2) favoured popular liberties as against baronial privileges, with the same object. By the end of the twelfth century, the Crown had become so strong that nothing could restrain a tyrannical king but united action on the part of the barons. But in 1199 a tyrant came to the throne. The barons had ceased to aim at becoming petty tyrants on their own account, and began to act in unison to curtail the powers of the Crown, and to demand that their own liberties, and those of the Commons, should not be over-ridden. The grand principle, that the king may not by his own will over-ride the law, was laid down in Magna Carta; but the problem was to enforce the principle. Hence throughout the reign of Henry III. the Great Council endeavoured to obtain control over the king. Experiments like the Provisions of Oxford (1258), which tried to place control in the hands of a group of barons, came to grief; but, under Montfort's leadership, the Great Council began to assume the form and the name of a Parliament, an assembly with a recognised popular element of a representative character, to which the king was in practice obliged to defer. In this advance, the Parliament of 1265 is a landmark.

Development of Parliament.

The reign of Edward I. established in practice the principle laid down in Magna Carta that the law is supreme; and it put the law which is supreme into a much more definite shape. In the Model Parliament of 1295, it gave a decisive form to Parliament itself. It gave all the propertied classes in the country representation, by members elected by themselves, in Parliament; and separated the Commons from the non-representative hereditary class. It established Parliamentary control of nearly all taxation and legislation. During the fourteenth century the Parliamentary powers of legislation and taxation became practically complete. The principal constitutional questions now had to do with the control of administration and the appointment of officers of State; which groups of barons, such as the Lords Ordainers in the reign of Edward II. and the Lords Appellant in that of Richard, tried without any permanent success to get into their own hands. Richard II., after ridding himself of Gloucester's domination, governed for a time through Parliament, but succeeded at last in getting absolute powers conveyed to him by Statute. A year later he was deposed; Henry IV. succeeded, by a Parliamentary title, and throughout the Lancastrian rule more and more deference was paid to Parliament.

The Tudor Monarchy.

The War of the Roses, in its early stages a mere party struggle as to who should control the feeble-minded king, turned into a merely dynastic struggle for the possession of the Crown. But the triumph of the House of York enabled Edward IV. to reign

almost as an absolute monarch. Yet when Henry VII. became king—like Henry IV. really by Parliamentary title—the power of the Crown was still so far limited that the consent of Parliament was necessary for making new laws and imposing new taxes, and the king's subjects could not be imprisoned without fair trial. The Tudors aimed at providing themselves with money by other means than taxes which required the consent of Parliament. The baronage had lost, and the commons had not yet acquired, the power of opposing armed resistance to the will of the sovereign. Henry VIII. obtained from Parliament, chiefly by the Treasons and Royal Proclamations Acts, statutory powers which made him even in form an absolute monarch, though these powers were partly withdrawn in the next reign. But the Tudors made a point of acting according to the letter of the law and maintaining personal popularity; their wills did not come into collision with popular sentiment or with the will of Parliament.

Crown and Parliament.

With the Stuarts came the troubles which had been deferred by the harmony between Crown and People under the Tudors. The Commons had become capable of organised action. The exercise of absolute powers by the Tudors had been accompanied by popular assent, because their aims had been in accord with the sentiment of the mass of their subjects. The Stuarts claimed it as their right to disregard the sentiments of their subjects, and the popular assent to their absolutism was withdrawn. Parliament went back to the Lancastrian period for precedents, and met the demands of Divine Right by claims for a control of taxation, legislation, and administration, more complete than it had ever exercised in the past. The judges supported the king, but the judges had become the king's creatures, or at least partisans; their decisions carried no weight, but only made it more imperative, from the Parliament's point of view, that they should be freed from Royal influence. Parliament, accustomed to have its feelings considered, demanded—when they were considered no longer—that its will should be paramount, as the only endurable alternative. The Petition of Right (1628) seemed to secure the demands of the Commons, so far as those demands were not innovations; but the king's interpretation of the statute showed that it did not do so in fact. After eleven years of arbitrary rule, need of money obliged Charles again to face the Houses. He could not command physical force sufficient to compel their submission; he would not surrender to them; and to physical force both sides appealed, when the collision of wills made compromise impossible.

Crown and Army.

The collision of wills brought on a civil war, which created a new factor —an Army which could act as an organised body and assert its own will as against both Crown and Parliament. The Army asserted itself, made Oliver Cromwell Protector, and tried a series of experiments in constitution making, which were ended by Cromwell's death. The monarchy was restored, but with it the supremacy of Parliament was established. That supremacy Charles II. sought to undermine; but he recognised that it could not be overthrown unless the Crown had at its disposal a standing army; and it could not have a standing army without funds independent of Parliamentary control. Ultimately he got the funds from Louis XIV., but the army which was established was not loyal to his successor. James II. adopted the *rôle* of absolutism; but, since the army was not really at his disposal, he was soon ejected in favour of William III.

The Revolution.

Parliamentary supremacy had been suspended by the existence of a standing army. When the existence of the army itself became dependent on an annual Parliamentary vote, by means of the Mutiny Act, it ceased to be a menace. The Revolution which

placed William and Mary on the throne finally secured Parliamentary supremacy. No legislation and no taxation was thenceforth possible, except through Parliament; and its control of administration was confirmed by the final recognition of the responsibility of ministers to Parliament instead of to the Crown, which also had been half-won, and lost, under the final Stuart Absolutism. No minister could now retain office in the teeth of a Parliamentary majority. Thus in a few years the system of party government—which places complete control of policy in the hands of the party which for the time commands a majority in the House of Commons—became permanently established. The accession to the throne in 1714 of a German prince, who could by no possibility be regarded as the lineal heir, decisively ended any possibility of maintaining that the king had any rights but those established by statute and by undisputed custom. The first George could not even take part in the consultations of his ministers; and, though the Crown remained an influence, it ceased to be a controlling force. The Tory party ceased also for a time to count, and government passed entirely into the hands of those Whigs who could form combinations among themselves which gave them a majority in the Commons.

George III.

Votes in Parliament however no longer expressed the will of the Commons in the country; in a very large proportion of the constituencies the member was returned at the dictation of some particular magnate, and in many cases of the king. Already voices were being raised in favour of a more truly representative Parliament. But George III. made use of the existing system to recover much of the indirect power of the Crown, by building up a party of his own into which many proprietors of pocket boroughs were absorbed. He did not attempt to over-ride Parliament, but he succeeded in making it his tool for a time. A reaction began; but, while king and people were practically united in carrying on the great French war, the development of the Royal influence was not felt generally to be an urgent matter. But after the Peace of 1815, there was a rapid growth of the demand for a reform of Parliament which should make it much more truly representative of the opinions of the Commons in the country.

Reform and Democracy.

The main points sought when this demand culminated in the great Reform Bill of 1832 were: the abolition of the Royal and of the aristocratic control of Parliamentary votes through the "rotten" boroughs, and the transfer of voting power to the dwellers in the great manufacturing centres. The Act made the middle classes effectively supreme in the House of Commons. Here matters rested till after the death of Lord Palmerston; but the labouring classes had already for many years been agitating for a share in political power, which they had never possessed. That share was given to the urban labourers by the Reform Bill of 1867, and to the agricultural labourers by that of 1884. These two Franchise Acts have made the electorate completely democratic. But with the democratising of the Commons, the Peers, led by Lord Salisbury, took the character of a body which was to maintain Conservative principles threatened by the newly enfranchised elements; Liberal ministries found themselves unable to carry their measures in face of the resistance of the House of Lords: and after the rejection of a Liberal Budget, Mr Asquith's ministry carried a Parliament Act limiting the Peers' veto to two years, the resistance of the Lords being overcome by the threat of creating four hundred new peers.

ECCLESIASTICAL SUMMARY.

Saxon Times.

Christianity was introduced among the English by the Roman Mission of Augustine in 597. In the north the work was done by missionaries of the Celtic Church from Iona. The Celtic Church, though its doctrines were essentially the same as those of Rome, was regarded by the Papacy as schismatical. Uncertainty whether the Celtic or the Roman system would conquer in England was ended by the Synod at Whitby in 664, when Northumbria decided in favour of Rome.

The one Church in England was then organised by Theodore of Tarsus who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 668. The country was divided into episcopal sees, and possibly even into parishes. The unity of the ecclesiastical organisation helped by degrees to foster the idea of national unity as well. The clergy soon acquired influence; the bishops were on the same footing as the lay nobility; and in the latter half of the tenth century, St Dunstan held the dominant position in the State for many years.

The Papacy and the Crown.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, Rome, under the guidance of Hildebrand or Gregory VII., was asserting the position of the Papacy as the head of the Christian world. On the one hand, she was emphasising the distinction between the secular and the spiritual power, and on the other she was asserting the superiority of the latter. If the Roman Church was putting forth excessive claims in temporal matters, she was in some degree justifying those claims by her pursuit of spiritual ideals. William I. and Henry I. both worked in a spirit of harmony with the Church. The one dealt with Lanfranc and the other with Anselm on terms of mutual respect and goodwill: and they established the separation of the secular and the ecclesiastical tribunals. But they refused to recognise the authority of the Pope in things secular; they maintained the position that ecclesiastical authority existed by grace of the Royal authority.

Henry II., in his long struggle with Becket, sought to overthrow clerical privileges; but though Becket was murdered, the king was worsted in the contest. The clergy held their "temporalities" from the king; but the ecclesiastical jurisdiction for which Becket fought was maintained. The Papacy however now asserted its authority, first forcing King John to submission and then taking him under its protection. Henry III. was always submissive to the Pope, and Rome acquired a much greater control over ecclesiastical appointments, while the Church in England became greatly enriched. Royal authority was re-asserted by Edward I.; in the fourteenth century, the Papacy went into captivity at Avignon, and still further lost prestige by the Great Schism at the close of the century, when there were two popes each claiming to be St Peter's successor. During this period much of the power which the Papacy had won in England was lost again, partly from anti-papal legislation such as the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire, partly from the development of Lollardry at the end of the century. The Lollard movement brought on the legislation of Henry IV. against heresy (*de Heretico comburendo*); but it also sowed the seeds of the coming Reformation.

The Reformation.

The earliest aim of the Tudor dynasty was to make domination of the Crown by the nobility impossible: so for forty years after the accession of Henry VII. the great ministers of the Crown were ecclesiastics. Then Henry VIII., balked by Papal authority of

his desire to marry Anne Boleyn, resolved to repudiate Papal authority altogether, and further to bring the Church itself completely under Royal control. The English churchmen had no love for Papal control, and supported Henry in his quarrel with Clement until they realised that the Crown meant to seize and itself to exercise the powers of which the Pope was to be deprived. Henry abjured the Pope altogether, asserted his own authority by the Act of Supremacy, dissolved the monasteries, and appropriated an immense share of the Church's wealth.

In the meantime, the Lutheran revolt had disseminated new doctrines, and John Calvin at Geneva was formulating a new system of Church government. Henry would have nothing to say to either, but in the next reign many of the new doctrines were embodied in the religion which the state sanctioned and recognised as that of the Church in England, as expressed in the "Prayer-books" and established by the Acts of Uniformity of Edward VI. The proceedings of Edward's reign were cancelled under Mary; but what is broadly called Protestantism was definitely established under Elizabeth in 1559.

The Elizabethan Settlement,

Until the reign of Henry VIII. there had been three parties to every ecclesiastical struggle—the Crown, the Papacy, and the Churchmen; using that term for the clerical body in England. The Papacy now disappeared. Control of the Church by the State was finally and irrevocably claimed in Elizabeth's Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. Those who did not conform to the religious requirements of the State were to be subjected to pains and penalties. Those requirements were defined in the formularies authorised and enjoined by the State. The interpretation of the definitions was left largely to the established authorities among the clerical body, and to the special Court of High Commission established to deal with such questions.

Puritanism,

The Church, then, stood between the adherents of the old doctrines or Romanists, and the extreme Protestants or Puritans who disliked both the Prelatical system under which the Church was organised, and a great many practices which the formularies enjoined. The Puritan objectors who still did not sever themselves from the Church were known as Nonconformists: they conformed under protest, because they admitted the right of the State to impose regulations which did not actually violate their consciences. They did not desire toleration to be extended either to Romanists or to Schismatics. But not only were the Nonconformists refused all concessions, first under Elizabeth and then under the Stuarts: the ecclesiastical authorities further interpreted the law in a sense which the Puritans regarded as contravening the law, and this they did with the open support of the Crown. Hence under Charles I., Parliament asserted a right never before claimed by it to control ecclesiastical administration, and, when the civil war broke out, abolished episcopacy without establishing any organised system in its place. This result was due to the political power which had passed to the Army; for the Army and its chiefs, while hostile to "Popery" and Prelacy, desired in other respects to maintain freedom of conscience.

Toleration.

With the Restoration, episcopacy was reinstated. The legislation of the Cavalier Parliament drove the Nonconformists out of the Anglican Church, and imposed heavy pains and penalties on "Dissenters," as they now began to be called, of all kinds, as well as on Roman Catholics. In their desire to restore Romanism, both Charles II. and James II. endeavoured to suspend the Penal Laws against

Romanists and Protestant Dissenters alike, by their Declarations of Indulgence: but the Dissenters preferred the loss of their own liberty to the reinstatement of Popery. At the Revolution, Romanists continued to be politically suspect as Jacobites; but the Dissenters were considerably relieved by the Toleration Act of William III. They were by no means freed from political disabilities, but even these could be partly evaded by "occasional conformity." At the end of Anne's reign, the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts drew the bonds tighter; but both the Acts were repealed after five years. An annual Act of Indemnity for breaches of the restraining Acts went far towards making them a dead letter; but they were not finally removed from the Statute Book till 1828. To the Romanists, however, popular hostility remained unrelaxed. It was not till 1778 that the Penal Laws against them were mitigated; Pitt's proposals for a Catholic Relief Bill brought about his resignation in 1801; and it was only in 1829 that Catholic Emancipation was finally granted.

SUMMARY OF SCOTTISH RELATIONS.

Scotland and the Saxons.

In the seventh century, the Northern Anglian kingdom of Northumbria stretched from the Humber to the Forth, including the Eastern Lowlands of what we know as Scotland. The Celtic king of the Scots was recognised more or less as over-lord in the Highlands, and even less definitely in the Celtic Western Lowlands, or Strath Clyde. In the tenth century, Edgar the Peaceful is said to have ceded the Lothians to the Scots king on condition of his becoming his "man"; but it was not till the eleventh century, in the reign of Canute, that the Lothians—*i.e.* the Lowlands from Forth to Tweed—definitely became a part of the Scottish kingdom. With the reign of Malcolm Canmore (1057—1093), history becomes clearer. Malcolm married the sister of Edgar Atheling. His daughter became the wife of Henry I. He invaded England twice; but in 1072 the Conqueror invaded Scotland, and Malcolm did homage to him of some sort. Malcolm however again invaded England in 1079 and in 1091; whereupon Rufus invaded Scotland, and Malcolm under a treaty accepted him as his feudal over-lord—though whether only for fiefs south of the Tweed is an open question. Next year Rufus broke the treaty, and in 1093 Malcolm again invaded England, but was killed. After a period of some chaos, Edgar, son of Malcolm, was established on the Scottish throne by English help, and the Scots kings remained on friendly terms with Rufus and Henry I. (whose wife was King Edgar's sister). Edgar undoubtedly recognised the king of England as his own over-lord, and a number of Norman barons held Scottish fiefs from him. Two of Edgar's brothers followed in succession, Alexander I. (1107) and David I. (1124). Till David's reign, a division of Scotland into two kingdoms, north and south of the Forth, was possible; in that case the Lowlands would almost certainly have been absorbed by England. David held an English earldom on his own account. But the reign of Stephen in England enabled David to consolidate his own kingdom. He invaded England in support of his niece the Empress Maud, and was defeated at Northallerton (1138); but a treaty the next year

Scotland and the Normans.

confirmed both him and his son Henry of Huntingdon in their possession of English fiefs south of the Tweed. Meanwhile, the Norman element in the Scottish Lowlands was considerably increased.

After David's death, the rule of a strong king in England, Henry II., and of a weak one in Scotland, Malcolm IV., enabled Henry to deprive Malcolm of some of his English fiefs. Malcolm's successor and brother, William the Lion, found, in the rebellion of Henry's sons, an opportunity of attempting to recover these possessions. But he was taken prisoner at Alnwick, and was compelled under the treaty of Falaise (1174) to do homage to Henry for his whole kingdom. But this treaty was formally abrogated by Richard I. in 1189. After that, for a hundred years, England and Scotland remained at peace. William's successors, Alexander II. and Alexander III., did homage to English kings for their English fiefs, but not for Scotland.

The struggle for Independence.

Edward I. of England, however, was bent on forming the whole island into one kingdom. At first he intended to accomplish his purpose by marrying his own infant heir to the infant heiress of Alexander III. But the death of the "Maid of Norway" (1290) followed soon after the death of Alexander. The Scots appealed to Edward to arbitrate between the claimants to the Scottish throne who now came forward; and Edward, with an army at his back, consented to arbitrate only on condition that he was acknowledged as overlord. The Scots, after hesitation, yielded to his demand, and John Balliol became king of Scotland, as Edward's vassal.

But when Edward went on to treat the vassalage as a stern reality, the Scots became recalcitrant at once. John Balliol disobeyed Edward's summons, and formed an alliance with France; which was to be an important factor in Anglo-Scottish relations for nearly three hundred years. Edward pronounced Balliol's fief of the Scottish kingdom to be forfeit to the English Crown by feudal law, ejected him by force of arms, placed Scotland under the control of his own officers, and garrisoned it with English troops. After several local collisions between Scots and English, the Scots found a leader in Sir William Wallace, who cut in pieces the forces of the English at Cambuskenneth (1297). In 1298, Edward invaded Scotland, overthrew Wallace at Falkirk, and restored the English government; yet the Scots continued to maintain an ill-organised struggle. Another invasion in 1304—5 seemed to have secured Edward; but in 1306 Robert Bruce, grandson of one of the claimants in 1290, got himself crowned and renewed the revolt. In 1307 Edward marched north to crush him, but died on the Border. For the next seven years Bruce and his companions in arms waged war on the English garrisons, and won fortress after fortress, till in 1314 Edward II. led into Scotland a great host which suffered an overwhelming defeat at Bannockburn.

The independence of Scotland was won; for there was no strong government in England for the next twenty years. In 1328, it was acknowledged by the treaty of Northampton; the northern counties having been perpetually raided by the Scots during the interval.

Scotland and the later Plantagenets.

Edward III. found, in the minority of Robert Bruce's successor David II., an opportunity for trying to set aside the treaty of Northampton, and to reinstate the Balliols as his vassals. But, though from this time forward Scotland was perpetually torn by dissensions and rivalries between the great houses, and by long periods of regencies, the country was pervaded with a passionate determination never to submit to England. In 1338, Edward Balliol was finally ejected; and Edward III. was now plunging into the Hundred Years' War

with France, which absorbed all the strength of England available for aggressive policy.

Edward's French war encouraged David to invade England, but he was routed and taken prisoner at Neville's Cross (1346). In 1356, Edward found leisure to invade Scotland and lay it waste, but he accomplished nothing more. This incursion is known as the Burnt Candlemas. There were no further attempts at a subjugation of Scotland, though both Richard II. and Henry IV. invaded her. Wars and alliances between the Border lords, and raids of the Border clans, continued persistently. Notable events in the course of these hostilities were the battles of Otterburn and Homildon Hill, and the subsequent participation of the Earl of Douglas in the rising of the Percies against Henry IV. In 1406, James, the young heir of the Scottish throne, was captured on the way to France, and held a prisoner till the death of Henry V.; when he returned to Scotland with Joan Beaufort, John of Gaunt's grandchild, as his queen. During the reign of Henry V., Scotland being then under a regency, Scottish troops aided the French, and were mainly responsible for the defeat of Thomas of Clarence at Beaugé. But between England and Scotland there was no open war, though it was always necessary for England to keep the North in a state of defence. For the next sixty years both countries were sufficiently occupied with their own internal troubles.

Scotland and the Tudors.

The policy of Henry VII. led him to desire alliance with Scotland, which under James IV. was becoming a strong and united kingdom. Henry arranged a marriage between his daughter Margaret and James, which brought the Scots Royal Family next into the line of succession after the offspring of Henry VIII. But disputes between the two kingdoms increased; they were not settled when Henry went to war with France in 1512; and in 1513 James IV. invaded England and lost his life in the great disaster of Flodden. An infant was again king of Scotland. Henry VIII. and his ministers were content to play the game of fostering internal feuds in the northern country. But, when James V. grew up, he entertained keen suspicions of his English uncle's designs. The relations became so strained that, in 1542, James was on the point of invading England, when his army was routed at Solway Moss. James died a few days later, just after the birth of the daughter who was to be the famous Mary Queen of Scots.

The government of Scotland was now in the hands of the clerical and French party, as opposed to the Protestant party who were comparatively in favour of England. But hints that Henry would now revive the old claim of English sovereignty kept Scotland suspicious even of proposals for the marriage of little Prince Edward and little Queen Mary. When Henry died, Somerset attempted to enforce those proposals at the sword's point; but his victory at Pinkie only served to make the Scots more resolved than ever against any form of union which could be twisted into the practical subjection of Scotland to England. Mary was shipped off to France, and the Regency, which passed to the little Queen's French mother, was thoroughly hostile to England, and leaned on France for support. In the Scottish religious struggle, however, it was inevitable that the Reformers should turn to England for support, except during the religious reaction under Mary Tudor. When Elizabeth came to the throne, under Cecil's guidance, she gave her support to the "Lords of the Congregation," and thus at least kept Scotland from becoming solidly hostile to England.

Throughout her reign, Elizabeth refused to acknowledge Mary Stuart and

her son James as her own heirs-presumptive. Her grand object was to prevent Scotland from uniting to press the Stuart title to the English throne with the support either of France or Spain. While Mary was in Scotland (1561—8), Elizabeth fostered the Protestant party headed by the Queen's brother Moray. When Mary fled to England, she kept her alive, with the perpetual threat of either liberating or executing her as the political exigencies might demand. At last, when there seemed nothing more to gain by keeping Mary alive, the Scots Queen was executed, and her claims to the English succession passed to her Protestant son. When Elizabeth died, there was no Catholic with a colourable title to the English throne, and James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, uniting the crowns but not the governments of the two countries.

The Union of Crowns.

From 1603 to 1707, England and Scotland remained (except for a brief interval during the Commonwealth) two separate States, having little in common except that they could not in practice enter into antagonistic alliances with foreign countries, or make war upon each other so long as both recognised the same king. A closer union was deliberately rejected. The Scots had no direct interest in the quarrels between the Stuart kings and their English subjects, or the English in the quarrels between those kings and their Scottish subjects. But when the English and Scottish subjects of the same king found him straining the Royal prerogative in both countries, they could make common cause. Hence, when Charles I. sought to force Prelacy upon Scotland, the English Parliament refused to supply him with the means for making war on the recalcitrant Scots; and in 1643 the Scots entered on the Solemn League and Covenant with the English Parliament for the support of Puritanism in both countries. Except for the moral obligations of that Covenant, Scots and English were each fully entitled to conduct separate negotiations with their king. The declaration of a Commonwealth in England did not turn Scotland into a republic, and the Scots were free to support their king Charles II. in asserting his title to the English throne. Hence Scotland intervened successfully in 1644 to turn the tide of war against Charles I., and unsuccessfully in 1651 in favour of Charles II. In 1650, not so legitimately, Cromwell intervened in Scotland, because the restoration of Charles in Scotland would be a menace to the English Commonwealth. In 1654, there was an actual Parliamentary union of the two states, which ended with the Stuart Restoration in 1660.

The incorporating Union.

The two states being thus again separated, the government of Scotland at once became much more arbitrary than that of England. But when at last Charles II. recovered, and James II. continued, absolutism in England, Scotland followed suit when England deposed James and placed William and Mary on the throne. In this reign, however, the commercial disadvantages suffered by Scotland at the hands of England, and the inevitable subordination of Scottish to English interests when the two clashed, became intensely marked. Hence, in Anne's reign, the Scots declared their intention of settling the succession to the Scottish throne independently of England, unless the association of the nations could be placed on a more satisfactory footing. This was accomplished by the Treaty of Union (1707), which gave Great Britain one crown and one legislature, and abolished all commercial distinctions, while preserving to each country its national institutions.

After the Union.

In Scotland, however, the feeling that national independence was lost and national interests overlooked in favour of the predominant partner was not dispelled for a long time, while there was a stronger spirit there of loyalty to the exiled dynasty. The Jacobite

rising of 1715 received more support, and that of 1745 very much more, in Scotland than in England. But the fall of Jacobitism was followed by the abolition in Scotland of the "heritable jurisdictions" and the Highland clan system, which had hitherto increased the difficulties of any central government. Scottish industries, commerce, and prosperity advanced with rapid strides. Martial ardour was satisfied, and national self-respect gratified, by the formation of the Scottish regiments and the brilliant part they played in the deeds of British armies. Finally, though jealousies still lingered, the sense of unity grew; and the idea of a political dissolution of Great Britain into two separate states soon became almost unthinkable.

SUMMARY OF IRISH RELATIONS.

The annexation of Ireland.

Before the Norman Conquest, the history of Ireland hardly touches that of England: except as a land from which came forth missionaries of the Celtic Church; and sometimes by the aid sent to the Danes of England by the Danes who had similarly planted themselves in Ireland, as at the battle of Brunanburh in 937. The connexion really begins when Adrian IV.—the one Englishman who has been a pope—granted the lordship of Ireland to Henry II. in 1154 on his accession to the throne of England. Ireland did not form a kingdom at the time: it was a collection of petty kingdoms in which various chiefs as they happened to be strong or weak won a temporary ascendency and then lost it. On the ground that Ireland was schismatical, Adrian bestowed the lordship of it on the king of England.

Ireland and the Plantagenets.

Henry did not attempt to make good his title for some years. But in 1169 he allowed Richard de Clare, known as Strongbow, with some others, to go to Ireland to the assistance of the king of Leinster. Strongbow was a successful leader, and he married the king of Leinster's daughter. In 1171, Henry, fearing that Strongbow might set up a kingdom for himself, went to Ireland; received homage from all the Normans who had begun to establish themselves there, and from a number of the Celtic chiefs; and left Hugh de Lacey as Viceroy. The Irish churchmen accepted the Roman in place of the Celtic discipline. Ireland generally acknowledged Henry's lordship; but it was only in the district called the English Pale of which Dublin was the centre that the Viceroy exercised effective control. Norman barons established themselves elsewhere, but became more Irish than the Irish, and even less amenable to the central government. Within the Pale, English institutions and something corresponding to the developing English Parliament were established; outside it the traditional laws and customs of the Celts prevailed. In the time of Edward II., Edward Bruce, brother of Robert Bruce, attempted to establish an Irish kingdom of his own, but failed. In the early years of Edward III., it was ordained that no one should hold office in Ireland who had not been born in England; and in 1364, when Lionel of Clarence was Viceroy, the Statute of Kilkenny forbade the English to adopt Irish habits or recognise Irish law. Roger Mortimer, in the reign of Richard II., and his grandson Richard of York in the reign of Henry VI., were Viceroys; and the House of York was popular in Ireland, though no one succeeded in bringing the country under orderly control.

Ireland and the Tudors.

The practice arose of nominating a Viceroy who did not go to Ireland at all, and a deputy—usually one of the great Irish chiefs of Norman descent—who was practically the governor. But still the power of the central government did not effectively extend beyond the Pale. When Henry VII. ascended the throne, both Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck found support in Ireland; but the king pursued a persistent policy of conciliating the greatest of the chiefs, Kildare, who was deputy during most of Henry's reign. In 1494, during the temporary deputyship of Sir Edward Poynings, "Poynings' Law" was passed; by which no measures could be introduced in the Irish Parliament till they had been submitted to the King in Council, in England. Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, a policy of conciliating the greater chiefs was varied by periodical fits of sharp repression on one side and insurrections on the other. In the early years of Elizabeth, Shan O'Neill, of Tyrone, seemed likely to break free from the English yoke altogether, and in 1580 the Desmond revolt was only suppressed with extreme difficulty. The reign generally was marked by a series of attempts to plant colonies of English on lands confiscated from the Irish: who were regarded by every Englishman as quite outside the pale of humanity. In Elizabeth's last years, Tyrone's rebellion came nearer even than Shan O'Neill had done thirty years before to overthrowing the English dominion.

Ireland and the Stuarts.

A fierce race-hostility between English and Scottish settlers on one side and Irish and old Anglo-Irish on the other, continued after James I. ascended the English throne. To this was added a bitter antagonism between the rival creeds—since the native population held fast to the old faith—and intense animosity on the part of the Irish to the new English law applied to the land; for the final result of Elizabeth's reign had been to bring all Ireland, instead of only the Pale, under the control of the central government. The Viceroyalty of Strafford (1633—8), though it brought strong rule and increased prosperity, did nothing to remove this hostility: and his iron hand had hardly been withdrawn when a tremendous insurrection broke out, accompanied by savage massacres. Then Royalists and Catholics made common cause; and in 1649, when Charles had been beheaded, Cromwell went to Ireland, smote Drogheda and Wexford mercilessly, planted colonies of his Puritan troopers on the soil, and left in Ireland a name more bitterly execrated than that of any other Englishman. Hence, when James II. fled from England, nearly all Ireland rose in his support. But for William's victory of the Boyne, the Puritan element would probably have been wiped out altogether. But William and his lieutenants conquered Ireland; and accomplished the task so thoroughly that for a hundred years there was no possibility of armed insurrection assuming dangerous proportions.

Ireland under the Penal Laws.

William's measures gave logical shape to the principles on which the English government of Ireland had long been conducted. Three-fourths of the Irish were Roman Catholics; but almost the whole landed proprietary practically passed into the hands of Protestants. If one son of a Catholic landowner chose to turn Protestant, he would inherit the whole land, instead of sharing it with his brothers. For Catholics there was no education available. Catholics might not carry arms. Catholics might not sit in Parliament. Parliament itself could only accept or reject legislation, which only came before it after the English Privy Council had dealt with it. Industries which competed with English industries were crushed. The Navigation

Acts kept the carrying trade in the hands of the English. The peasantry had no inducement to industry or to improving their holdings, because, if holdings were improved, the agents of absentee landlords raised the rents; the tenant must pay the rent or quit his holding, and if he quitted his holding, he must emigrate or starve. In short, the large Catholic population was at the mercy of the small Protestant population, and the Protestants themselves were at the mercy of England.

The Union.

In the reign of George III., the agrarian troubles led to the formation of the secret societies known as "Whiteboys" and by other names; the political dissatisfaction of the Protestants led to demands for the freedom long enjoyed by the Parliament at Westminster; the demands for free trade and for a relaxation of the penal laws against Catholics were also growing. The revolt of the American colonies gave point to the claims for constitutional liberty. Before the American war was over, most of the trade restrictions and some of the worst of the penal laws were removed, and "Grattan's Parliament" was freed from the control of Westminster. But the agrarian difficulty and the Protestant ascendency remained. The French Revolution set agitation at work, and in 1798 there was a rebellion. Cornwallis in Ireland and Pitt in England came to the conclusion that a Union, coupled with Catholic Emancipation, was necessary. The Union was carried in 1800, and gave Ireland formal political equality; but owing to the king's opposition it was not coupled with Catholic Emancipation.

After the Union.

The mass of the Irish population continued bitterly hostile to the Protestant ascendency; the Protestant ascendency depended on the British connexion, and so did the agrarian system. So, when Catholic Emancipation was granted in 1829, Irish agitators immediately took up a demand for the repeal of the Union, which would have brought about Catholic ascendency in Ireland. Open constitutional agitation was accompanied by the formation of secret organisations, sometimes political and sometimes agrarian, which encouraged crime and violence; it was difficult to tell how far these movements overlapped each other; and one ministry after another had recourse to "coercion" for the suppression of crime. The era of attempts to pacify Ireland by dealing with the grievances which seemed to lie at the root of her troubles may be said to have begun with the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church in 1869. The agrarian difficulty has been attacked in a series of Land Acts, the work sometimes of Liberal and sometimes of Conservative Governments, from 1870 to the end of the reign of Queen Victoria. The extension of the Franchise in 1885 led Mr Gladstone to believe that the solution of the political problem lay in the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin; but his Bill for that purpose was defeated in 1886, and on his return to office in 1893, his second Home-Rule Bill, on somewhat different lines, was rejected. The Unionist Governments have offered their own solution in a large extension of powers for local self-government; but the desired object, of establishing in the mass of the population a sentiment in favour of the law, instead of one antagonistic to it, has not yet been decisively achieved.

In 1912 a new Home Rule Bill was introduced by Mr Asquith's Government, which was welcomed by Irish Nationalists but vehemently denounced by Ulster. It was anticipated that the Bill would be carried in the House of Commons and suspended by the Lords' rejection for two years, when the veto would become inoperative and the bill become law if again passed by the Commons.

INDIAN SUMMARY.

On the last day of 1600, a charter was granted to the East India Company for trading in India and the Indian seas. Next year a Dutch East India Company was formed. The Dutch, however, established themselves mainly in the Spice Islands, while the English Company devoted itself to the Indian trade. The Mogul Empire was now at the height of its splendour and power.

The East India Company.

In 1613 the English were allowed to establish a "factory" or trading station at Surat on the west coast. In 1639 a second factory was started at Madras on the south-east coast. In 1662, Bombay was bestowed upon Charles II. by Portugal, as part of the dower of his wife Catherine of Braganza: and by him it was transferred to the East India Company. Bombay now became the English headquarters on the west. In 1690, a third centre was set up at Fort William or Calcutta, on the Hugli, one of the rivers of the Ganges Delta. In the meantime, the French too had started an East India Company in 1664, and presently acquired two principal trading stations, at Chandernagore on the Hugli, and at Pondicheri, south of Madras.

In 1707 the last of the Great Mogul Emperors died, and from that time the Empire broke up into a collection of great monarchies which professed but hardly practised allegiance to the Mogul at Delhi. The French and English had a few additional posts in the neighbourhood of their great factories, but none had more than a handful of soldiers. Neither French nor English actively took up the notion of establishing themselves as a territorial power, till about 1740; when Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicheri, conceived the idea of acquiring for the French an influence with the great monarchs at Hyderabad and Arcot. Such a plan demanded the expulsion of any European rival. Hence, when France and England had gone to war in 1744, Dupleix attacked the British at Madras in 1746. The immediate effect was to give the French a predominance. The Franco-British war was ended by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; but rival native claimants to the thrones of Hyderabad and Arcot called in French or British aid; and the struggle between the two Companies continued. After the capture and defence of Arcot by Clive in 1751, the tide turned decisively in favour of the British. On the renewal of the Franco-British war, the French were finally beaten at Wandewash in 1760; Pondicheri was taken next year, and at the Peace of Paris, their fortifications were dismantled, and they were reduced to the position of traders without the power of organising a military force.

Dupleix and Clive.

In the meantime, the British had established themselves as a territorial power in Bengal. The Nawab of that province had perpetrated a wanton outrage on the community at Fort William in 1756. In 1757 Clive recaptured Calcutta; he then overthrew the Nawab at the Battle of Plassey and placed on the throne another Nawab, who was entirely in his hands. In 1765, Clive obtained from the Mogul the formal cession of the Diwani or Government of Bengal to the East India Company. After this the British Imperial Government could not evade responsibility for the great territorial possessions of a British Merchant Company; and Parliament established a system of government for the new Dependency by North's Regulating Act, 1773.

The Company now *owned* the towns of Bombay and Surat with a small amount of adjacent territory; Madras, and some adjacent territory; the Cirkars; and Bengal. Also the Carnatic was entirely under its *control*; and the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nawab of Oude were partly so. Mysore, and the principalities which made up the Maratha confederacy, were entirely independent. The rule of Warren Hastings (1774—1785) secured the hold of the British on their possessions, prepared the way for an improved system of government, tightened their control, and kept in check the aggressive inclinations of Mysore and of the Marathas.

Hastings.

The India Act of 1784 improved the system of government, which remained in the hands of the Company but was subjected to control by the ministry of the day. In India, Lord Cornwallis (1786—1793) made administrative reforms, notably the "Permanent [land] Settlement" in Bengal, and was forced to attack and confiscate a part of Mysore. Cornwallis was followed by Sir J. Shore. Shore's successor (1798—1805), who began his career as Lord Mornington and continued it as Marquess Wellesley, adopted a policy which aimed directly at making the British power paramount. By a system of subsidiary alliances, the British organised and controlled the forces which maintained native Princes, usually receiving cessions of territory to meet the expenses.

Corn-wallis.

Wellesley.

Wars provoked by Mysore and by the Marathas brought about the overthrow of Tippu Sahib, and the annexation of a part of Mysore and of some Maratha provinces. The next period of advance was under Lord Moira, who became Lord Hastings (1813—23). The Ghurka war ended by the annexation of a part of the Ghurka territory and the permanent establishment of friendly relations with Nepal. The Pindari war, for the suppression of the military marauders of Central India, proved itself to be in reality a contest with the Maratha Powers; which resulted in the overthrow of their nominal head, the Peishwa, in wide annexations, and in the definite establishment of the British paramountcy.

Moira.

For twenty years, 1819—1839, there was almost undisturbed peace, except in Further India, *i.e.* Burma. War with that Power became necessary in 1824, and was ended with the annexation of Assam and Arakan in 1826. Throughout this period, Government was mainly occupied with the organisation of administration, and the reformation of barbaric customs and institutions such as Suttee and Thuggee. In this connexion, the most notable name is that of Lord William Bentinck, 1828—1835.

Bentinck.

In 1836 the aggression of Persia, with Russia behind her, led to Lord Auckland's unfortunate attempt to secure Afghanistan by placing Shah Shuja instead of Dost Mohammed on the throne at Kabul. This was done by the campaign of 1839. British troops remained in occupation at Kabul. But in 1841 the Afghans rose; the British force was massacred while retiring; another campaign was needed in 1842; and after the vindication of the British arms, Dost Mohammed was restored at Kabul and the British retired. Next year, Sindh was annexed and the Maratha army at Gwalior was suppressed. But at the end of 1845, the Sikhs of the Panjab made a bid for empire, and invaded British territory. After a series of sanguinary conflicts, they were vanquished, and British control was established, which was to be withdrawn when the young Maharaja came of age. In 1847 the Sikhs again rose. Dalhousie (1848—1856) became Governor-

Afghani-stan.

The Panjab.

General: the Sikhs were beaten in the campaign of 1848—9, and the Panjab was annexed. A series of annexations, following on the lapse of heirs, was finished off by the annexation of Oude on account of persistent misgovernment in 1856, when Dalhousie was replaced by Canning.

The Mutiny.

In 1857 the great Mutiny broke out, the Sepoys, with general support from the natives, rising against the British throughout the Ganges provinces from Patna to Delhi. From May to September, the British stood at bay; the tide turned when they captured Delhi, and Lucknow was reinforced. The revolt was then crushed by the campaigns of Sir Colin Campbell, and of Sir Hugh Rose in Central India, and was ended in 1858. The Government of India was thereupon definitely taken over by the Crown, and the East India Company ceased to exist.

After the Mutiny.

Since that time, organisation and administration within, and the security of the frontier districts, have been the main objects of the British rule. The Queen was converted into the Empress of India in 1876. Jealousy of Russian influence brought on active British intervention in Afghanistan which resulted in the second Afghan war of 1879—80; when Abdurrahman was left as Amir, pledged to resist Russian influence, while British support was pledged to him in return. These pledges nearly resulted in a war with Russia in 1885 over the Penjdeh incident. In 1886, with the annexation of Upper Burma, the British territorial dominion reached the limits within which it is now bounded.

COLONIAL SUMMARY.

Founding of Virginia.

The earliest English attempts at colonisation were made in the later half of Queen Elizabeth's reign, first by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was lost at sea, and then with great persistence by Sir Walter Raleigh. All these attempts failed, Raleigh's settlement (which he christened Virginia) being repeatedly wiped out. But in 1606 the idea of planting a colony, with commercial objects, was taken up by a Company, to which a charter was granted. Again failure seemed imminent, but a fresh Charter was granted in 1609; and from that time, the colony of Virginia grew and flourished, though it passed through many vicissitudes. Its government was at first in the hands of the Company in London; in 1619 it received a measure of self-government by the establishment of an assembly of burgesses elected by the colonists. In 1625, the Company was superseded by the Crown, with a governing Council in London who appointed a Governor and Council in Virginia, who with the Assembly conducted the government of the colony. The colonists were to a large extent of gentle birth, and carried with them the traditions of English country gentlemen.

Colonisation of N. America.

In 1620, a Puritan settlement was made, to the north, by the "Pilgrim Fathers." Here the colonists were of varying social position, but were united by a zealous Puritanism. They betook themselves to this "New England," in order to follow the religion which they were not allowed to practice freely at home. The New England colonies were given self-government practically from the outset. The Crown regarded the settlements as a happy method of getting rid of troublesome subjects, and left them to go their own way. Fresh colonies were from time to time planted, those to the north following the first New

England model, and being Puritan, those to the south following the Virginian model, and being Anglican or even partly Catholic.

Between the northern and southern groups the Dutch were planting colonies in the same period, and beyond the northern group the French were occupying Acadia (now Nova Scotia) and advancing up the St Lawrence. Hence in 1643, several of the New England colonies formed a confederation for defence. Meanwhile several islands in the West Indies had also been occupied.

In 1655 Jamaica was taken from the Spaniards; in 1665 the Dutch colonies on the N. American mainland were taken, and were ceded to England by the Treaty of Breda in 1667.

The French rivalry.

In 1681 the great Quaker colony of Pennsylvania was founded in a central position; already in 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company had been formed with rights over the territory north of the French settlements. In 1697 the French planted themselves on the south in Louisiana, and began to advance up the Mississippi: but at the Peace of Utrecht (1713), Newfoundland was recognised as British territory and Acadia was ceded by France: which, however, retained Canada and Louisiana. These two French colonies intended to work southward and northward till they could join their territories; while the British intended to push out westward, a scheme clearly incompatible with that of the French.

Between 1650 and 1750, the Home Government systematically imposed its own trade regulations, notably the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, for the benefit of British trade. The colonial trade was seriously fettered thereby, but the regulations were endured while they were looked upon as the price paid for military and naval help from the Mother Country against French aggression.

The Colonial revolt.

This danger to the colonies was ended by the conquest of Canada and its cession to England at the Treaty of Paris in 1763. After that, the colonists would not long have borne even with the old trade regulations. But the ministers of George III. imposed new and irritating forms of taxation, which the colonists could challenge as violating the principles of the Bill of Rights, the last "Charter of English Liberties." The struggle over the new imposts led up to the revolt of the Colonies, the War of Independence (1775—1782), and the separation of the United States of America from the British Empire. Canada, however, with Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, remained loyal to the Empire.

The loss of the "thirteen colonies" was to be redressed by the acquisition of South Africa and of Australasia. And from this time there was a steady development of the principle which amounts to this—that a colony should grow into a State existing for its own benefit and that of the Empire, but not primarily for the private convenience of the Mother Country in particular.

Canada.

At the close of the eighteenth century Canada was mainly French; but the American War brought into it an influx of loyalists from the new United States. The Canada Act of 1791 separated Upper Canada, where the British were now more numerous, from Lower Canada, still mainly French: so that the laws to which either race was accustomed might prevail where that race predominated. In the later American War of 1812 Canada still proved thoroughly loyal. But the government remained in the hands of the Governor and of Crown nominees: also antagonism between French and British inhabitants became increasingly active. This led to Papineau's insurrection in 1837. Lord Durham, though unsuccessful as an administrator, made a report which gave the solution of the problem. The

Reunion Act brought Upper and Lower Canada again under a single government, and made the executive responsible to the colonial legislature instead of to the governor. In 1867 the British North America Act established the Dominion of Canada as a species of federation, which was soon joined by all the other North American colonies except Newfoundland, and over which the Mother Country exercises practically no control except in regard to relations with Foreign Powers. The whole is under a central government, while each province has its own government for provincial affairs.

South Africa.

At the end of the eighteenth century, we had no possessions in South Africa; the Cape was a Dutch colony. To prevent its capture by the French, it was in effect surrendered to Britain in 1795, reverting to Holland at the Peace of Amiens in 1802. In 1806, Holland being at Napoleon's mercy, it was retaken by the British, and retained in 1814, compensation being paid to Holland. The immigration of British settlers led to the introduction of British laws and customs; and when slavery was abolished, the Dutch inhabitants "trekked" inland: as they reckoned, beyond the British sphere. In 1836 they occupied what became the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal: but in 1842 the British appropriated Natal. In 1852 and 1854 the independence of the Transvaal and that of the Orange Free State were recognised. In 1877 the Transvaal was annexed, as being unable to maintain itself against the Zulus; but in 1880 the Boers rose in arms, defeated the British at Majuba, and had their independence restored in 1881. They claimed that by a Convention in 1884 the British abrogated their suzerainty. The grievances of the "Uitlanders" caused the British Government to intervene in 1898—9, when the Boers resolved to bid defiance to the British, in which action they were supported by the Orange Free State. The war which then broke out was not ended till 1902, when the two Dutch Republics were annexed and converted into British colonies. In 1906 they were granted responsible government; and in 1909 the South African Colonies were federated in the Union of South Africa.

Australasia.

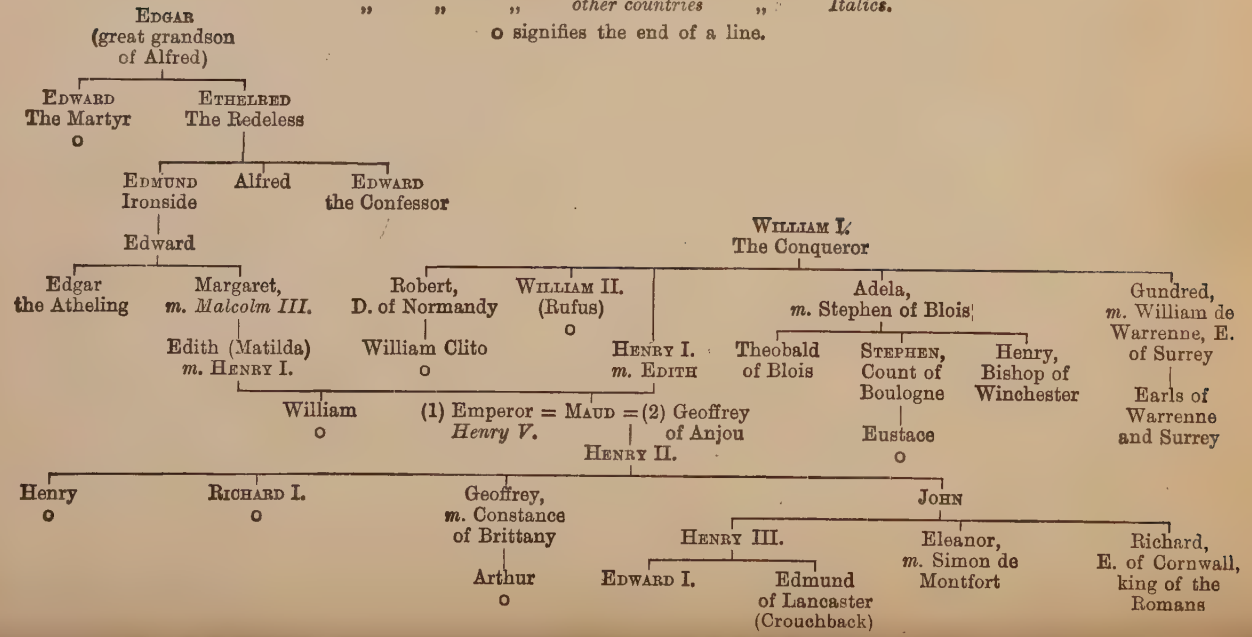
The British occupation of Australasia began in 1770. In 1788 a convict settlement was planted at Botany Bay; land was taken up by the convicts on their release, and by free settlers, and the colony of New South Wales, with Sydney as its capital, was established; at first under a military governorship. Tasmania was made a separate colony in 1812; Victoria came into being in 1834, Western Australia in 1829, and South Australia in 1834. Queensland began as a penal settlement in 1826. Between 1840 and 1853, the punishment of transportation was dropped. This, and the discovery of the Australian goldfields, brought about a rapid expansion of the colonies: and they received responsible government before the end of 1854. Queensland was separated from New South Wales, of which it had hitherto formed a part, in 1859: and Western Australia did not acquire full responsible government till 1890. In 1900, the group was formed into a Federation with a central federal government.

New Zealand, occupied by the powerful Maori race, was annexed to New South Wales in 1839, the Maoris assenting under a treaty. In 1840, it was separated from New South Wales. Disregard of the treaty on the part of the settlers might have led to their extermination, but for the vigour with which the Governor, Sir George Grey (1845) maintained the treaty. In 1852, the colony acquired responsible government. A Maori war broke out again in 1860, and it was not till 1871 that the natives were finally brought to submission. Since that time, New Zealand has enjoyed increasing prosperity: but it has declined to join the Australian Federation.

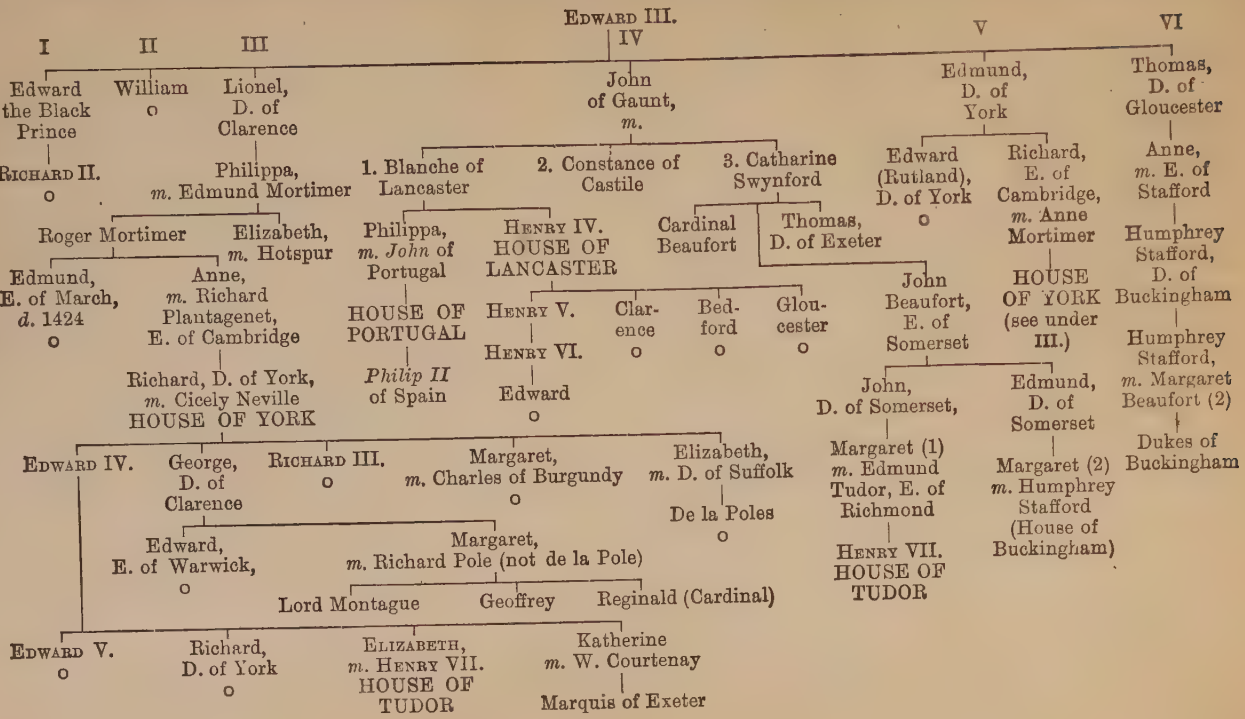
B. GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

I. The Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet Succession.

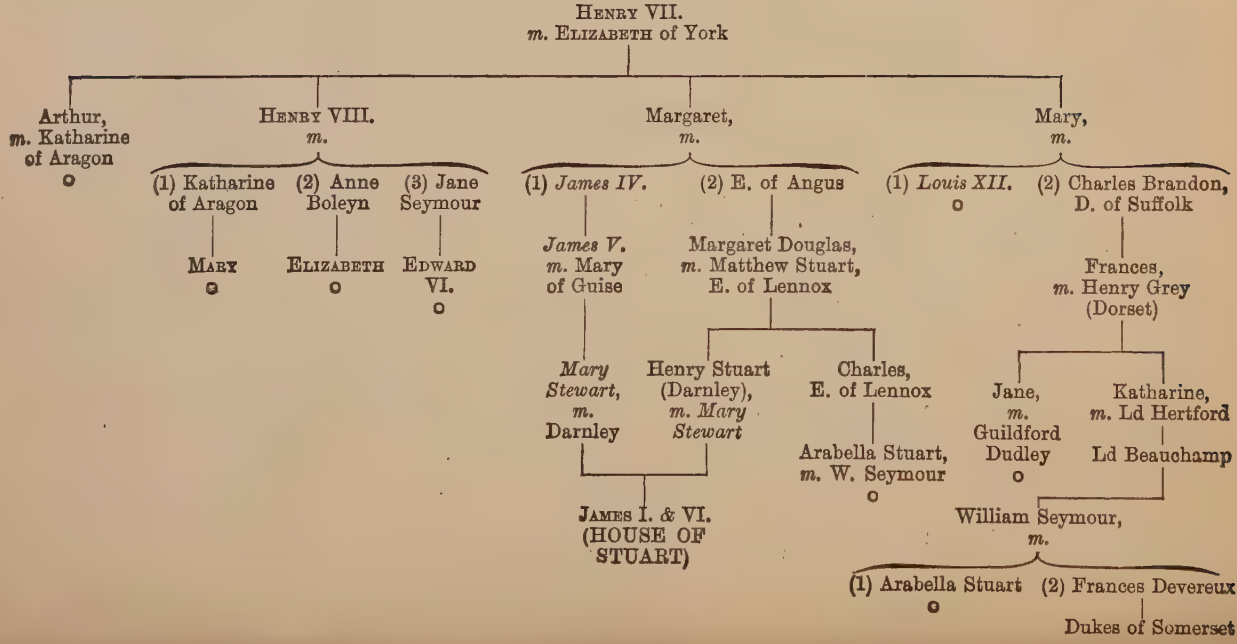
The names of the kings of England are printed in CAPITALS.
" " " *other countries* " *Italics.*
o signifies the end of a line.



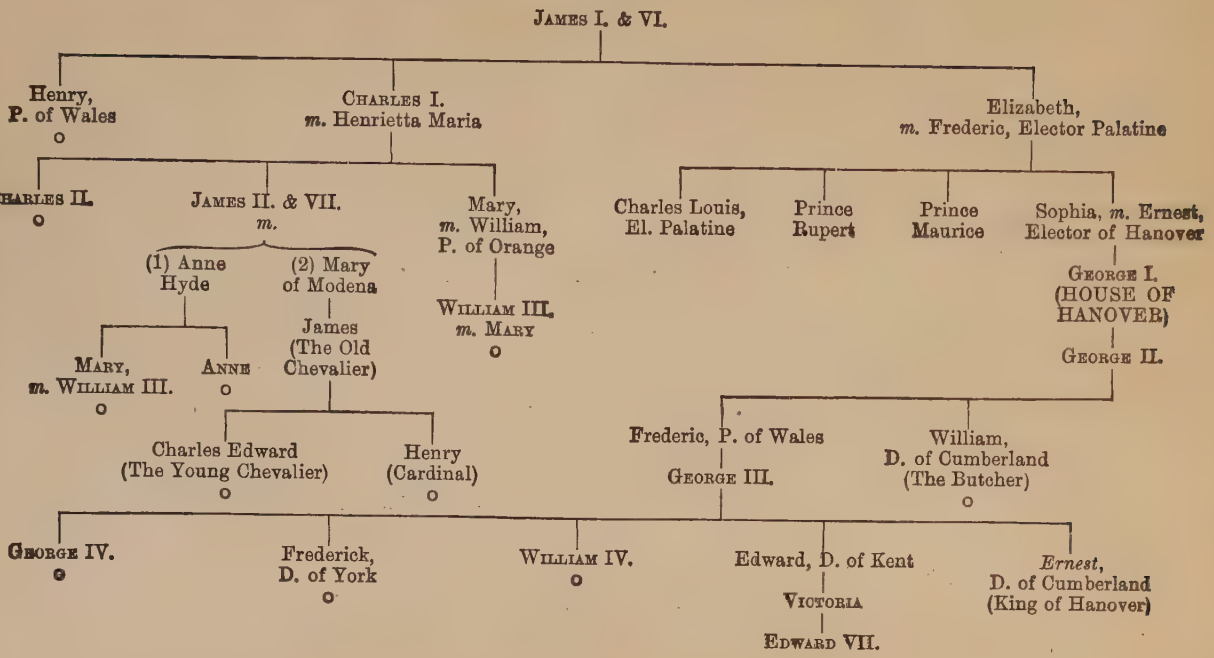
II. The Descendants of Edward III.; Lancaster, York, and the Tudor Succession.



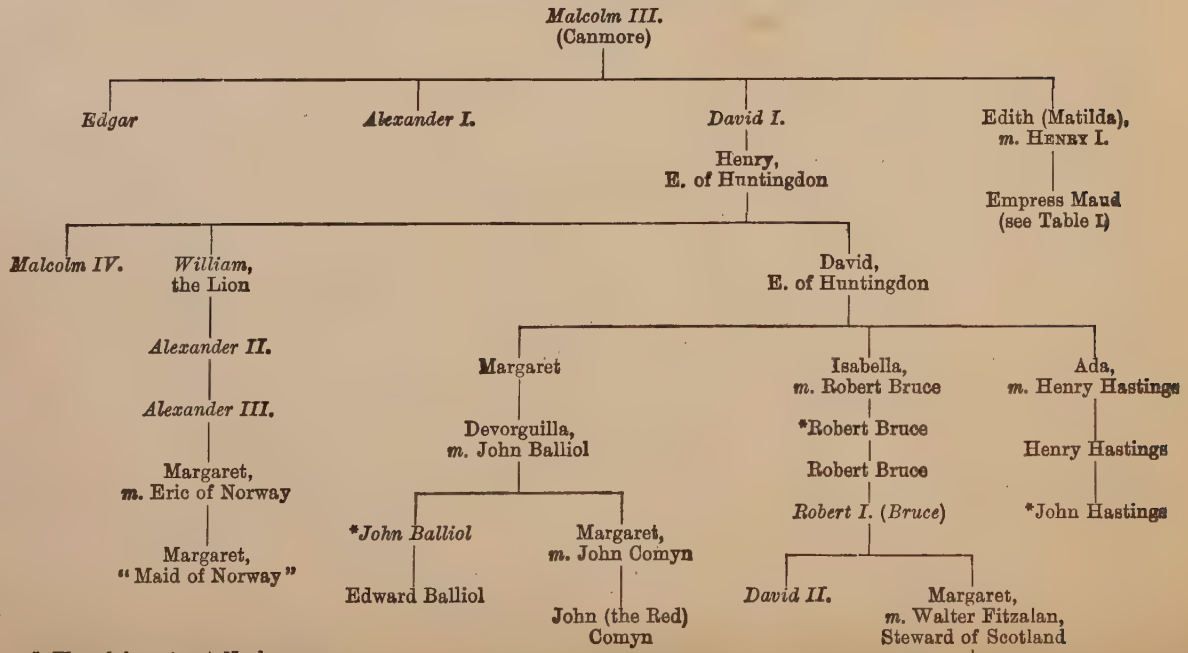
III. The House of Tudor and the Stuart Succession.



IV. The Houses of Stuart and Hanover.



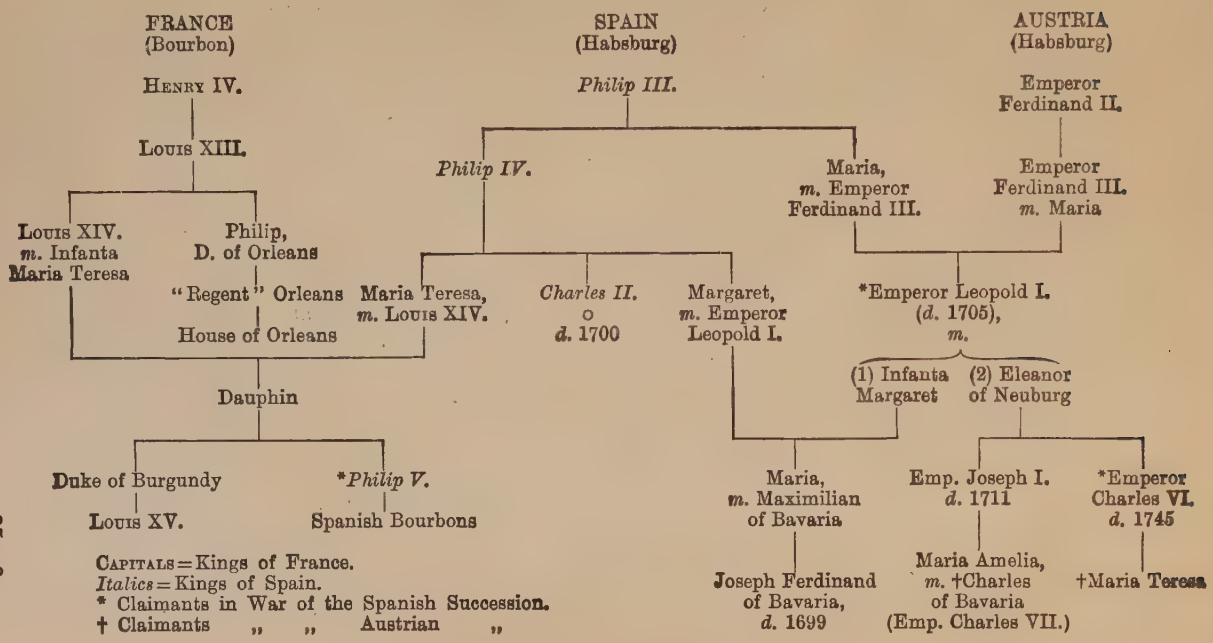
V. The Royal House of Scotland, shewing the Bruce and Stewart Succession.



* The claimants at Norham.

Italics = Kings of Scotland.

VI. Bourbons and Habsburgs: a Table to explain the Wars of the Spanish and Austrian Succession.



Capitals = Kings of France.
Italics = Kings of Spain.
* Claimants in War of the Spanish Succession.
† Claimants „ „ Austrian „

C. GLOSSARY

OF TECHNICAL TERMS, POLITICAL PHRASES, POPULAR DESIGNATIONS, NICKNAMES, ETC.

Abhorrers: the name given to the political party which expressed abhorrence of the Exclusion Bill in 1680; when the opposing party, who petitioned for the assembling of Parliament, were known as **Petitioners**. These latter shortly afterwards became known as Whigs, and the Abhorrers as Tories.

Absolutism: the rule of a monarch whose will is obeyed as law.

Act of Parliament: a Bill which has passed both Houses of Parliament becomes an Act, and a part of the law, when it has received also the Royal Assent.

Addled Parliament: a Parliament called in the reign of James I., 1614; so named because it accomplished nothing during the two months of its existence.

Adullamites: a group of discontented Liberals who withdrew their support from the Ministry of 1866: so named from their being likened to the malcontents who joined King David in the cave of Adullam. Hence also similar groups have been called Caves.

Adjournment: when Parliament suspends business, which is to be taken up at the same point when the House meets again, it is said to **adjourn**. When the session is closed, so that business has to begin afresh at the next assembling, it is **prorogued**. When the Parliament is finally closed, it is **dissolved**, and the Houses do not meet till after a general election.

Adulterine castles: the Norman kings forbade castles to be built except by Royal licence. The unlicensed castles built in the reign of Stephen were called "adulterine."

Aids: payments made by a feudal vassal to his over-lord. Under Magna Carta, special claims for such payments were allowed only in three cases: (1) to ransom the lord from captivity, (2) on the knighting of his eldest son, and (3) on the marriage of his eldest daughter.

Amicable loan: the method by which Wolsey tried to raise money in 1525, when he knew that a Parliament would refuse supplies.

Alien priories: religious houses established in England as colonies from Continental monasteries, under whose jurisdiction they remained. They were suppressed under Henry IV.

Annates: a payment claimed by the Popes from ecclesiastics on their preferment to a benefice or see, being the first year's income. The claim was finally repudiated in 1533.

Appellants: the group of five lords who "appealed of treason" the favourites of Richard II.

Armagnacs: the party in France which opposed the Duke of Burgundy at the beginning of the 15th century. The Constable, the Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the Duke of Orleans, was their leader.

Armed Neutrality, The: an association of the Baltic Powers, headed by Russia; first formed in 1780 (when it was also joined by Holland) and revived in 1801. It was directed against Britain. Its main professed object was to curtail the recognised right of belligerents to search neutral vessels for the enemy's goods and to seize such goods when found.

Assiento: a contract transferred to Britain at the Treaty of Utrecht, giving the exclusive right of importing negroes to the Spanish colonies. Before the treaty, France had the contract.

Assize: (1) the sitting of the courts of justice of the itinerant judges (*see* **Eyre, Justices in**); (2) an Ordinance. In this sense the term is used in England almost exclusively for edicts of Henry II.

Association, The: formed in 1584 after the Throgmorton conspiracy, to protect the life of Elizabeth, and to exclude from the succession any one in whose favour the Queen's life should be attempted.

Atheling: a prince of the blood royal, born in England. Henry I. was an Atheling because he was a son born to the king of England on English soil. His elder brother Robert was not an Atheling, because at the time of his birth William was an alien.

Attainder, Attaint: the process of condemning a man for treason not by trial in a court of law but by a special Act of Parliament. It involved the forfeiture of property and titles, which were lost to the heirs of the attainted person as well as to himself. Usually it enforced the penalty of death. It was in regular use during the 15th and 16th centuries, and occasionally in the 17th. **Attainder** must be carefully distinguished from **Impeachment**, *q.v.*

Austrian Succession, War of: 1740—8. Under the Pragmatic Sanction, guaranteed by the Powers of Europe, the Austrian inheritance was claimed by Maria Theresa. She was supported by Britain; France and Spain supported her rival, the Elector of Bavaria.

Babington's Plot: *see* **Conspiracies.**

Balance of Power: the system which began in the time of Wolsey, when Europe was being formed into the great modern States. It then became necessary to prevent any one of these from becoming powerful out of proportion to others; and the policy which kept this aim in view was called that of "preserving the balance of power."

Barclay's Plot: *see* **Conspiracies.**

Barebone or **Barebones Parliament**: the nick-name given to an experimental Parliament called by Cromwell in 1653 after the expulsion of the Rump. The members were selected from a list of "godly" persons. The name was derived from one of the members being called Praise-God Barebone.

Baron: after the Norman Conquest, all "tenants-in-chief"—*i.e.* every one who held his land direct from the king, not from an over-lord who was himself a vassal of the king—were called barons. They were entitled to attend the Great Council. As there were 1400 of them, the practice arose of summoning only the more important by a personal letter from

the king, the rest being summoned by a writ from the sheriff. Thus the barons became divided into greater and lesser; and the right to be included among the greater barons became hereditary. The name then became confined to the greater barons or peers; and later was appropriated to the lowest rank of the peerage.

Barrier towns: fortified towns on the frontiers of the United Netherlands, which, when held by the Dutch, served as a barrier against invasion. The occupation of these towns by Louis XIV. and their cession to the Dutch played a part in the treaties between 1690 and 1715.

Bedchamber Question: a dispute which arose when Peel made it a condition of his taking office that Queen Victoria should dismiss the Whig Ladies of the Bedchamber.

Begum: an Indian lady of Royal rank; wife, mother, or daughter of a monarch.

Benefit of Clergy: the right of any "clerk" to be tried by ecclesiastical courts and to suffer only such penalties as those courts inflicted.

Benevolences: gifts of money demanded by the king, nominally as free proofs of goodwill, but really compulsory. Invented by Edward IV.

Berlin Decree: an ordinance issued by Napoleon in 1806, declaring all British ports to be in a state of blockade, and forbidding the import of British goods at any French or allied port.

Bill: a proposal brought before Parliament, which becomes an Act only when it has passed both Houses and received the Royal Assent.

Bishops' Book: popular name for the work called *The Institution of a Christian Man*, drawn up by the Bishops in 1637. It defined some of the doctrines of the Church, but left others undiscussed.

Black Death: the Plague which visited Europe, breaking out in England in 1349, and at intervals for some years afterwards.

Black Hole of Calcutta: the donjon in which Suraj-ud-Daulah confined his English prisoners in 1756.

Boc-land: land assigned by the king out of public lands, in Saxon times, under a written warrant.

Boston Massacre: popular name for a collision in 1770 between the British troops and some rioters in Boston; in which three men were killed and six wounded.

Boston Tea-party: 1773. The occasion when a band of masqueraders boarded the tea-ships in Boston harbour, and emptied the tea overboard.

Bretwalda: title assumed by the king of any Saxon kingdom which claimed supremacy over all England.

Broad-bottom Administration: that of the Pelhams in 1746.

Bull: a Papal decree; so called from *bulla*, the seal attached to it.

Burgh, borough: at first a fortified town; then a town which had privileges of self-government; then a town returning members to Parliament.

Bye Plot: *see* **Conspiracies**.

Cabal: a small group of political associates; applied particularly to a group under Charles II. of five politicians—Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale—whose initials made up the word; 1667—73.

Cabinet: the inner circle of Ministers who are responsible for the measures of the Government.

Cade's Rebellion: 1450. A rising mainly in protest against the mismanagement of Suffolk and Somerset. Its objects are often confused with those of the Peasant revolt of 1381.

Canons: ecclesiastical laws framed by the clerical body. They cannot be enforced without consent of Parliament.

Canter of Colt-brigg: popular name for the rout of the Regulars by Prince Charles Edward Stuart at Colt Bridge; which was the first engagement of the Forty-five.

Capitulation: a surrender on terms, made by a commander in the field; binding on both sides. A convention is an agreement which is referred to the Government for ratification.

Carucage: a land tax, at a fixed rate for every "carucate" or "hide" of land. The tax was instituted under Richard I., and the size of a carucate was laid down as 100 acres.

Castlebar Races: 1798. Popular name for the rout of the Irish militia by a body of French invaders at Castlebar.

Cavaliers: the supporters of Charles I. and Charles II. in the civil wars.

Cavalier Parliament: one of the names given to the first regular Parliament of Charles II., after the Convention Parliament.

Catholic, Catholicism: terms implying membership in Christ's Church Universal. Practice has however given them in common parlance the signification of membership in that branch of the Church which has adhered to the Papacy, just as Protestant is used in common parlance for the whole body of Christians who reject the Papal claims, though properly applied only to those who adopted the Lutheran views of the Augsburg Confession and the Protest of Spires.

Cato Street Conspiracy: *see* **Conspiracies**.

Cave: *see* **Adullamites**.

Ceorl: a free man (Saxon) holding land; distinguished from *eorls* or persons of noble blood, and from *theows* or serfs.

Charter: a Royal authority conferring or confirming rights and privileges; whether of the nation (*e.g.* Magna Carta), or of a town, or of a mercantile corporation (*e.g.* the East India Company).

Chartism: the theories of those who demanded the "People's Charter," 1837—1848.

Clarendon Code: the series of Acts passed against the Nonconformists under Charles II. when Lord Clarendon was at the head of the Ministry, 1661—1667.

Clarendon, Constitutions of: enactments at the Council of Clarendon, 1164, curtailing the privileges of the clergy. They were accepted and then repudiated by Becket.

Commendation: the act of voluntary submission to an over-lord—*i.e.* of becoming a vassal.

Commission of Array: a Royal order calling out the forces of the shires, known in Saxon times as the **Fyrd** and later as the **Militia**: employed by Charles I. in 1642.

Compound householder: a householder whose landlord compounded for the rates and paid them.

Congé d'élire: "permission to elect" a bishop, granted to the chapter by the king. No one however might be elected, except the king's nominee.

Consols: short for Consolidated Stocks, the five funds into which in 1750 Henry Pelham grouped all the loans to the Treasury.

Conservative: the name adopted, under the leadership of Peel, by the party hitherto known as Tory, soon after the Reform Bill of 1832. The Whigs began to be known as Liberals at about the same time.

Conspiracies and Plots known by special names:

Babington's Plot: 1586. To assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary Stuart on the throne. Mary was found guilty of complicity and executed.

Barclay's Assassination Plot: 1696. For the murder of William III. and the restoration of James II.

Bye Plot: an abortive scheme for kidnapping James I., and forcing him to grant toleration to the Catholics; 1603.

Cato Street Conspiracy: a plot to murder the Ministers at a ministerial dinner, in 1820. It was concocted in Cato Street.

Gunpowder Plot: 1604—5. A conspiracy to procure toleration for the Catholics by blowing up the Houses of Parliament.

Main Plot: 1603. So called in distinction from the Bye Plot. It was a scheme to place Arabella Stuart on the throne. Raleigh was imprisoned for his supposed share in it.

Northumberland's Plot: 1553. To place Lady Jane Grey on the throne.

Popish Plot a monstrous fiction concocted out of very slender materials by Titus Oates in 1678. Catholics and High Churchmen were charged wholesale with being concerned in a great conspiracy for the restoration of "Popery."

Preston's Plot: 1691. For the restoration of James II. on condition of his promising toleration.

Ridolfi Plot: 1571. A plot for the dethronement of Elizabeth.

Rye House Plot: 1683. An assassination plot directed against Charles II. and the Duke of York, to prevent a "Popish" succession. Sidney and Russell were executed for supposed complicity.

Throgmorton's Plot: 1583. A grand conspiracy in which the Duke of Guise and the Spanish Ambassador Mendoza were involved, to kill Elizabeth and place Mary Stuart on the throne.

Convention Parliament: a Parliament summoned when there is no actual recognised king on the throne; *e.g.* that which restored Charles II., and that which bestowed the crown on William III. and Mary.

Convocation: the two Houses in which the clergy assembled to tax themselves, and to regulate ecclesiastical affairs, when they ceased to attend as an Estate of Parliament. The powers of Convocation were severely restricted by Henry VIII.

Cornish Insurrection: 1497. The Cornishmen objected to being taxed for the defence of the North against the Scots. They marched on London, but were dispersed at Blackheath.

Council, General, or Œcumenical: a Council representing the entire Christian Church, but excluding the Greek Church after the separation between East and West. Such Councils were called from time to time, and were regarded as the final authority on disputed questions. Outside the Roman Church, the Council of Nicaea (787) is generally regarded as the last true Œcumenical Council. Between that time and the Reformation, several Councils were held. After the Lutheran revolt, several demands were made for a General Council; but the Council of Trent (*q.v.*), and all subsequent Councils, have admitted only representatives who acknowledged the Papal supremacy.

Council, the Great: the assembly of notables, lay and clerical, who took the place of the old Witenagemot after the Norman Conquest. Parliament,

the Courts of Justice, and the Royal Council which became the Privy Council, all had their origin in the Great Council. Probably all tenants-in-chief were entitled to attend.

Council of the North: a Council with extraordinary powers, to control the Border Counties, established by Henry VIII. after the Pilgrimage of Grace, and abolished by the Long Parliament.

Council of Trent: the great so-called General Council of the Church which sat at intervals between 1542 and 1563, and defined the orthodox Romanist doctrines.

Covenant: (1) the National League and Covenant adopted by the Scots in 1638. Those who adhered to it, especially after the Restoration, were known as Covenanters. (2) The Solemn League and Covenant (1643), a convention between the Scots and the English Parliament negotiated by Pym and Vane, based on the National Covenant.

Crusades: wars conducted by armies of volunteers from Christendom to recover or maintain possession of the Holy Land. They were usually headed by kings or princes. (i) In 1096 immense numbers "took the Cross" owing to the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and the appeal of Pope Urban II. After some abortive movements, Godfrey de Bouillon headed the First Crusade, which captured Jerusalem in 1099. The "Latin" kingdom of Jerusalem was then set up. Robert of Normandy was on this crusade. (ii) 1146—1149: Second Crusade; which hardly affected England. (iii) 1189—1192: Third Crusade, following capture of Jerusalem by Saladin. This was the crusade of Richard I. (vii) 1241: Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., took part in this. (ix) 1270—2: the last. This was joined by Edward of England, his father, Henry III., being still alive. Edward was in Palestine when he succeeded to the throne. This was the last crusade.

Curia Regis: the King's Court; a Committee of the Great Council first instituted under Henry I. It acted as the king's personal Council, and performed judicial functions; from which were developed the three Courts of Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Pleas.

Customs: taxes levied at the ports, on goods imported from abroad; also, originally, on goods for export.

Danegeld: a land tax instituted by Ethelred the Redeless, to provide money to buy off the Danish invaders. It was used as a war-tax by the Norman kings.

Danelagh: the territory ceded to the Danes by King Alfred at the treaty of Wedmore; lying north and east of Watling Street.

Deccan: the southern half of India, in distinction from the northern half which was called Hindostan. The river Nerbada is commonly regarded as the line of division.

Declaration of Right: 1689. A statement of the rights and liberties claimed for the people of England, presented to William of Orange and accepted by him before the crown was formally offered to him. It was afterwards embodied in the Bill of Rights.

Desmond Rebellion: 1580. A rising in the south-west of Ireland, joined by Spanish and Italian adventurers; crushed at the capture of Smerwick.

Disfranchisement: deprival of the right to elect a representative in Parliament.

Dispensation: a Papal decree, authorising an act forbidden by ecclesiastical law; *e.g.* marriage within the forbidden degrees.

Dispensing power: a power claimed as royal prerogative by Charles II. and James II., of suspending penal laws in favour of a particular person. They claimed also the **Suspending power**, of giving a general exemption from the operation of such laws.

Dissenters: the name given to Nonconformists who, after the Act of Uniformity of 1662, were excluded from the Anglican Church.

Domesday Book: a record, compiled near the close of the Conqueror's reign, of a survey of the country; showing the conditions upon which every piece of land was held.

Ealdorman: the head of a shire, and then of a district which might comprise many shires. The title of **Earl** was substituted under the Danish kings.

Earl: the title which took the place of Ealdorman; adopted from the Danish *Jarl*. At the Norman Conquest, the great Earldoms were broken up. The earlier Saxon title of *Eorl* was not territorial, but signified that its bearer was of noble birth.

Edict of Nantes: *see* **Nantes, Edict of.**

Empire, the Holy Roman: very commonly called the German Empire. Charlemagne was crowned as the successor of the Roman Emperors in Western Europe, and Civil Head—as the Pope was Ecclesiastical Head—of Western Christendom. Later, the title was assumed by the German king, Otto the Great. The Scandinavian kingdoms, Britain, France, and the Spanish Peninsula, were outside the Empire, which covered the German and Flemish-speaking countries and most of Italy. The Emperor was elected, though the office usually continued in one family for some generations. After 1439 it remained with the Austrian House of Habsburg. In 1519, the kings of France and England were both candidates for the Imperial crown. The intended successor was usually nominated during the Emperor's life, and bore the title of King of the Romans. Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., was the only Englishman who held this title. The election was in the hands of seven princes, lay or clerical. The Empire included a large number of States each of which controlled its own domestic affairs, but acknowledged the Emperor as their common Head. Questions affecting the Empire as a whole were submitted to a "Diet" of the Empire. The control exercised by the Emperor was rarely strong enough to prevent individual States of the Empire from making war on each other; and the Empire never played the part of a single solid State, like England or France. It ceased to exist in 1806, when the Emperor took the title of Emperor of Austria.

Engagers: the party in Scotland who went over to the King's side in 1647.

Erastian: one who holds that the secular government ought to control religion.

Escheat: the reversion of an estate to the Crown through lapse of heirs. An estate, when there was no heir-by-birth, became Royal property again.

Excise: a tax on goods produced within the country; as distinguished from **Customs**, a tax levied at the ports on goods imported from abroad.

Executive: the main functions of Government are usually reckoned as three: *Legislative*, the making or amending of laws, performed in England by the concert of the Houses of Parliament and the Crown; *Judicial*, the interpretation of the law as applied to particular cases,

which is the business of the Law Courts; and Executive or Administrative, the carrying out of the laws, which is the business of various persons or bodies appointed for that purpose.

Eyre, Justices in: itinerant judges, or judges appointed to go on circuit and administer justice at various centres all over the country; so as to check the proceedings of the local authorities, and avoid the necessity for bringing cases up from the provinces to the king's court. They were instituted by Henry I. and established by Henry II.

Family Compact: an agreement between the French and Spanish Bourbons. The treaty of Utrecht (1713), which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, placed a younger grandson of the French king on the throne of Spain; while it barred him and his heirs from succeeding to the throne of France. Twenty years later (1733), the two branches of the Bourbon family made the secret Family Compact, of which the object was to enable the Bourbons to dictate to Europe. Its policy, therefore, was to divide and break down the power of Austria and Britain. It failed; partly because Prussia developed into an additional first-class military Power, under Frederic the Great; partly because it did not take into account the British Naval preponderance. The Compact was renewed in 1761.

Feudalism: a system of land-tenure, by which every person who occupied land held it as the vassal of some over-lord, whether the king himself (in which case the vassal was a tenant-in-chief) or a baron, who was the king's vassal, or a baron's vassal, and so on. The lord had large powers of jurisdiction over his vassals. The vassal held his land on condition of doing homage to his lord, rendering him military service, and paying him certain established dues or aids. Homage and service and aids were due from the vassal to his immediate lord; so that where the system had full play, a vassal who rebelled against his lord could bring into the field his own vassals, since they were bound to follow him, not *his* lord. A king of one country might be also a "feudatory" or great vassal of the king of another country; as kings of England were feudatories of the king of France in respect of Normandy, Anjou, or Aquitaine. Over such great feudatories, a king could exercise no very great control. In England, however, the system never had full play. Before the Norman Conquest, it had not fully developed; and the Conqueror, while he established the system of land-tenure, introduced modifications to check its dangers. No one was allowed to hold a tract of land large enough to enable him to raise an army which could cope with the king's forces; there were a very large number of tenants-in-chief, who owed service to the king but to no one else; and the rule was definitely laid down that allegiance to the king over-ruled obedience to a feudatory. Also, in course of time, military service was more and more replaced by money payments or rent. (*See* **Aids, Knighthood Scutage,** and **Fyrd.**

Fief: the land held by the vassal was called a fief of his lord's.

Fifth Monarchy Men: religious enthusiasts of the Commonwealth period, who believed that the Fifth Monarchy—the reign of Christ through His elect Saints, in succession to the four ancient monarchies or Empires (the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman)—had commenced.

Fifteen, the: 1715. A Jacobite rising in England and Scotland.

Forty-Five, the: 1745. A Jacobite rising headed by Charles Edward Stuart,

who captured Edinburgh, and invaded England, but retreated after advancing to Derby. It was ended at Culloden 1746.

Franchise: the right of voting for a representative in Parliament.

Fyrd: the freemen of the shire, gathered in arms. By summoning the fyrd of the various shires, the nation was called to arms. Every freeman was bound to attend. The fyrd survived the Norman Conquest; so that the king could raise an army by summoning the fyrd, without calling on his vassals. The fyrd was the origin of the **Militia**.

General Council: *see* **Council, General.**

General Warrant: a warrant for the arrest of persons charged with crime, in which the names of the parties are not set down.

Grand Remonstrance: 1641. A declaration of all the king's illegal acts, and a vindication of the action of the Commons.

Great Contract: a proposal made in 1610 for abolishing feudal and other dues claimed by the king, and substituting a fixed revenue.

Ghurkas: the people of Nepal, a hill-state extending along the northern frontier of India. A portion of the territory was annexed after the Ghurka war of 1813—4; since which time, Ghurka regiments have supplied some of the best troops in the British Army.

Great Council: *see* **Council, Great.**

Guilds: associations of the members of trades, for regulating their management, and protecting their interests.

Gunpowder Plot: *see* **Conspiracies.**

Habeas Corpus: (1) the writ requiring the gaoler to produce an accused person for trial. The right to obtain such a writ was established by Magna Carta; but the difficulties and delays interposed caused the passing of (2) the Habeas Corpus Act, 1679, which made the writ always procurable without delay.

Herrings, battle of the: 1429. The French were routed in an attack on a small English force which was convoying supplies of salt fish to the troops besieging Orleans.

Hide: a measurement of land. Its extent in early times seems uncertain, but in the reign of Richard I. it was fixed (under the name of *Carucate*) at 100 acres.

High Commission Court: a court with arbitrary powers (like the Star-Chamber) for dealing with ecclesiastical cases. It was established in 1583, under Elizabeth, and abolished by the Long Parliament (1640).

Hindostan: the northern half of India; sometimes used in the narrower sense of the Ganges Provinces above Bengal, and sometimes in a wider sense for all India.

Huguenots: the name given to the Protestants in France.

Hundred: a territorial division dating from early Saxon times. It is generally explained as having originally comprised 100 households of freemen. The Hundred managed its own local affairs through the *Hundred-moot*, or assembly of freemen.

Hundred Days: name given to the period from March 13—June 22, 1815; that is, from the recovery of Napoleon's ascendency after his return from Elba, till his second abdication after Waterloo.

Hundred Years' War: 1338—1453. The war with France begun by Edward III., of which one pretext was Edward's claim to the French crown. It continued, with occasional truces, throughout his reign.

Peace was made by Richard II. in 1395, but the war was renewed by Henry V. in 1415, and was ended by the loss of all English territories in France, except Calais, in 1453.

Impeachment: the process by which the House of Commons brings a formal charge of treason or other high crimes and misdemeanours before the House of Lords. The Commons appear as the accusers, the Lords sit as the judges. The first occasion was the impeachment of Lord Latimer by the Good Parliament (1376). From about 1450 to the close of the Tudor period, process by Bill of **Attainder** (*q.v.*) was usually adopted instead. Impeachment again became the commoner process under the Stuarts. The last important instances were the impeachments of Warren Hastings (1788) and of Lord Melville (1806).

Imperialists: (1) the term applied by historians to distinguish the partisans of the Emperor (*see* **Empire**) in contests with German or other princes or with the Papacy. (2) A modern political term for those who place the integrity and prosperity of the British Empire as a whole above the advantage or convenience of any section of it.

Incident, the: 1641. A plot in Scotland, in which Montrose was supposed to be implicated, to overthrow the domination of the Duke of Argyle.

Independents: a religious body who held that the Church consists not of "all who profess and call themselves Christians" but only of "the elect." Consequently they objected to the imposition of any form of religion by the State, whether Anglican or Presbyterian. The Roundhead army was mainly Independent.

Infanta: a Spanish or Portuguese princess who was not actually heiress-apparent to the Crown.

Inquisition: a system of ecclesiastical tribunals for the trial and punishment of "Heretics," established in the Spanish dominions by Ferdinand and Isabella, in the Low Countries by Charles V., and in other Roman Catholic States. The Inquisition had power to examine by torture; the victims whom it condemned were then handed over to the secular arm for punishment.

Instrument of Government: 1653. The scheme under which Cromwell became Lord Protector.

Intercursus Magnus: 1496. The name given to the Commercial Treaty with Flanders. ("The Great Intercourse.")

Intercursus Malus: 1506. The Flemings' name for another Commercial Treaty by which the Flemings suffered. ("The Evil Intercourse.")

Interdict: a Papal decree, depriving the whole country of all privileges of religion except Baptism and Extreme Unction. England was laid under an Interdict in 1208.

Ironsides: name given to Oliver Cromwell and his troopers.

Investiture: the bestowal of the insignia of office on bishops and abbots. The controversy between the Pope and the Norman kings, as to the right of appointing prelates, was settled for the time by allowing the prelates to receive the insignia from the Pope while doing homage to the king for "temporalities," *i.e.* estates.

Islands Voyage: 1597. An expedition to the Azores led by Essex and Raleigh, which caused an angry quarrel between the two.

Jacobite: name given to the supporters of the exiled Stuarts, James II. and his son James Edward (*Jacobus* = James).

Jacquerie: name given to the revolt of the French peasants (who were called *Jacques Bonhomme*) after 1356.

Jenkins's Ear, War of: name given to the Spanish War which broke out in 1739, over the right of searching British vessels claimed by the Spaniards in Spanish-American waters. Jenkins was an English trading-captain, who said the Spaniards had torn his ear off.

Jingo: nick-name applied to politicians who, in the view of their opponents, seek to provoke wars which might be honourably avoided. First used in 1876; taken from a very bellicose popular song of the day.

John Company: nickname of the Honourable East India Company.

Junto: a small group, consisting of the ablest of the Whig leaders, who acted in concert under William III. and obtained his confidence.

Justiciar: the chief administrative officer of the Norman and early Plantagenet kings: usually, but not always, a cleric. After Hubert de Burgh, there was no great Justiciar.

Kentish Petition: 1701. A petition sent up by the Grand Jury of Kent, appealing to Parliament to give a generous support to William III. It clearly expressed a revulsion of popular feeling in his favour.

Ket's Rising: 1549. A rising in the Eastern Counties, on account of agrarian troubles: headed by a tanner named Ket.

King's Book: the work entitled *The Erudition of a Christian Man* (1543), laying down what Henry VIII. regarded as orthodox doctrine. It was more decisively opposed to the doctrines of the reformers than its predecessor the "Bishops' Book" had been.

King's Friends: a political group in the early years of George III., who voted to the King's order under any circumstances.

Kirke's Lambs: a regiment of troopers commanded by Colonel Kirke in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. They were conspicuous for their brutality, especially in the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion.

Knighthood: two elements of knighthood must be recognised—one chivalric, the other feudal. The landholder who was possessed of a Knight's fee—*i.e.* of land worth £20 per annum—was obliged to become a knight, swear allegiance, and pay fees. Since no honour attached to knighthood under these conditions, men often evaded the duty of taking it up, and were liable to be penalised accordingly. To replenish the royal treasury, several kings had recourse to the enforcement of this law by issuing writs for "distraint of knighthood." The number of "knight's fees" held by a vassal was the measure of the number of knights he was bound to bring into the field in his lord's service. On the other hand, the squire of gentle birth won his spurs on the stricken field by honourable deeds, and the honour of "winning his spurs" was eagerly desired by every aspirant to fame. In either case—whether knighthood was a burden imposed or an honour bestowed—the oath which all knights were required to take conveyed a high ideal of conduct.

Legate: a representative or ambassador of the Pope. In England, the Archbishop of Canterbury was a kind of *ex officio* legate, termed *legatus natus*; but the name is usually applied only to the specially appointed legates, called *legatus a latere* (*i.e.* sent from the Pope's side).

Liberals: name adopted about 1833 by the party hitherto called Whigs.

Livery: *see* Maintenance.

Lollards: nickname for the followers of Wycliffe's doctrines.

Long Parliament: the Parliament called at the end of 1640. By an Act passed in 1641, it could not be dissolved without its own consent—which it did not give till 1660. A number of its members however were excluded in 1648 by "Pride's Purge," and the remainder, known as the Rump, were expelled by Cromwell in 1653. It was again called together by Monk in 1660, when it dissolved itself.

Lutheran League, or **League of Schmalkald**: a league of the German Protestant Princes formed in 1530 to maintain the right of practising the reformed religion. It was broken up by the defeat at Mühlberg, 1547.

Mad Parliament: the Parliament which met at Oxford in 1258 and gave rise to the Provisions of Oxford.

Main Plot: *see* **Conspiracies**.

Maintenance and Livery: the custom practised by wealthy nobles of maintaining armed retainers who bore their master's livery or colours and badge. In spite of various enactments from 1393 onwards, it was only suppressed by Henry VII.

Major-Generals: Officers of the Commonwealth Army, who were placed in control of the military districts into which Cromwell divided the country after Penruddock's Rising (1555).

Marathas: one of the great Indian races, who formed a military confederacy which dominated all Central India. Their power was broken partly in the time of Marquess Wellesley, and decisively under Lord Hastings.

Mark: a coin worth 13*s.* 4*d.*; *i.e.* 6 marks = £4. The pound represents a fixed quantity of gold, and is "worth" more or less, in proportion as that quantity of gold will exchange for a larger or smaller quantity of goods. Gold and silver were worth much more in the Middle Ages than now.

Marprelate Tracts: a series of violent anti-prelatical pamphlets which began to appear in 1588, signed "Martin Marprelate."

Marriage: the feudal right of the king and of other lords to control the marriages of their vassals, wards, and widows of vassals, and to exact penalties for disobedience.

Merciless or **Wonderful Parliament**: the Parliament of 1388, which was filled with adherents of the Lords Appellant, and dealt mercilessly with their opponents.

Militia: the lineal descendant of the early mediaeval **fyrd** or armed force of the shires, which could be called upon to serve in the field in its own district.

Millenary Petition: a petition presented to James I. on his progress from Scotland through England in 1603. It was said to have been signed by 1000 of the clergy (hence the name), who desired to introduce Puritan practices in the Church.

Mise: a decision delivered by arbitrators; of which the important instances are the Mise of Amiens and the Mise of Lewes (1264).

Model Parliament: the Parliament of 1295 (Edward I.), which established the model for subsequent Parliaments. Two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each borough were summoned to represent the Commons. *See* **Parliament**.

Monopolies: the exclusive right to trade in particular classes of goods; granted by the Crown. Abolished by the Petition of Rights.

Monmouth's Rebellion: 1685. The Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II., tried to make himself king in place of James II. The

rebellion was crushed at Sedgemoor. It was followed by the "Bloody Assize" conducted by Judge Jeffreys.

Moot, mot, mote: the general assembly of freemen of the town, hundred, or shire. The National Moot was replaced by the Witenagemot, or assembly of wise men.

Mortmain: land held in mortmain (**in mortua manu** = in the dead hand) was land held by the Church, or any other corporation which never dies. It was thus exempt from the fees payable on other land when the tenant died and it passed to a new tenant. The **Statute of Mortmain** (1279) forbade the transfer of land to a corporation without the Royal licence. Subsequent Statutes of Mortmain sought to prevent the evasions of the law, which were easily effected by the ingenuity of lawyers.

Morton's Fork: a "dilemma" attributed to Cardinal Morton, but really invented by Bishop Fox (two ministers of Henry VII.). It was put to people from whom Benevolences were demanded. If they lived poorly, they must have money saved; if they did not live poorly, they must be well off; in either case they could afford to help the king.

Nantes, Edict of: 1598. An edict of Henry IV. of France, granting toleration to the Huguenots. The **Revocation** of the edict by Louis XIV. (1685) was followed by a fierce persecution of the Huguenots.

National Covenant: *see* **Covenant**.

Nawab: nominally a viceroy of the Mogul, really an independent sovereign, ruling a great province of the Mogul Empire such as Bengal, Oude, or the Carnatic.

New Learning: a term properly applied to the teaching of the advocates of the Reformation; but often used generally for the revival of scholarship, literature and science in the same period.

New Model: the army of the Parliament, as reorganised in 1645, before Naseby.

Ninety-eight, the: 1798. An Irish revolt, chiefly in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford. Suppressed at Vinegar Hill.

Nonconformists: those who, prior to the Act of Uniformity of 1662, remained in the Church of England while desiring changes in its doctrine and practice. That Act expelled the Nonconformists, who then formed separate religious bodies.

Northern Earls, Rising of the: 1569. The Catholic Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland rose in favour of Mary Stuart.

Northumberland's Plot: *see* **Conspiracies**.

Olive Branch Petition: proposals for reconciliation made by the American colonists after hostilities broke out in 1775. They were refused a hearing.

Palatine Earldoms and Bishoprics: certain earls and bishops, in the districts on the Scottish and Welsh borders, were endowed with exceptional authority and freedom from the control of the central Government, on account of their special responsibilities in the defence of the "marches" or borders.

Pale, the English: in Ireland. The group of counties round Dublin in which English laws and customs were established.

Panjab: the district on the north-west of India watered by the Indus and its four great tributaries. The name means "the land of the five rivers." It was annexed in 1849 after the Sikh wars.

Parliament: the Witenagemot of Saxon times became the Great Council of the Norman and early Plantagenet kings. By the time of King John and Magna Carta, those who had a right to be called to the assembly of the Great Council had become distinguished as "greater" and "lesser" barons. Then the practice arose of summoning not all the lesser barons, but two or more knights of the shire to represent them (1254). The name of Parliament had already begun to be used for the Great Council, and now became the regularly established term. It was also applied, however, to one of the temporary committees created by the Provisions of Oxford (1258). Simon de Montfort's Parliament of 1265 was the first in which burgesses were summoned from certain boroughs, as well as knights of the shire. The Model Parliament (1295) of Edward I. settled the principle of calling two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each borough to represent the Commons; the right of the greater barons to be summoned individually was now recognised as hereditary, and these were distinguished as peers. The prelates and representatives of the minor clergy at this time formed a third estate of Parliament; and the three estates probably began to sit in separate chambers. Before long the clergy ceased to act as a part of Parliament, but met in Convocation to transact ecclesiastical business, and the prelates joined the peers' chamber. Parliament had thus taken its final form. The system of representation was not materially altered till the great Reform Bill of 1832; by this the weight of voting power was transferred from the "landed interest" to the middle classes, and from them was transferred to the labouring classes by the Bills of 1867 and 1884.

Peasant Revolt, the: 1381. *See* **Wat Tyler's Rebellion.**

Penal Laws: the statutes imposing penalties and disabilities on Dissenters and Roman Catholics; especially those directed against the latter.

Penruddock's Revolt: 1655. A Cavalier rising, promptly suppressed.

Pension Parliament: nickname applied (1674—9) to the Cavalier Parliament (1661—1679) during its closing years.

People's Charter: the demands of the **Chartists** (1837—1848) were embodied in a document which they called the People's Charter. The demands were five—Annual Parliaments, Manhood Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Payment of Members, abolition of property qualification for Members.

Percies' Rebellion, The: 1403. The Percies of Northumberland, in league with Owen Glendower, revolted against **Henry IV.** The rising was crushed at Shrewsbury.

Peter Pence: an annual tribute to Rome, paid for more than five centuries, and abolished by Henry VIII. (1534).

Petitioners: *see* **Abhorrers.**

Pilgrimage of Grace: 1536—7. A Yorkshire rising, headed by Robert Aske, partly due to the dissolution of the minor monasteries and the fear of religious innovations. The insurgents were dispersed by specious promises, which were then followed by drastic punishment.

Pilgrim Fathers: the founders of the New England colonies, who sailed to America in the *Mayflower* (1620).

Popish Plot: *see* **Conspiracies.**

Praemunire: the title of the Acts (1353, 1393) which forbade appeals to the jurisdiction of Rome as against the English courts.

Pragmatic Sanction: the authority by which the Austrian inheritance of the Emperor Charles VI. was to pass to his daughter Maria Theresa, as he had no sons. It ignored the prior claims of the daughters of the elder

brother whom Charles had succeeded. France, Spain, and England all guaranteed it, but the two former transferred their support to the rival candidate; whence arose the War of the Austrian Succession (1741).

Prelacy: the form of ecclesiastical organisation which recognises the authority of Bishops as representing the Apostles.

Prerogative: rights claimed as inherent in the Crown, whether based on established custom or on the Stuart doctrine of Divine Right.

Presbyterianism: a form of ecclesiastical organisation derived from the Genevan system of Calvin, which does not recognise Bishops.

Preston's Plot: *see* Conspiracies.

Pride's Purge: the forcible exclusion by Colonel Pride, from the Long Parliament (1648), of the majority of the members; whose views were not in agreement with those of the Army.

Privilege of Parliament: rights claimed for Members of Parliament, because they are Members; whether individually or collectively.

Proconsul: the title of the ruler of a great province of the Roman Empire, sometimes applied to the semi-royal governor of a British dependency, *e.g.* to a Governor-General of India.

Prorogation: *see* Adjournment.

Protection: taxation of imported goods, with the intention of preventing them from competing in the market with goods produced at home.

Protector: a title conveying powers more limited than those of a regent, when the king was a minor, or otherwise incapacitated from governing; usually bestowed on a prince of the Blood Royal, or uncle of the king: *e.g.* on Richard of York (1454), and on Somerset (1547). It was conferred in 1653 on Oliver Cromwell as head of the Commonwealth.

Protestant: *see* Catholic. The name is derived from the Protest of Spires (1529).

Provisors, Statutes of: 1351, 1390. Statutes imposing penalties for receiving Papal Provisions, *i.e.* accepting ecclesiastical preferment in England from the Pope.

Purveyance: the right claimed by kings to exact provisions and services, for themselves and their court, when travelling, at whatever price they chose to pay, or even without payment.

Quo Warranto: a writ, requiring the production of the warrant by which lands were held or special legal privileges were claimed by the barons (1278), and by the town corporations (1683).

Raj: Indian term for Government.

Rates: local taxes, which local authorities are empowered to levy on holders of "real" property (who may be only occupiers, not proprietors) for the public purposes of the locality, *e.g.* poor-relief, education, etc.

Reeve: the official at the head of the organisation of the shire (shire-reeve, sheriff) or town (port-reeve).

Relief: a feudal fee payable to the lord by the successor of a tenant when the tenant died.

Renaissance or **Renascence**: the revival, after the "Dark Ages," of learning, art, and literature, which began in Italy, roughly, with the 13th century. The term, however, is commonly applied more particularly to the period following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

Regulars: (1) Regular clergy, *i.e.* members of the monastic Orders who lived according to the rules (*regulae*) of their Order; distinguished from the

secular clergy, parish priests, etc., who did not belong to monastic Orders. (2) **Regular** troops, belonging to a standing army.

Ridolfi Plot: *see* **Conspiracies.**

Romans, King of the: title of the chosen successor to a ruling Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. *See* **Empire.**

Root and Branch Bill: 1641. A Bill for the total (root and branch) abolition of episcopacy; which followed the rejection by the Peers of a Bill to remove the Bishops from the House of Lords.

Roundheads: nickname of the Parliament party in the Great Rebellion; from their habit of wearing the hair cut short, whereas the Cavaliers wore theirs long.

Rump Parliament: nickname of the remnant of the Long Parliament which remained sitting after Pride's Purge (1648). It was expelled by Cromwell in 1653.

Rye House Plot: *see* **Conspiracies.**

Sahibs: Indian term = gentlemen, applied to the British.

Saint Bartholomew: St Bartholomew's Day, Aug. 24. Noted for the great Paris massacre of Huguenots (1572). On the same day, in 1662, the Nonconformists were expelled from the Church of England.

Saladin Tithe: 1188. The first tax laid on moveable or "personal" as distinguished from "real" property; levied to make provision for the third Crusade, when Saladin had captured Jerusalem.

Schiltrom: a term sometimes used for the phalanx or solid formation of masses of foot-soldiers armed with long spears or pikes to resist cavalry, which was generally adopted by the Scots and the Netherlanders, *e.g.* at Falkirk and Bannockburn.

Schmalkald, League of: *see* **Lutheran League.**

Scutage: "shield-money" (*scutum* = shield); money paid in substitution for military service. Instituted in 1159. By it, the king was enabled to hire troops, while the barons were relieved from supplying armed men.

Secular clergy: *see* **Regulars.**

Self-denying Ordinance: an Act of the Parliament in 1645, under which all Members of Parliament resigned their military commands.

Sepoys: Indian native soldiers, trained under British officers and discipline.

Seven Years' War, the: 1756—1763. The principal combatants were Britain and Prussia on one side, and France, Austria, and Russia on the other. It resulted in the establishment of Prussia, and the complete naval and colonial supremacy of Britain.

Sheriff, shire-reeve: *see* **Reeve.**

Ship-money: a tax levied on the ports to provide ships for the defence of the Channel; substituted for the previous custom of requiring the ports to supply actual ships for the purpose—much as scutage was substituted for military service. It was imposed by Charles I. in 1634, and, next year, the tax was extended to inland towns and districts; for which there was no precedent.

Short Parliament: the Parliament called at the beginning of 1640, which sat for only three weeks.

Sikhs: an Indian religious and military sect or brotherhood, chiefly in the north-west. They established a complete domination in the Panjab, where Ranjit Singh built up a powerful kingdom at the beginning of the 19th century. When they had twice deliberately challenged the British,

in the forties, the Panjab was annexed (1849). The Sikhs proved conspicuously loyal during the Mutiny.

Solemn League and Covenant: *see* Covenant.

South Sea Bubble: the great inflation and collapse of the South Sea Company, 1720.

Spanish Succession, War of: the war of 1702—13, famous for Marlborough's victories, and the Treaty of Utrecht by which it was ended. It arose from the acceptance of the Spanish crown by the grandson of the French King Louis XIV., which threatened Europe with a Bourbon supremacy.

Spurs, Battle of the: 1513. So called from the headlong flight of the French, who were seized with a panic.

Stadtholder: a title which became hereditary in the House of Orange, as heads of the Dutch Republic, except during a brief interval.

Standard, Battle of the: 1137. The Scots, who invaded England to support the claim of the Empress Maud, were routed at Northallerton. The English were led by two bishops, and carried with them sundry standards of special sanctity. To these holy standards the victory was attributed: hence the name.

Star-Chamber: a court established by statute in 1487; consisting of members of the Privy Council, who had an arbitrary jurisdiction, *i.e.* they could inflict any penalties except death at their own discretion, and acted without a jury. Abolished in 1640.

Stop of the Exchequer: the refusal of the Exchequer in 1672 to repay at the promised date the immense loans it had received from the goldsmiths.

Suspending power: *see* Dispensing power.

Sweating sickness: a very severe and dangerous form of fever. There were five outbreaks in England, the first in 1485, the last in 1575. Each lasted some months. It was also known as the English sickness, as the English were peculiarly liable to it.

Swiss Reformers: the "Zwinglian" and "Calvinistic" Reformers, of Zurich and Geneva, from one or other of whom the Scots and the more advanced English reformers derived their principles. The two "schools" differed from each other, and still more from the Lutherans.

Tallage: a tax levied on towns. The amount the town had to pay was fixed by the Royal officials, and the civic authorities settled the individual contributions of the citizens. Originally the tallage was probably the equivalent, for the towns, of the land-tax called Danegeld. The document *De tallagio non concedendo* (1297) was not, as has been supposed, a statute. Tallages continued to be levied, but were finally forbidden, except by consent of Parliament, in 1340.

Taxes: charges imposed by Government on land or goods. Sometimes, however, the meaning of the term is restricted to such charges as are avowedly made in order to increase the revenue, excluding charges whose avowed object is only the regulation of trade.

Templars: an Order of knights, vowed to poverty and celibacy like monks, and to the grand object of defending the Sepulchre. The Order acquired great wealth and an evil reputation; and was suppressed in England in the reign of Edward II.

Tenant-in-chief, or **Tenant-in-capite**: one who held his land from the king, and not from any inferior lord.

Thegn: originally, one of the companions or personal followers of the king; then, one who held land by direct grant from the king; then, anyone

holding as much as five "hides" of land. In effect, all large landowners were thegns, though the king's thegns were still distinguished and accounted of superior rank to the rest.

Thirty Years' War: 1618—1648. Mainly a war of religions for supremacy in the German States. England had no systematic share in it, being occupied most of the time by the struggle between King and Parliament.

Thorough: the name applied by Wentworth and Laud to their policy.

Throgmorton's Plot: *see* **Conspiracies**.

Tithes: a charge on agricultural produce payable to the Church. In 1836 a charge on rent was substituted for the charge on produce, though the name of tithes was retained.

Tonnage and Poundage: Customs duties, regularly granted to the king for life by his first Parliament, from Henry VI. to James I. An annual grant only was made to Charles I., who then levied it by his own authority (1628).

Tory: the name first applied to the party which maintained high views of the Royal Prerogative, at the time when the opposing party, the Whigs, were trying to exclude the Duke of York (James II.) from the succession. From that time to 1714, power alternated between the two parties; from 1714, the Tories suffered from the suspicion of Jacobitism, and did not recover political power till 1770. Leading politicians on both sides continued to call themselves Whigs, until the French Revolution forced a reactionary policy on the younger Pitt, whose followers then became avowed Tories. After the Reform Bill of 1832, the name of Tory was generally displaced by that of Conservative.

Trinoda Necessitas: the three public duties shared by every freeman: of serving with the fyrd, helping to keep the bridges in repair, and helping to maintain fortifications.

Vassal: *see* **Feudal system**.

Vicar-General: the official title conferred on Thomas Cromwell as representing the King and exercising his powers as Supreme Head of the Church in England.

Vikings: Norse and Danish raiders, literally "the men of the creeks or fiords."

Villein: a serf, bound to the soil on which he lived, and rendering compulsory service to his lord.

Wardens of the Marches: governors appointed on the English and Scottish Borders, to prevent forays and keep order among the Borderers.

Wardship: the feudal right of the lord, on the death of a tenant whose heir was a minor, to control the heir and appropriate the revenues till the heir came of age.

Wat Tyler's Rebellion: 1381. Otherwise called the Peasant Revolt. A rising of which the main object was the abolition of villeinage, the active cause was the spread of what are now called communistic doctrines, and the immediate occasion was a poll-tax. The leader, Wat Tyler, was killed; the insurgents were dispersed with fair words. The promises made were not kept, but in practice villeinage very soon died out.

Weregild: a fine inflicted as the penalty for murder or maiming; which the injured person and his family were bound to accept. The amount payable varied according to the rank of the person injured.

Western Rising, the: 1549. A rising of the south-western counties, partly

agrarian, partly against religious innovations and to procure the reinstatement of the monasteries.

Whigs: the nickname given to the party who opposed extravagant doctrines as to the rights of the Crown, and were determined to secure a Protestant successor to Charles II. On the accession of George I. the Whigs gained the upper hand, and held undisputed rule for sixty years. They broke up, however, into factions amongst themselves, and ceased in any sense to form a united party until, after the French Revolution, a large number of them became declared Tories. They fought and won the battle of the great Reform Bill (1832), when they were joined by a section of the Tories, and the party then began to call itself by the name of Liberal.

Whip with six strings: nickname of the Act of Six Articles, 1539.

Witan, Witenagemot: the royal "Council of wise men" of a Saxon kingdom, and then of the king of England. The king held consultation with his Witan, but it is doubtful what powers of control it possessed; except that, on the king's death, it elected his successor, who was usually either a son or a brother. The name was still retained for the Great Council for some time after the Norman Conquest.

Wonderful Parliament: *see* **Merciless Parliament**.

Wyatt's Rebellion: 1554. Headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, to make Elizabeth Queen instead of Mary. The motive was partly Protestant, partly anti-Spanish, because of the contemplated Spanish marriage. Wyatt failed in an attack on London, and was captured and executed.

D. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

[*Events outside the kingdom, but indirectly affecting the history, are placed between square brackets.*]

B.C.

55, 54 Invasions of Julius Caesar.

A.D.

41 Conquest of Britain, under Claudius.
140 Wall of Antoninus.
410 Withdrawal of the Roman legions.
449 Settlement of Jutes in Kent.
477 Coming of the South Saxons.
495 Coming of the West Saxons.
520 Coming of the Angles.
577 Battle of Deorham.
596 Landing of St Augustine.
613 Battle of Chester.
617 Edwin, King of Northumbria.
634 Oswald of Northumbria: Heavenfield.
655 Penda of Mercia overthrown at Winwaed.
664 Synod at Whitby.
668 Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop.
690 The Dooms of Ine of Wessex.
716 Supremacy of Mercia under Ethelbald.
735 Death of the Venerable Bede.
757 Offa, King of Mercia.
787 First Danish raid.
802 Egbert, King of Wessex.
830 Egbert's supremacy established.
839 Ethelwulf, King of Wessex and "Bretwalda."
851 Danish invaders winter in Isle of Thanet.
858—871 Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred.
871—901 Alfred the Great.
871 The year of battles. Four years' truce.
876—878 Struggle of Alfred with the Danes.
878 Victory of Ethandune. Treaty of Wedmore.
878—901 Organisation and progress under Alfred.
893—897 Alfred's second struggle with the Danes.
901—924 Edward the Elder. Subjugation of the Danelagh.
924—940 Athelstan.
937 Battle of Brunanburh.
940—947 Edmund.
947—955 Edred.
955—959 Edwy.
959 Edgar. Ascendency of St Dunstan.
975 Edward the Martyr; murdered.
979 Ethelred the Redeless.
979—1013 Series of Danish invasions.
990 Battle of Maldon.
994 Invasion of Sweyn. Danegeld first levied.
1002 Massacre of Danes on St Brice's day.
1013 Conquest of England by Sweyn. Flight of Ethelred.
1016—17 Edmund Ironside. England again divided.
1017 Canute, King of England and Denmark.

Rise of Earl Godwin.
1035 Harold Harefoot.
1040 Harthacnut.
1042 Edward the Confessor. Restoration of the House of Cerdic.
1051 Fall of the Godwins.
1052 Restoration of the Godwins.
1063 Reduction of Wales by Harold.
1065 Harold's oath to William of Normandy.
1066 Harold Godwinson, King of England.
Overthrow of Harold Hardrada at Stamford Bridge (*Sept.*).
Overthrow of Harold Godwinson at Senlac (*Oct.* 14th).

Coronation of William I. (*Dec.* 25th).
1068 Insurrection in the West: suppressed.
1069 Revolt of the North, combined with Danish invasion.
1070 Suppression of revolt, and withdrawal of Danes.
Lanfranc, archbishop.
1071 Hereward the Wake in the Isle of Ely.
1072 Malcolm of Scotland does homage for English fiefs.
1075 Revolt of the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk.
1076 Establishment of Ecclesiastical Courts.
1082 Imprisonment of Odo of Bayeux.
1086 The oath of Salisbury.
Domesday Book.

1087 William II. elected.
1088 Norman revolt in favour of Duke Robert; suppressed by aid of English levies.
1089 Ranulf Flambard, justiciar.
1090 War between William and Robert.
1093 Anselm, archbishop.
1095 Revolt of Robert Mowbray.
1096 First Crusade: joined by Duke Robert.
1097 Retirement of Anselm.
Edgar of Scotland owns allegiance.

1100 Accession of Henry I. (Beauclerc).
Charter of Henry I. Marriage with Edith. Recall of Anselm.
1101 Revolt of barons in favour of Robert. Treaty of Alton.
1102 Overthrow of Robert de Bellême.
1106 Battle of Tinchebrai; the "revenge for Hastings." Robert of Normandy imprisoned till his death in 1135.
Settlement of Investitures question.
1114 Marriage of Matilda to the Emperor.
1117—1120 Contests with barons of Normandy.
1120 Disaster of the White Ship.
1123—1125 Revolts in Normandy.
1126 Henry exacts an oath of allegiance to the widowed Empress Maud (Matilda) as his successor.
1127 Maud marries Geoffrey of Anjou.
1128 Death of Duke Robert's son William.
1131 Second oath of fealty to Maud exacted.
1133 Birth of Henry II. Third oath of fealty.
1135 Death of Henry I.

Stephen of Boulogne secures the succession.
1136 Stephen issues a Charter.
1138 Empress Maud's claim supported by Robert of Gloucester and David of Scotland. Defeat of David at Northallerton.
1139 Maud lands in England.
1141 Stephen captured. Maud elected "Lady of England." Robert of Gloucester captured. Release of Stephen and Robert.

1142 Escape of the Empress from Oxford.
General anarchy.
1151 [Death of Geoffrey of Anjou. Henry, son of Geoffrey and Maud, succeeds to Normandy and Anjou.]
1152 [Henry marries Eleanor of Aquitaine.]
1153 Henry claims the English throne in arms. Treaty of Wallingford.
1154 Death of Stephen.

Accession of HENRY II. (Plantagenet).
Thomas Becket, Chancellor.
1155 Organisation of Henry I. restored.
1156 Henry engaged in France.
1157 Henry in England.
1158—63 Henry in France.
1159 Expedition to Toulouse. Scutage applied generally for first time.
1162 Becket made archbishop.
1164 Constitutions of Clarendon. Flight of Becket.
1166 Assize of Clarendon. Henry goes abroad.
1169 Strong-bow in Ireland.
1170 Coronation of Prince Henry. Return and murder of Becket.
1172 Compromise of Avranches between Henry and the Pope.
1173 General league against Henry, broken up next year.
1174 William of Scotland captured at Alnwick. Treaty of Falaise.
1176 Assize of Northampton.
1181 Assize of Arms.
1187 Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.
1188 Saladin Tithe.
1189 Henry at war with his sons. Henry dies.

Accession of RICHARD I.
Treaty of Falaise cancelled.
(*Dec.*) Richard starts to join the 3rd Crusade.
1190 Longchamp, justiciar. Richard in Sicily.
1191 Richard takes Cyprus. Capture of Acre.
Walter of Coutances, justiciar.
1192 Richard captured on his return through Europe.
1194 Richard released. He returns to England for two months.
Hubert Walter, archbishop and justiciar.
1198 Refusal of the Great Council to render military service beyond seas.
Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, justiciar.
1199 Richard killed at Chaluz.

JOHN elected King in preference to Arthur of Brittany, the son of his elder brother.
1202 Philip of France supports Arthur's claim to the Angevin inheritance.
1203 Murder of Arthur. Philip invades Normandy.
1204 Loss of nearly all John's French territories.
1205 Death of Hubert Walter.
1206 Pope Innocent III. makes Stephen Langton archbishop.
1208 England under Interdict.
1209 John excommunicated.
1213 John submits to the Pope, to whom he does homage for England.
Refusal of barons to join in a French war.
Peter des Roches, justiciar.
1214 Battle of Bouvines.
1215 The barons, in arms, compel John to sign Magna Carta (*June* 15).
The Pope supports John. The barons appeal to the Dauphin.
1216 War between John and the barons. Dover, under Hubert de Burgh, holds out against the French.
Death of John (*Oct.*).

HENRY III. proclaimed King by the Earl of Pembroke.
1217 Fair of Lincoln. Hubert de Burgh's victory in the Straits of Dover. Withdrawal of Louis.
1219 Hubert de Burgh, justiciar.
1224 Expulsion of Falkes de Bréauté.
1227 End of Henry's minority.
1232 Fall of Hubert de Burgh. Peter des Roches in power.
1233 Revolt of Richard Marshal.
1236 Henry marries Eleanor of Provence. Influence of her Savoyard kinsfolk.
1238 Simon de Montfort marries Henry's sister Eleanor.
1242 Loss of Poitou.
1244 Demand of the barons to appoint great officers of State.
1248 Simon de Montfort Governor of Gascony.
1254 Henry accepts the crown of Sicily for his younger son Edmund Crouchback.
1257 Montfort heads the baronial opposition.
1258 The Mad Parliament.
The Provisions of Oxford impose a new Constitution.
1259 Provisions of Westminster.
1263 Louis IX. of France appealed to, to arbitrate between Henry and the barons.
1264 The Mise of Amiens, in favour of Henry.
The Barons' war. Montfort's victory at Lewes. The Mise of Lewes. Another new Constitution.
1265 Montfort's Parliament. Burgesses summoned for the first time.
Second Barons' war. Montfort defeated and killed at Evesham.
1266 Dictum de Kenilworth ends the war.
1267 Statute of Marlborough, confirming the principles advocated by Montfort.
1272 Death of Henry III.

EDWARD I. succeeds; being in Palestine.
1273 Edward reduces Gascony.
1274 Edward returns to England.
1275 Statute of Westminster (I).
1277 Expedition against Llewelyn. Treaty of Aberconway.
Alexander III. of Scotland pays homage for English fiefs only.
1278 Writ *Quo Warranto* issued.
Holders of a knight's-fee required to take up their knighthood.
1279 Statute of Mortmain.
1282 Welsh war. Death of Llewelyn.
1283 Capture of David, Llewelyn's brother.
1284 Statute of Wales.
1285 Statute of Westminster (II). clause *De Donis*.
Statute of Winchester.
1286 Edward goes to France for three years.
[Death of Alexander III. of Scotland.]
1290 Expulsion of the Jews.
Statute *Quia Emptores*.
[Death of the Maid of Norway.]
1291 Conference of Norham.
1292 John Balliol, King of Scotland, as Edward's vassal.
1294 Edward goes to war with France. Heavy taxation.
1295 [Scots make a French alliance.]
Model Parliament.
Invasion of Scotland.
1296 Balliol deposed; Edward annexes the Scottish Crown.
1297 Outlawry of clergy for refusing supplies.
Hereford and Norfolk refuse to go to Gascony.
Edward seizes wool at the ports; but recedes from his arbitrary attitude, and goes to Flanders.
Petition *De Tallagio non Concedendo*.

Confirmatio Cartarum.
Wallace defeats the English at Cambuskenneth.
1298 Edward invades Scotland, and defeats Wallace at Falkirk.
1299 Peace of Montreuil (with France).
1300 *Articuli super Cartas.*
1301 Repudiation of Papal claim to interfere between England and Scotland.
1303 Scotland again reduced.
1305 Capture and execution of Wallace.
1306 Robert Bruce kills Comyn and is crowned King of Scotland.
1307 Edward leads an army to the Scottish border, where he dies.

Accession of EDWARD II.
Piers Gaveston placed in power.
Edward marries Isabella of France.
1308 Gaveston sent to Ireland.
1309 A compromise with the barons allows Gaveston to be recalled.
1310 Appointment of the Lords Ordainers.
1311 Parliament ratifies the Ordinances: and banishes Gaveston.
1312 Gaveston returns, and is captured and beheaded.
1313 Formal reconciliation between King and barons.
1314 Scottish freedom secured at Bannockburn.
1320 Rise of the Despensers.
1322 Fall and execution of Thomas of Lancaster.
1323 Peace with Scotland.
1325 Isabella and Mortimer in France.
1326 Isabella and Mortimer return to England. Overthrow of the Royalists. The Despensers hanged, and Edward taken prisoner.
1327 Edward II. compelled to abdicate.

EDWARD III. proclaimed King.
Government by Mortimer and Isabella.
Murder of Edward II.
1328 Peace of Northampton, recognising Scottish independence.
[Edward does homage to Philip of Valois.]
1330 Fall of Mortimer.
1332 Tallage levied for the last time.
1333 Battle of Halidon Hill.
1337 Edward lays claim to the French throne.
Beginning of the 100 years' war.
1339 Edward invades France from Flanders.
[David Bruce finally established in Scotland.]
1340 Battle of Sluys.
1341 Archbishop Stratford claims right of trial by Peers only. Edward forced to give way.
1342 [War of Succession, in Brittany.]
1345 Henry of Lancaster in Gascony.
1346 Edward invades Normandy.
Victories of Crecy and Neville's Cross.
1347 Capture of Calais. Truce with France.
1349 The Black Death.
Proclamation as to Labourers.
1351 Statute of Labourers.
First Statute of Provisors.
1352 First Statute of Treasons.
1353 First Statute of Praemunire.
1355 French war renewed in Aquitaine.
1356 Battle of Poictiers.
1360 Treaty of Bretigny.
1366 Statute of Kilkenny.
1367 Battle of Najara or Navarette.
1369 Renewal of French war.
1370 Massacre at Limoges.
1371 Statute against subsidies being given by mercantile bodies without consent of Parliament.
1373 John of Gaunt's disastrous march through France.

1374 Loss of French territories.
1376 Influence of John of Gaunt.
The Good Parliament.
The Commons impeach Lord Latimer.
Death of the Black Prince.
1377 Attack on Wycliffe.

Accession of RICHARD II.
Parliament appoints Walworth and Philipot to control expenditure.
1378 [Beginning of the Great Schism.]
1379 Poll-tax levied (fourpence).
1380 Increased poll-tax.
1381 Wat Tyler's revolt.
1385 Richard invades Scotland.
1386 John of Gaunt goes abroad for three years.
Impeachment of Suffolk. Appointment of a Council of Regency. Gloucester in power.
1387 Declaration of Nottingham.
The Lords Appellant.
1388 The Merciless or Wonderful Parliament.
Battle of Otterburn.
1389 Richard declares himself of age, and dismisses Gloucester.
1390 Second Statute of Provisors.
1391 Second Statute of Mortmain.
1393 Second Statute of Praemunire.
1395 Lollard "remonstrances" in Parliament.
1397 Truce with France.
Arrest and death of Gloucester.
1398 Parliament of Shrewsbury makes Richard absolute.
Bolingbroke banished.
1399 Richard goes to Ireland.
Return of Henry of Lancaster (Bolingbroke). Surrender and deposition of Richard.

HENRY IV. made King by Parliamentary title.
1400 Rebellion in favour of Richard. It is suppressed, and Richard is murdered.
Henry invades Scotland.
Revolt of Owen Glendower.
1401 Statute *De Heretico Comburendo*.
1402 Battle of Homildon Hill.
1403 Revolt of the Percies. Battle of Shrewsbury.
1404 The Lack-learning Parliament proposes to confiscate Church property.
1405 Revolt of Mowbray and Archbishop Scrope.
1407 A Council to advise the King appointed by Parliament.
1408 Northumberland's last revolt.
1410 Renewed proposal for confiscating Church property.
1411 Henry supports Burgundy against Orleans.
1412 Henry supports Orleans against Burgundy.

1413 Accession of HENRY V.
Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) convicted as a Lollard.
1414 Confiscation of property of Alien Priories.
Henry revives claim to the French Crown.
1415 A French war approved and army prepared.
Conspiracy of Cambridge, Masham, and Grey.
Capture of Harfleur.
Battle of Agincourt.
1417 [End of the Great Schism.]
Henry begins the conquest of Normandy.
1418 Philip of Burgundy in alliance with Henry.
1420 Treaty of Troyes. Henry Regent of France.
1421 Battle of Beaugé.
1422 Henry dies in France.

Accession of the infant HENRY VI.
Gloucester Protector in England. Bedford Regent in France. Parliament appoints an English Council of Regency.
1423 Marriages of Gloucester and Bedford.

1428 Siege of Orleans begun.
1429 The siege raised by Joan of Arc.
1430 Joan of Arc captured.
1431 Joan of Arc tried and burned.
Coronation of Henry VI. in Paris.
1435 Failure of Conference of Arras. Bedford dies.
1436 The French recover Paris. Richard of York goes to France as Regent.
1437 The King, instead of Parliament, begins to nominate the Council.
1440 (about) [Guttenburg's Printing Press.]
1444 The Beaufort party predominant.
1445 Henry marries Margaret of Anjou.
1447 Arrest and death of Gloucester.
Richard of York sent to Ireland.
1450 Loss of Normandy.
Suffolk impeached, banished, and murdered.
Jack Cade's rebellion.
Richard of York returns to England.
1453 Loss of Gascony and Guienne.
[Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.]
Henry becomes temporarily insane. Somerset imprisoned.
1454 Richard of York Protector. Henry recovers. Somerset recovers influence.
1455 York with the Nevilles marches on London.
Battle of St Albans begins War of the Roses.
Death of Somerset. Rivalry between York and Queen Margaret.
1458 Formal Reconciliation.
1459 War renewed. Battle of Blore Heath. York attainted.
1460 Henry taken prisoner at Northampton.
York at Westminster claims the crown. Agreement that he is to succeed Henry.
Margaret defeats and kills York at Wakefield.
1461 Battles of Mortimer's Cross and St Albans (2).
Edward of York enters London.

EDWARD IV. proclaimed King.
Battle of Towton (*March*).
1464 Battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham.
Edward marries Elizabeth Woodville.
1465 Henry captured and put in the Tower.
1468 Burgundian alliance.
1469 George of Clarence marries Isabel Neville.
Insurrection: battle of Edgecote. Edward captured and confined; he is released later.
1470 Insurrection: battle of Losecoat Field. Flight of Warwick and Clarence. Warwick makes alliance with Queen Margaret.
Return of Warwick. Flight of Edward. Restoration of Henry VI.
1471 Return of Edward IV. Battle of Barnet. Death of Warwick.
Final victory of Edward at Tewkesbury.
Death of Henry VI.
1474 League with Burgundy.
Benevolences raised for a French war.
1475 Edward makes peace with Louis at Pecquigni.
1477 Caxton's Printing Press.
1478 Death of Clarence in the Tower.
1483 Death of Edward IV.

EDWARD V.
Richard of Gloucester made Protector.

RICHARD III. proclaimed King.
Murder of the Princes.
Buckingham's rebellion and execution.

1484 Parliament declares Benevolences illegal.
1485 Henry Tudor lands. Battle of Bosworth. Death of Richard.

HENRY VII. declared King by Parliament.
1486 Henry marries Elizabeth of York.
Lovel's rebellion.
1487 Lambert Simnel. Battle of Stoke.
Court of Star Chamber.
1489 Spanish Treaty of Medina del Campo.
Commercial Treaty with Denmark.
Henry intervenes in Brittany.
1492 Perkin Warbeck appears.
Peace of Estaples.
[Columbus discovers the West Indies.]
1494 Poynings' Law.
1495 Execution of Sir William Stanley.
Warbeck repulsed at Deal.
1496 Flemish Treaty (*Intercursus Magnus*).
Warbeck in Scotland.
1497 Cornish rising. Battle of Blackheath.
Warbeck's invasion and surrender.
1499 Wilford's imposture. Execution of Warbeck and Warwick.
1501 Marriage of Prince Arthur to Katharine of Aragon.
1502 Arthur dies.
1503 Princess Margaret marries James IV.
1504 Dispensation granted for marriage of Prince Henry and Katharine.
1506 *Intercursus Malus*. Suffolk imprisoned.
1508 [League of Cambrai.]
1509 Death of Henry VII.

1509 HENRY VIII. marries Katharine of Aragon.
Execution of Empson and Dudley.
1512 French war. Dorset's futile expedition.
1513 Capture of Terouenne and Tournai.
Battle of Flodden.
1514 Wolsey negotiates French alliance.
1515 [Francis I. King of France.]
Wolsey Cardinal and Chancellor.
1516 Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*.
1517 Wolsey Papal Legate.
[Luther challenges Indulgences.]
1519 [Charles V. elected Emperor.]
1520 Treaties with Charles and Francis. Field of Cloth of Gold.
1521 [Diet of Worms.]
Execution of Buckingham.
1522 Henry joins Charles against Francis.
1523 Parliament grants supplies, only after Wolsey withdraws from the House.
1525 The Amicable Loan. [Battle of Pavia.]
1526 Renewal of French alliance.
1527 Proposal to divorce Queen Katharine.
1529 Legatine Commission to decide the Divorce Question. The case avoked to Rome.
Fall of Wolsey.
Opening of Seven Years' or "Reformation" Parliament.
1530 Thomas Cromwell in favour. Death of Wolsey.
1531 Clergy under Praemunire.
Henry declared "only Supreme Head of the Church in England."
1532 Supplication against the Ordinaries.
"Submission of the Clergy."
Annates Act.
Henry marries Anne Boleyn.
1533 Act in restraint of Appeals.
Archbishop Cranmer pronounces the "Divorce."
1534 Confirmation of anti-papal and anti-clerical Acts.

Acts of Succession and Supremacy.
Treasons Act.
1535 Execution of More and Fisher.
Cromwell Vicar-General. Visitation of Monasteries.
1536 Dissolution of lesser Monasteries.
Anne Boleyn executed. Jane Seymour Queen.
The Ten Articles.
Pilgrimage of Grace.
1537 Council of the North established.
The Bishops' Book.
Matthew's Bible issued.
1538 Conspiracy of Exeter and Montague.
1539 Dissolution of remaining Monasteries.
Six Articles Act.
Royal Proclamations Act.
1540 Henry marries Anne of Cleves.
Fall of Cromwell.
1542 Battle of Solway Moss.
1543 The King's Book.
1544 French war. Boulogne captured.
1545 French invasion foiled.
1546 Peace with France.
Fall of the Howards.
1547 (*Jan.*) Death of Henry VIII.

Accession of EDWARD VI.
Earl of Hertford becomes Protector, and Duke of Somerset.
Battle of Pinkie.
Repeal of various Penal Statutes.
1548 Reformation party dominant.
1549 First Prayer Book and Act of Uniformity.
Execution of Admiral Seymour.
Western Rising and Ket's rebellion.
Fall of Somerset. Warwick's ascendency.
1550 Treaty with France.
1551 Warwick becomes Duke of Northumberland.
Somerset re-arrested.
1552 Somerset executed.
Treason act, requiring two witnesses.
Second Prayer Book and Act of Uniformity.
1553 Northumberland's Plot. Death of Edward.

Accession of MARY.
Suppression of Northumberland's Plot.
1554 Wyatt's rebellion. Lady Jane Grey executed.
Mary marries Philip of Spain.
Repeal of anti-papal Statutes.
Reconciliation with Rome.
1555 Revival of persecuting Statutes. Beginning of the four years' persecution.
1557 England drawn into Spain's French war.
1558 Loss of Calais.

Accession of ELIZABETH.
William Cecil chief minister.
1559 Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. Revised Prayer Book established.
Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis.
Elizabeth intervenes in Scotland.
1560 Treaty of Leith or Edinburgh.
1561 Mary Stuart returns to Scotland.
1563 [Close of Council of Trent.]
1568 Mary takes refuge in England.
1569 Rising of the Northern Earls.
1570 Papal Bull, deposing Elizabeth.
1571 Project of Elizabeth's marriage with Anjou.
Ridolfi plot.
1572 [Massacre of St Bartholomew.]
1578 Negotiations for marriage with Alençon.
1580 The Desmond Rebellion.
English mission of Parsons and Campian.
Drake completes the circumnavigation of the globe.
1583 Throgmorton's plot.
Court of High Commission established.

1584 Association for protection of the Queen.
Death of Alençon.
1585 Elizabeth takes avowed part in the Netherlands war against Spain.
Raleigh's first Virginian Colony.
1586 Battle of Zutphen.
Babington's plot. Trial of Mary Stuart.
1587 Execution of Mary.
Drake destroys the shipping at Cadiz.
1588 Marprelate Tracts.
The Spanish Armada.
1589 The Lisbon expedition. Death of Walsingham.
1591 Grenville, in the *Revenge*, fights the Spanish fleet.
1593 Act against Puritans and Catholics.
1596 The Cadiz expedition. Death of Drake.
1597 The Islands voyage.
1598 [Henry IV. accepted as King of France, under the Treaty of Vervins. Edict of Nantes.]
Death of Philip II., and of Lord Burghley.
1599 Essex in Ireland. Returning to England, he is imprisoned.
1600 Essex released.
Charter granted to the East India Company.
1601 Essex's rebellion and execution.
Mountjoy in Ireland.
Establishment of the Poor Law.

1603 Accession of James I.: uniting English and Scottish crowns.
The Millenary Petition.
Main and Bye Plots. Raleigh imprisoned.
1604 Hampton Court Conference.
Peace with Spain.
Goodwin's case: privilege of Parliament.
1605 Gunpowder Plot.
1606 Repression of papists.
1608 The Commons declare Impositions illegal.
1609 Charter for Colony of Virginia.
1610 Proposal of Great Contract.
1612 Death of Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury.
1613 Marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine.
1614 The Addled Parliament.
1617 Raleigh's expedition to Guiana.
1618 Execution of Raleigh.
[Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.]
1620 First New England Colony founded by the Pilgrim Fathers.
1621 Attack on Monopolies. Bacon impeached.
James forbids Parliament to discuss questions of policy Parliament protests.
1623 Buckingham accompanies Prince Charles to woo the Spanish Infanta.
1624 Charles is betrothed to Henrietta Maria.
Disastrous expedition to the Palatinate.

1625 Accession of Charles I. The French marriage.
Parliament, demanding dismissal of Buckingham, is dissolved.
Disastrous expedition to Cadiz.
1626 Second Parliament of Charles I. Headed by Sir John Eliot, the Commons present a list of grievances, and impeach Buckingham. They are dissolved.
Forced Loans. Tonnage and Poundage levied.
1627 Failure of Rochelle expedition.
1628 Third Parliament of Charles. Petition of Right enacted.
Parliament prorogued, on its drawing up Remonstrances.
Laud becomes Bishop of London. Favour shown to High Churchmen.

Buckingham assassinated by Felton.
Wentworth joins the King.

1629 Parliament reassembles. It asserts that Privilege and the Petition of Right have been violated, and claims powers of control in Religious matters. Three Resolutions are passed while the Speaker is held in the chair. The King dissolves Parliament.
Imprisonment of Sir John Eliot.
Charles rules without Parliament for 11 years.

1630 Wentworth President of Council of the North.
Peace with France.

1632 Death of Eliot in the Tower.

1633 Laud, archbishop. Wentworth in Ireland.

1634 Ship-money levied on coast-towns.

1635 Ship-money levied on inland towns.

1637 Hampden refuses to pay ship-money. The judges pronounce against him.
Prynne pilloried.

1638 The Scots sign the National League and Covenant.

1639 The Bishops' War.
Wentworth returns to England.

1640 The Fourth or Short Parliament: it discusses grievances and is dissolved.
The Scots invade the north of England, and remain in occupation.
The Long Parliament meets (*Nov.*).
Impeachment of Strafford (Wentworth) and of Laud.

1641 Triennial Act (*Feb.*).
Strafford attainted and executed (*May*).
Root-and-Branch Bill (*May*).
Princess Mary marries William II. of Orange.
Abolition of the Arbitrary Courts (*July*).
Charles goes to Scotland (*Aug.*).
Insurrection and massacres in Ireland.
The Grand Remonstrance (*Nov.*).

1642 Attempt to arrest the Five Members (*Jan.* 4).
Charles finally leaves London (*Jan.* 10).
Militia Bill (*March*).
Charles at Nottingham (*Aug.*).
Battle of Edgehill (*Oct.* 23).

1643 Royalist Association of Northern Counties.
Hampden killed at Chalgrove field (*June*).
Royalist victory at Roundway Down (*July*).
Roundhead Association of Eastern Counties.
First Battle of Newbury (*Sept.*).
Solemn League and Covenant (*Sept.*).
Roundhead victory at Winceby (*Oct.*).
Death of Pym (*Dec.*).

1644 Royalist victory at Cropredy Bridge (*June*).
Roundhead victory at Marston Moor (*July*).
Second Battle of Newbury (*Oct.*).

1645 Self-denying Ordinance.
New Model Army (Roundhead).
Roundhead victory at Naseby (*June*).
Montrose routed at Philiphaugh (*Sept.*).

1646 Charles surrenders to the Scots.

1647 The Scots surrender Charles to the English.
Quarrels between Army (Independent) and Parliament (Presbyterian).
The Army captures the King's person (*June*).
Charles at Carisbrooke (*Nov.*).

1648 Royalist insurrections in Kent, Essex, and Wales.
The Scots "Engagers" in-

vade England in the interest of Charles. Cromwell routs them at Preston (*Aug.*).
Parliament negotiates with the King.
Pride's Purge (*Dec.*).
The Rump resolves to try Charles.

1649 The High Court of Justice meets (*Jan.* 20).
Charles I. beheaded (*Jan.* 30).

The Rump appoints a Council of State.
The COMMONWEALTH proclaimed (*May*).
Cromwell in Ireland.

1650 Capture and execution of Montrose. Charles II. goes from Holland to Scotland.
Cromwell invades Scotland. Victory of Dunbar.

1651 The Scots invade England. Cromwell routs them at Worcester. Escape of Charles II. to the Continent.
Blake drives the Royalists off the seas.
The Navigation Act (*Oct.*).

1652 War with Holland. Stubborn but indecisive naval engagements.

1653 Expulsion of the Rump.
The Barebone Parliament (*July*).
Naval victories of Blake.
The Instrument of Government. CROMWELL made Lord Protector.

1654 Peace with Holland (*April*).
Scotland and Ireland incorporated with England.
First Protectorate Parliament (*Sept.*).

1655 Cromwell dissolves the Parliament (*Jan.*).
Penruddock's insurrection.
England divided under the Major-Generals.

1656 War with Spain. Naval successes of Blake.
Second Protectorate Parliament.

1657 Blake at Teneriffe.
The Humble Petition and Advice.
Alliance with France against Spain.

1658 Parliament dissolved (*Jan.*).
Anglo-French victory of the Danes. Dunkirk surrendered to England.
Death of Oliver Cromwell (*Sept.*).
RICHARD CROMWELL, Protector.

1659 Parliament meets (*Jan.*) and is dissolved (*April*).
Richard Cromwell resigns.
The Rump reinstated by the Army.
Lambert turns out the Rump (*Oct.*).
Monk, in Scotland, moves south.
The Rump resumes its sittings.

1660 Monk and Fairfax march to London (*Jan.*).
The Long Parliament, reinstated, dissolves itself.
The "Convention" Parliament (*May*).
The Declaration of Breda.

CHARLES II. returns to England as King (*May*).
Clarendon (Edward Hyde), Chief Minister.
Act of Indemnity and Oblivion.
The King is granted a fixed Revenue.
Trial of the Regicides.
The army is disbanded.
The Convention Parliament dissolved.

1661 Failure of the Conference at the Savoy Palace.
Meeting of the "Cavalier" Parliament (*May*).
Corporation Act (*Dec.*).

1662 Charles marries Catherine of Braganza: beginning of the Portuguese Alliance. Acquisition of Bombay.
Act of Uniformity. Ejection of non-Anglican ministers.

Dunkirk sold to France.
1664 Triennial Act repealed.
Conventicle Act.
1665 War with Holland.
English victory off Lowestoft (*June*).
The Plague in London.
Five Mile Act.
1666 Monk defeated in the battle of Dover Straits (*June*).
English victory off North Foreland (*July*).
Fire of London.
The Principle of Appropriation of Supplies is laid down.
1667 Dutch fleet in the Thames and Medway.
Peace with Holland. Cession to England of Dutch colonies in North America.
Impeachment and fall of Clarendon.
The Cabal ministry.
1668 The Triple Alliance, with Holland and Sweden, against France, negotiated by Sir W. Temple.
1670 Secret Treaty of Dover between Charles and Louis for the restoration of Catholicism.
1671 Treaty of Dover, suppressing some clauses of the Secret Treaty.
Parliament prorogued.
1672 Declaration of Indulgence.
War declared on Holland; indecisive engagements.
The Stop of the Exchequer.
William of Orange becomes Stadtholder.
1673 Parliament meets. Declaration of Indulgence withdrawn.
Test Act.
End of Cabal Ministry. Osborne (afterwards Lord Danby) chief minister.
1674 Peace with Holland.
1675 Parliament prorogued. Charles receives a pension from Louis XIV.
1677 Parliament meets. Shaftesbury and other Opposition leaders sent to the Tower.
Marriage of Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, to William III. of Orange.
1678 Secret treaty with Louis, providing a pension for Charles.
Titus Oates and the Popish Plot.
[Peace of Nimeguen between France and Holland.]
Louis discloses the secret treaty. Impeachment of Danby: establishing the principle that ministers are responsible for the King's Acts.
1679 Charles dissolves the Cavalier Parliament, to save Danby.
New Parliament renews attack on Danby.
Failure of Temple's scheme for a Privy Council.
Scottish rising of Covenanters.
The Commons adopt a Bill to exclude James from the succession.
Habeas Corpus Act.
Illness of Charles.
Parliament dissolved: fourth Parliament called, but prorogued.
1680 Petitions for assembling Parliament. Addresses from "Abhorrers" of Exclusion Bill.
The Commons (*Nov.*) pass Exclusion Bill. The Lords reject it.
1681 Supplies being refused, Parliament is dissolved. Fifth Parliament called at Oxford.
Exclusion Bill again brought in. Charles, having made his terms with Louis, dissolves Parliament.
1682 Confiscation of Town Charters.
Flight of Shaftesbury.
1683 Rye-House Plot. Execution of Russell and Sidney.

1685 Accession of James II.
James collects the revenues granted to Charles for life.

Punishment of Titus Oates.
Parliament meets, and grants an increased revenue.
Monmouth's insurrection. Battle of Sedgemoor. Jeffreys and the Bloody Assize.
[Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.]

1686 Numerous Catholic appointments, in contravention of Test Act. Hales's case.
New Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.
Camp established at Hounslow.

1687 Dismissal of Rochester.
Declaration of Indulgence.
Attack on Magdalen College.

1688 Declaration of Indulgence ordered to be read in the churches. Petition of the Seven Bishops.
Birth of James Edward.
The seven bishops tried and acquitted.
William of Orange invited over (*June* 30).
William issues a declaration (*Sept.*).
William lands at Torbay (*Nov.*).
Churchill and others desert James.
Flight of James (*Dec.* 23).

1689 Convention summoned (*Jan.*).
William III. and Mary accept the Declaration of Right, and are declared King and Queen.
The King's revenue fixed. "Non-jurors" refuse the oath of allegiance.
Mutiny Act.
Toleration Act passed: Comprehension Act rejected.
Dundee killed at Killiecrankie (*July*).
James in Ireland.
Siege of Londonderry raised (*July*). Defeat of Jacobites at Newtown Butler (*Aug.*).
Bill of Rights and Act of Succession.
War declared against France.

1690 New Parliament with Tory majority.
Act of Grace.
William in Ireland. Victory of the Boyne.
Torrington beaten by the French at the battle of Beachy Head.

1691 Preston's Plot.
Battle of Aughrim. Capitulation of Limerick.
The Grand Alliance against France.

1692 Massacre of Glencoe.
French fleet destroyed at La Hogue (*May*).
William defeated at Steinkirk (*Aug.*).
Catholic Penal Laws (Ireland).
New assessment for Land Tax.

1693 National Debt created by Montague.
Loss of the Smyrna fleet.
William defeated at Landen.

1694 Bank of England established.
Failure of Brest expedition.
Triennial Act passed.
Death of Queen Mary.

1695 Censorship of the Press ceases.
Namur surrenders to William.
New Parliament with Whig majority.

1696 Barclay's Assassination plot.

1697 Whig ministry of the Junto.
Beginning of Party Government.
Restoration of the Coinage.
Treaty of Ryswick.

1698 First Partition Treaty.
New Parliament with Tory majority.

1699 Failure of the Darien scheme.

1700 Second Partition Treaty.
Charles of Spain declared Philip of France his heir.

1701 Act of Settlement.
Kentish Petition. Impeachment and acquittal of Somers.

Death of James II. Louis XIV. acknowledges the Pretender as king.
New Parliament with Whig majority.
1702 William's policy triumphs in England.

Accession of ANNE.
Joint Ministry of Whigs and Tories.
Marlborough goes to the Netherlands.
1703 Scottish Act of Security.
Methuen Treaty with Portugal.
1704 Harley and St John join the Ministry.
Capture of Gibraltar by Rooke.
Marlborough and Eugene rout the French at Blenheim (*Aug.*).
1705 Peterborough in Spain.
1706 Marlborough routs the French at Ramillies.
Terms of a Union with Scotland agreed on.
The Allies reject French peace-proposals.
1707 Treaty of Union. England and Scotland united as Great Britain.
1708 Victory of the Bourbons under Berwick at Almanza.
Victory of Marlborough at Oudenarde.
Capture of Minorca by Stanhope.
1709 French peace-proposals again rejected.
Victory of Marlborough at Malplaquet.
1710 The Sacheverell trial and riots.
Tory Ministry, headed by Harley and St John.
1711 [The Archduke Charles becomes Emperor.]
Dismissal of the Duchess of Marlborough, followed by that of the Duke.
Twelve Tory peers created, to make a majority in the House of Lords.
Occasional Conformity Act.
1712 Armistice between Britain and France.
1713 Treaty of Utrecht. Supplementary Commercial Treaty rejected.
1714 Schism Act.
Harley dismissed: Bolingbroke supreme.
Whig *coup d'état*. Death of Anne.

Accession of GEORGE I.
George nominates a Provisional Government, till he arrives in England.
(The Whigs remain in power for fifty years.)
1715 Jacobite Insurrection; in England, suppressed at Preston; in Scotland, battle of Sheriff-Muir.
1716 Collapse of "the Fifteen."
Septennial Act.
1717 Walpole and Townshend go into Opposition.
Triple Alliance (Britain, France, Holland).
1718 Spanish Fleet destroyed at Cape Passaro.
Quadruple Alliance: Austria joining.
Repeal of Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts.
1719 Sunderland's Peerage Bill rejected.
1720 Peace with Spain.
The South Sea Bubble bursts.
1721 Walpole and Townshend return to power.
1726—9 Desultory hostilities with Spain.

1727 Accession of GEORGE II. Walpole retains his position.
1731 The Pragmatic Sanction guaranteed.
1733 Secret Bourbon Family Compact.
Walpole's Excise Scheme.
War of the Polish Succession.
1736 The Porteous riot in Edinburgh.

1737 Whig malcontents joined by Pitt.
Death of Queen Caroline.
1739 Declaration of War with Spain.
Capture of Porto Bello.
1740 [War of the Austrian Succession begins.]
1741 Failure of Cartagena expedition.
1742 Fall of Walpole. Carteret leads.
1743 George II. wins the battle of Dettingen.
Pelham becomes leader.
1744 War declared with France.
The Broad-Bottom Administration.
1745 Cumberland defeated at Fontenoy.
Capture of Louisburg.
Landing of Charles Edward Stuart (*July*). Jacobite victory of Preston Pans (*Sept.*). Charles marches to Derby, but then turns back to Scotland (*Dec.*).
1746 Charles defeats Hawley at Falkirk (*Jan.*).
Pitt brought into the Pelham Ministry.
Jacobitism crushed at Culloden.
Repression in the Highlands. Pacification of Scotland.
Successes of Dupleix in India. Fall of Madras.
1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1750 Institution of "Consols."
1751 Reformation of the Calendar.
Capture and defence of Arcot by Clive.
1752 Surrender of the French at Trichinopoli.
1753 Hardwicke's Marriage Act.
1754 Death of Henry Pelham. Newcastle Prime Minister.
1756 Seven Years' War begins. Fall of Minorca.
The Devonshire Administration.
The Black Hole of Calcutta.
Defeat of Braddock at Fort Duquesne.
Frederic the Great invades Saxony.
1757 Clive wins Bengal at Plassey (*June*).
Coalition of Pitt and Newcastle.
Convention of Klosterseven (*July*).
Battles of Prague, Kolin, Rosbach, and Leuthen.
1758 Battles of Crefeld and Zorndorf.
Recovery of British naval ascendency.
1759 Victory of Minden (*Aug.*).
French Toulon Fleet crushed at Lagos (*Sept.*).
Capture of Quebec (*Sept.*).
French Fleet annihilated at Quiberon (*Oct.*).
1760 French in India overthrown at Wandewash (*Jan.*).

Accession of George III.
1761 Bute becomes Secretary of State.
Resignation of Pitt.
1762 War declared against Spain.
Bute Prime Minister.
Capture of Havannah and Manilla.
1763 Peace of Paris: ending French rivalry in America and India.
Bute resigns. George Grenville Prime Minister.
Wilkes and Liberty.
The Bedford Ministry.
1764 Enforcement of Customs in America.
Munro defeats the Oude Nawab at Buxar.
1765 The Stamp Act.
The Regency Bill. Fall of Grenville.
The Rockingham Administration formed.
1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act.
General Warrants condemned.
Pitt forms the Grafton Administration, and becomes Earl of Chatham (*July*).
1767 Chatham incapacitated.

Charles Townshend imposes fresh taxes on the Colonies.
1768 Chatham leaves the Ministry.
Wilkes and the Middlesex elections.
1769 Development of resistance in the Colonies.
1770 Grafton resigns. Lord North's Ministry.
The American tax on tea retained.
The Boston Massacre.
1771 Victory of the Press over Parliament, as to publishing Parliamentary Debates.
1772 Burning of the *Gaspee*.
1773 Lord North's Regulating Act (India).
[Partition of Poland.]
Tea thrown overboard in Boston Harbour.
The Rohilla War.
1774 Warren Hastings Governor-General.
Boston Port Act and other penal Acts against Massachusetts.
The Quebec Act.
The Colonies assemble a general Congress at Philadelphia.
1775 North's futile proposals for conciliation.
War of American Independence opened by the skirmish at Lexington (*April*).
Battle of Bunker Hill (*June*).
Unsuccessful invasion of Canada by the Colonials.
1776 Howe evacuates Boston.
Declaration of Independence (*July* 4).
The British occupy New York.
1777 Battle of Brandywine Creek. Howe captures Philadelphia (*Sept.*).
Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga.
1778 North again proposes conciliation.
France makes a treaty with the Americans.
Chatham makes his last speech.
Savile's Catholic Relief Bill.
The French Fleet under D'Estaing sails for America, but is out-manœuvred by Lord Howe and returns to the West Indies.
Indecisive battle off Ushant.
1779 Spain joins France.
Siege of Gibraltar begins.
1780 Rodney throws supplies into Gibraltar, and sails for the West Indies.
Dunning's Resolution against the increasing power of the Crown carried.
The Gordon riots.
The First Armed Neutrality.
Haidar Ali of Mysore invades the Carnatic.
War declared against Holland.
1781 Haidar Ali defeated by Eyre Coote.
Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown (*Oct.*).
1782 Minorca lost (*Feb.*).
North resigns. Second Rockingham Ministry (*March*).
Rodney wins a decisive naval victory in the West Indies (*April*).
Shelburne becomes Prime Minister (*July*). Fox and Burke leave the Ministry.
Gibraltar relieved: the siege ends.
Grattan's Parliament established in Ireland.
Suffren and Hughes in Indian waters.
1783 Preliminaries of Peace signed (*Jan.*). Treaty of Versailles concluded (*Sept.*).
Shelburne resigns (*Feb.*). Portland's Coalition Ministry.
Fox's India Bill is passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords.
Coalition Ministry dismissed. The younger Pitt becomes Prime Minister.
1784 Dissolution. Great majority for Pitt.
India Act.
1785 Pitt's proposals for Parlia-

mentary Reform and Irish Free Trade rejected.
1786 Pitt's Sinking Fund established.
Warren Hastings impeached.
Commercial Treaty with France.
1787 Government loans contracted in open market.
1788 Illness of George III. Regency Question (*Nov.*).
1789 Recovery of George III. Victory of Pitt.
[Meeting of the States-General in France. Storming of the Bastille.]
Resolutions against the Slave Trade.
1791 The Canada Act.
Breach between Fox and Burke.
Mysore War, ended next year.
[Storming of the Tuileries.]
1792 Acquittal of Warren Hastings.
[The September Massacres.]
1793 [Louis XVI. beheaded (*Jan.*).]
Declaration of War with France (*Feb.*).
First European coalition against France.
Toulon occupied and evacuated.
1794 Lord Howe's Victory of the First of June.
Whigs join Pitt's Ministry.
1795 Holland compelled to join France.
[Government of the Directory in France.]
Cape of Good Hope captured.
1796 [Buonaparte in Italy. Spain joins France.]
1797 Victory of Jervis at Cape St Vincent (*Feb.*).
Stoppage of payments in gold by the Bank.
Mutinies at Spithead (*April*) and The Nore (*May*).
Victory of Duncan at Camperdown (*Oct.*).
Britain isolated by the Treaty of Campo Formio.
1798 Irish Rebellion.
Nelson's victory of the Nile (*Aug.*).
1799 Defence of Acre against the French.
Second Coalition against France.
Mysore War. Conquest of Mysore.
[Buonaparte becomes First Consul.]
Duke of York's expedition to Holland.
1800 Buonaparte's Peace-proposals rejected.
Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland.
Austrians defeated at Marengo and Hohenlinden.
Second Armed Neutrality.
1801 Pitt, being obliged to withdraw the proposals for Catholic Emancipation, resigns.
The Addington Ministry succeeds (*March*).
Victory and death of Abercrombie at Alexandria, or Aboukir (*March*).
Nelson's Victory of the Baltic or Copenhagen (*April*).
1802 Peace of Amiens.
1803 Renewal of War. Arrest of British subjects in France.
French preparations to invade England.
Victories of Assaye and Laswari in India.
1804 Pitt resumes office. [Napoleon I. proclaimed Emperor.]
1805 Third Coalition against France.
Nelson's triumph and death at Trafalgar (*Oct.*).
[Napoleon overthrows the Austrians at Austerlitz (*Dec.*).]
1806 Death of Pitt (*Jan.*).
Ministry of All the Talents.
[Napoleon overthrows the Prussians at Jena.]
Victory of Maida.
Napoleon issues the Berlin Decree.
1807 The Orders in Council issued,

in reply to the Berlin Decree.
Abolition of the Slave-Trade.
Fall of the Ministry, over Catholic Emancipation.
Portland Administration.
[Treaty of Tilsit (Russia and France).]
Seizure of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen by the British.
[The French in Spain and Portugal.]

1808 [Revolt of Spain against King Joseph Buonaparte.]
Beginning of the Peninsula War.
Wellesley defeats the French at Vimiero (*Aug.*).
Convention of Cintra.

1809 Victory and death of Sir John Moore at Corunna (*Jan.*).
Wellesley takes the command in Portugal.
[Napoleon defeats the Austrians at Wagram (*July*).]
The British Walcheren Expedition.
Wellesley wins at Talavera (*July*), and is created Viscount Wellington.
Death of Portland. Perceval Prime Minister.

1810 Wellington repulses Masséna at Busaco (*Sept.*) and holds the "lines of Torres Vedras."

1811 The Prince of Wales becomes Regent.
Victories of Fuentes d'Oñoro and Albuera (*May*).

1812 Storming of Ciudad Rodrigo (*Jan.*) and Badajoz (*April*).
Perceval assassinated. Liverpool Prime Minister.
War declared by the United States.
Wellington defeats Marmont at Salamanca (*July*).
[Napoleon invades Russia. Battle of Borodino and burning of Moscow. Disastrous retreat of Napoleon.]

1813 Wellington's victory at Vittoria (*June*).
Nepal war, ended next year.
Fourth Coalition against France.
[Napoleon, after winning the battle of Dresden (*May*), is defeated at Leipzig (*Oct.*).]

1814 Wellington defeats Soult at Toulouse.
First Peace of Paris. Napoleon abdicates and retires to Elba.
Congress of Vienna.
Peace with the United States.

1815 Napoleon returns to France (*March*).
Napoleon leaves Paris to march against Wellington and Blücher (*June* 12).
Defeat of the Prussians at Ligny and of the French at Quatre Bras (*June* 16).
Battle of Waterloo (*June* 18).
Napoleon sent to St Helena (*July*).
Britain refuses to join the Holy Alliance.
Second Peace of Paris (*Nov.*).

1817 Repressive Government measures, from fear of the discontented and distressed working classes.

1818 Suppression of the Pindaris and overthrow of the Maratha power in India.

1819 The Manchester Massacre and the Six Acts.

1820 Accession of George IV. (*Jan.*).
Cato Street Conspiracy (*Feb.*).
The affair of Queen Caroline.

1822 Peel Home Secretary.
Death of Castlereagh. Canning Foreign Secretary.

1823 Huskisson at the Board of Trade.
Reciprocity of Duties Act.
Growth of Irish agitation for Catholic Emancipation.

1824—6 Burmese war. Annexation of Assam.

1827 Death of Liverpool. Canning Prime Minister.
Death of Canning. Goderich Prime Minister.
Battle of Navarino.
1828 Wellington Prime Minister.
Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.
Duties on Corn regulated by a sliding scale.
Resignation of several Canningites.
1829 Catholic Emancipation Act.

1830 Accession of WILLIAM IV.
Death of Huskisson at opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.
Wellington resigns. Lord Grey Prime Minister.
1831 Reform Bill passed by the Commons but rejected by the Lords.
1832 Reform Bill again rejected by the Lords: but on Wellington's failure to form a Ministry, the Bill is again introduced and passes both Houses.
1833 First Reformed Parliament.
Abolition of Slavery in the British Dominions.
First Factory Act.
1834 Poor Law Amendment Act.
Lord Melbourne Prime Minister.
1835 Sir Robert Peel Prime Minister (*Jan.*).
Lord Melbourne Prime Minister (*April*).
Municipal Reform Act.
1837 Disturbance in Canada. Papineau's rising.
Death of William IV. Hanover separated from the British Crown, by passing to a male heir.

Accession of Queen VICTORIA.
1838 Lord Durham in Canada.
The "People's Charter" drawn up.
1839 Melbourne resigns over the Jamaica Bill; but after the Bedchamber Incident resumes office.
Afghanistan: the British restore Shah Shujah.
China war begins.
1840 Marriage of the Queen to Prince Albert.
Canada Act of Reunion.
British forces overthrow Mehemet Ali, in Syria.
Irish Municipal Act.
1841 Sir Robert Peel forms a Ministry.
Rising against the British at Kabul.
1842 Peel carries his Revision of the sliding-scale of Corn duties, and of the Tariff: and introduces Income Tax.
Afghan war. Kabul reoccupied. Restoration of Dost Mohammed, and withdrawal of British.
Scotland: the Disruption.
Annexation of Sindh.
1844 Natal is declared a British Colony.
Second Factory Act.
1845 Further removal of Duties, in the Budget.
Foundation of the "Godless" Colleges (Ireland).
Irish potato-famine.
First Sikh war (*Dec.*). Firozshah.
Peel, having decided in favour of Repeal of Corn Laws, resigns, but resumes office.
1846 Battle of Sobraon (*Feb.*). Sikh Government established under British supervision.
Repeal of the Corn Laws (*June*).
Defeat of Irish Coercion Bill. Resignation of Peel.
Lord John Russell Prime Minister.
1847 Irish Coercion Bill.
First Grant for Education.
Third Factory Act.
1848 Second Sikh war. Dalhousie Governor-General.

[The year of Revolutions. Louis Napoleon President of the French Republic.]
Collapse of the Chartist Demonstration.

1849 Conquest and Annexation of Panjab.
The Don Pacifico Incident.

1850 Death of Peel.
Australian Gold discoveries.

1851 Great Exhibition.
Palmerston has to resign.

1852 Lord Derby's Ministry.
Death of the Duke of Wellington.
Annexation of Pegu.
[Napoleon III. declared Emperor.]
Lord Aberdeen's Ministry (*Dec.*).

1853 Conference at Vienna. Russia and Turkey at war: Turkish fleet destroyed at Sinope.

1854 Britain and France declare war against Russia (*March*). The Allies land on the Crimea. Battle of the Alma (*Sept.*). Siege of Sevastopol begins. Battles of Balaclava (*Oct.*) and Inkerman (*Nov.*).

1855 Palmerston Prime Minister.
Fall of Sevastopol (*Sept.*).

1856 Treaty of Paris.
Annexation of Oude.
Expedition to Persia.

1857 China war.
Outbreak of the Indian Mutiny (*May*).
Capture of Delhi and First Relief of Lucknow (*Sept.*).
Final Relief of Lucknow (*Nov.*).

1858 Suppression of the Revolt in India.
Palmerston's Conspiracy to Murder Bill.
Lord Derby Prime Minister.
Government of India transferred to the Crown.

1859 Disraeli's Franchise Bill defeated.
Palmerston Prime Minister (*June*).

1860 Cobden's French Commercial Treaty (*Jan.*).
Bill abolishing the Paper-duty rejected by the Lords.

1861 The Paper Bill is included in the Budget.
[The kingdom of Italy established.]
[Outbreak of the American Civil War.]
Seizure of the Confederate Commissioners on board the *Trent*; and their liberation.
Death of the Prince Consort.

1862 Sufferings in Lancashire, from the Cotton-famine.
The *Alabama* escapes from Birkenhead.
Cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece.

1863 Futile intervention in favour of Poland.

1864 Futile intervention in favour of Denmark.

1865 Death of Palmerston. Russell Prime Minister.

1866 Defeat of the Government Reform Bill.
Lord Derby Prime Minister.
[Three weeks war between Austria and Prussia.]

1867 Disraeli's Reform Bill passed.
Act establishing the Dominion of Canada.

1868 Disraeli Prime Minister.
First Parliament under the extended Franchise.
Gladstone Prime Minister (*Dec.*).

1869 Irish Church Disestablished.

1870 Irish Land Act.
Forster's Education Act.
[Franco-Prussian War.]

1871 Army Reform: Purchase abolished.
Black Sea Conference.
Alabama claim referred to arbitration.

1872 Judgment on the *Alabama* claim.
Ballot Act.

1873 Ashantee War.

1874 Dissolution of Parliament.

The Disraeli (or Beaconsfield) Ministry.

1875 Purchase of Suez Canal Shares.

1876 The "Bulgarian atrocities." Conference at Constantinople effects nothing.
Disraeli becomes Earl of Beaconsfield.

1877 The Queen proclaimed Empress of India (*Jan.* 1st).
[Russo-Turkish War.]
Annexation of Transvaal.

1878 British Fleet ordered to Constantinople. Indian troops summoned to Malta.
Treaty of San Stefano.
Berlin Congress. Secret treaties with Russia and Turkey.
Afghanistan invaded.

1879 Zulu War.
Cavagnari murdered at Kabul. Afghan War: Roberts at Kabul.

1880 Dissolution of Parliament. Gladstone Ministry.
March of Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar.
End of Afghan War. Abdurahman left as Amir.
Transvaal Rising.

1881 Majuba. Annexation of Transvaal cancelled.
Irish "Peace Preservation" Act.
Irish Land Act.

1882 The "Kilmainham Treaty." Phœnix Park murder.
Arabi Pasha in Egypt.
Bombardment of Alexandria. Tel-el-Kebir.
British control established in Egypt.

1883 The Mahdi in the Soudan. Gordon sent out to withdraw the garrisons.

1884 Gordon shut up in Khartum (*March*).
Franchise Bill. Agitation against the House of Lords. The Bill is passed by the Lords (*Dec.*); simultaneously with introduction of Redistribution Bill.
Revision of the Majuba Convention.
Expedition for relief of Gordon.

1885 Fall of Gordon and of Khartum.
Penjdeh incident.
Resignation of Ministry. Lord Salisbury takes office, and dissolves. 80 Home Rulers returned to Parliament.

1886 Salisbury resigns. Gladstone forms Ministry.
Annexation of Burma.
Home Rule Bill defeated. Dissolution.
Salisbury's Conservative Ministry, supported by Liberal Unionists.

1887 Irish Criminal Law Amendment Act.
Irish Land Act.
Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

1888 The "Parnell" Commission.
Local Government Act.

1889 Judgment of Parnell Commission.

1890 Fall of Parnell.

1891 Free Education Act.
Allotments Act.
Irish Land Purchase Act. Crimes Act relaxed.

1892 General Election. Gladstone Ministry.

1893 Home Rule Bill rejected by the Peers.
Parish Councils Bill.

1894 Gladstone retires. Lord Rosebery Prime Minister.
Establishment of the "Death duties."
[War between China and Japan.]

1895 General Election. Lord Salisbury's Ministry joined by the Liberal Unionists.
The Jameson Raid.

1896 Agricultural Rating Act.
Irish Land Act.
Irish Local Government Act.

1897 Workmen's Compensation Act.
Voluntary Schools Act.

1898 Settlement after the China-Japan war.
Re-conquest of the Soudan. Battle of Omdurman.
The Fashoda incident.

1899 Outbreak of the Great Boer War. The "Black Week" (*Dec.*).

1900 Relief of Kimberley, Ladysmith, and Mafeking. Battle of Paardeberg.
Boxer Rising, and War in China.
Annexation of Orange Free State, and capture of Pretoria. The Boers continue a guerilla warfare.
General Election. Lord Salisbury remains in power.

1901 Death of Queen Victoria (*Jan.*).

Accession of EDWARD VII.

1902 End of the Boer War.
Mr Balfour's Education Bill.

1903 Mr Chamberlain's proposals for Colonial Preference and Fiscal Reform

1905 Resignation of Mr Balfour.

1906 General Election. Campbell-Bannerman Ministry.
Self-government granted to South Africa.

1907 Army reform. The Territorial scheme.

1908 Death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Mr Asquith becomes Prime Minister.
Old Age Pensions Act. Licensing Bill rejected by the House of Lords.

1909 Mr Lloyd George's Budget; rejection by the House of Lords.

1910 General Election (*Jan.*). Liberals again returned. Death of Edward VII. (*May*).

Accession of GEORGE V. Parliament dissolved. Another General Election (*Dec.*)

1911 Payment of M.P.s introduced.
The Parliament Act deprives the House of Lords of its *absolute* veto.
National Health Insurance Bill introduced.

1912 Home Rule Bill, Franchise Bill, and Welsh Disestablishment Bill introduced.

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